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THE UNIVERSITY AND THE FUTURE¹

Throughout the entire fabric of that vesture of the invisible which we call Nature, there is woven, up and down and across, a double thread of need and satisfaction. In those parts of the pattern of that vesture in which the weaver, Life, has not yet fully developed the golden motif of intelligence, the two threads entwine about one another in the immediate mutual service that man calls instinct. But when intelligence appears—as we assume, though not always on complete evidence, it has appeared in humanity—need and its satisfaction begin a game of hide-and-seek that sometimes puts the world between them; as the satisfaction of the need of peculiar knowledge sends an apparently intelligent human being from America to China on the quest of dinosaurs' eggs for a breakfast of the intellect.

There are two developing motifs in the pattern of human life today which seem to me—excusing such measure of intelligence as the weaver has granted me—to stand to one another in this relationship of mutual need and satisfaction. One is the demand of youth for liberation from externally imposed restrictions on its experience—a demand as old as life itself yet naturally new to each new embodiment of that life ; the other is the increasing tendency to draw humanity together into larger and larger groupings of affinity and mutual interest.

¹ The substance of the Convocation Address of the 1929 Summer Session of the Iowa State University. Exclusively published in Asia in the *Calcutta Review*.

The complementary relationship between these two motifs is not immediately realisable by the mind. They may even at first glance appear as foes. Liberation might well be the slogan of nascent anarchy, and regard a movement towards synthesis as the conspiracy of an enemy. And it would be right if the whirlpools on the river of life were completely separate entities unrelated by the onward moving water. But Nature has placed this among the impossibilities, and decreed the ultimate futility of all efforts towards separation. The correctives inherent in the ever developing Life must in the end, if not before the end, prevail amongst the nominally separate forms which that Life assumes. Between the individual and the group, between the group and the total, there can be no permanent disruption. A liberation that sought—if such were possible—a wholly unitary satisfaction would only achieve satiety, which is slavery. True liberation finds its true satisfaction in ever widening bonds of mutual relationship.

This optimistic view of apparently antagonistic human relationships is true, as all optimism is true, or at least more true than pessimism. But it is not a truth to be rested upon. It is rather a truth to inspire to confident effort that group within the temperamental caste system of humanity who are sensitive to the efflorescence of young life and who desire to serve it towards the solution of the problems of the adjustment of the individual and the others,—I mean the group of natural educators.

On the one hand the educator finds a human individual; on the other, the individual's universe,—that vast synthesis of substances, orders, qualities, powers, materials, which the interactions of nature and humanity have elaborated from the simple root of universal Life. The whole business of education is the intelligent, fruitful, happy adjustment of developing youth to its environment which is also developing. The present “revolt of youth”—as it has been somewhat melo-dramatically called—is a symptom of the failure of such adjustment.

The failure of education to adjust 'youth to its universe, external and internal, is, I am convinced by long thought and experience, due to the fact that, while educational theory, taken as a whole, contains all the needed means to adjustment, educational practice, as decided by persons and circumstances outside the domain of theory, has only dealt with a part of the student's nature, and for an inadequate purpose. It has not sought to adjust an individual human synthesis of growing desires and capacities to the synthesis of its environment. It has only sought to push a more or less trained mental unit into the melee of relatively polite antagonisms called "life" for the satisfaction of desires that are mostly at a level lower than the desires of the mind. Recently modern education has discovered, or rather rediscovered, the value of physical fitness, and has moved towards the restoration of the Grecian ideal of a sound mind in a sound body. Now it is beginning to consider the education of the feeling-capacity of youth because it is being demonstrated in experimental educational institutions that such education has a therapeutic value in moral delinquency. By and by educational authorities will realise that what can cure moral delinquency can also prevent it. When that point is reached, when aesthetical development is moved from the circumference of education where it is inoperative, to the centre which is its rightful and effective place, education will have taken all but the final step towards the complete expression of the individual human synthesis.

The cardinal defect of education, as I see it, is just this : it has failed to realise that, despite the emphasis in our time on the mental function of humanity, man is supremely a creative being, a sharer in that vast ferment of productive activity which has originated and which carries on not only the orbital dance of the stellar universes but the electronic dance in his own individual system which makes the living body of man and woman as stupendous a wonder as the celestial galaxy. That universal impulse must find expression. The creative impulse

produces the interaction of energy and substance that we call life; and the activities of life, including the mental activity, justify themselves according to the measure of their creativeness.

In the realms of nature where need and satisfaction are within hail of one another, and the creative impulse expresses itself with the minimum of obstruction to its perpetual flux, it achieves within accepted limitations the exquisite perfections of the crystal and the flower. But in humanity, with its complex instrument of expression, the river of creative energy breaks into a number of distributaries, physical, emotional, mental, which have a tendency to pile in their own exits the deltaic deposits of self-consciousness. Instead of the irrigation of the whole area of life being accomplished, aridity is set up in one section through artificial obstructions; while in another section, whose distributary is forced to carry more than its capacity of the fertilising waters of life, there arises, in seasons of special lightnings from the clouds of desire, the catastrophe of unmanageable floods. Translate this symbolism into the facts of today, and you have the explanation of the hectic and erotic excitements in which youth, denied by its faulty education the opportunity for true and full creative expression in the higher capacities of its nature, seeks a spurious, unstable, and ultimately unsatisfying expression through its relatively lower capacities.

Creation is liberation. What youth has in all ages needed and what it is demanding today under the pseudonym of freedom, is opportunity to create its own subjective universe, not to manufacture an imitation universe on stale objective models. Truth and security are in the demand, likewise falsehood and danger. The elements of unreality that were built into the past will crumble at the touch of new embodiments of reality. Where the new liberation is real it will reinforce and be reinforced by the realities of the past. Reality is dateless. Reality is never in danger. But there is danger of disillusion, disrup-

tion and unhappiness both to youth and its universe in partial demands and partial fulfilments which project the inescapable creative impulse in one direction to the impoverishment or exhaustion of another, and achieve only exaggeration and instability instead of the joy and repose of *complete* expression.

I underscore the adjective *complete*, for this is the crux of the educational problem. Liberate physical capacity alone or predominantly, and you let loose not a human being but an articulate animal. Liberate feeling alone or predominantly, and you produce folly and uselessness. Liberate both, and you put into operation a double power, which, on the side of the physical, will degrade the divine function of physical creation to the level of sensual gratification without responsibility; and on the side of feeling will sentimentalise the physical relation of the sexes into an erotic obsession, such as pollutes art and entertainment today. Liberate thought alone and you unseathe a ruthless weapon. Cold reason is cold steel. But to liberated thought add liberated feeling and physical fitness made intelligent by knowledge, and you set free an entity in whom judgment, responsiveness and power, energising and at the same time controlling one another, will produce not merely "candidates for humanity" (as an eminent jurist and orientalist has characterised the mass of humanity in a phrase that grants the saving grace of progression to Carlyle's "mostly fools") but approximately decent human beings. And when, with the coming of educational wisdom, the universities of the future realise that thought, feeling and dynamic power are not the essential educable entity, but only the instruments of Man the Maker, and set free the creative spirit in humanity through its characteristic, though not exclusive, modes of expression, the arts and art-crafts, we may then hang out the banners of welcome to the forerunners of a race worthy of the great name of Humanity.

The creative impulse in humanity, set free in the education of the future, and moving instinctively towards its source in the

universal life, will restore to education, and through education to the general life of humanity, the expansion of consciousness and the reverence for the Great Life and all its manifestations, which is the essence of religion, and without which all else is held from its fulness, as an artist and his creation are held from intelligibility and fulness if his creative energy is spent on details without constant reference to the ultimate unit of creative totality.

Moving outwards towards expression, the liberated creative impulse—preserving by complete liberation its own integrity, declining servitude to any of its instruments, lifting to its high allegiance humanity's powers of head, heart and body—will release the arts from the burden of the flesh and the bondage of the nerves, and make them the audible, visible and tangible embodiments of man's highest function as creator not only in objects of art but in every expression of life individual and corporate. The creative spirit, mingling with thought, will transform it from automatic futility into the potent contemplation that perpetually plans the New Jerusalem; it will turn feeling from selfish sentimentality into wise compassion that will remove the cruelties both sacred and profane from man's relationship with man and the universe ; and it will make action purposeful, pure and joyous.

These capacities and powers, aspirational, creative, intelligent, responsive, dynamic, are for-ever seeking incarnation in the individual. Their progressive, full, co-ordinated liberation in youth should be the impulse and the joy of life ; their fruition its justification and glory. Frustrated, they lure or provoke life into distortions, inadequacies, dishonesties of thought, feeling and action. Set free in fulness and equipoise, they disclose their own natural sanctions and develop their own natural controls—sanctions and controls that cannot be moved since they are rooted in the law of human nature that the higher powers of humanity, when given effective expression, control and purify the lower.

It is to a view of the future such as this that I feel the universities must address themselves if they are to serve the progressive individual and collective liberation of humanity out of the oligarchies of the partial and inadequate into the spiritual democracy of completeness. To do so they must provide for the complete synthesised capacities of the individual, a complete and synthesised education; that is to say, for the educable individual, who is at once, though in varying proportions, mystic, creator, thinker, feeler, actor, the universities of the future must provide a curriculum of studies, informational and expressional, in essential religion which is the creative impulse turned inwards, in arts and art-crafts which are the means of expression of the creative impulse turned outwards, in philosophical thinking, in scientific observation, in appreciation of human attainment in all places and times, in organisation and activity.

There are, happily, many indications of searchings towards such a complete education in various parts of the world. What is needed is their unification and effective action. I have tried to present the irreducible minimum of educational necessity, short of which youth cannot find its true liberation through education, nor life its true fulfilment and joy through true liberation. That fundamental need satisfied, all specialisations and adaptations of individual attainment to the affairs of life will be carried out with an efficiency and quality not otherwise possible.

I am glad, as an educational idealist, and a world wanderer in search of affinities in the educational service of humanity, to say, before this great assembly of the State University of Iowa and the public, and in the hearing of invisible thousands through the microphone, that Iowa University is among the wisest contributors to the education of the future. "The Iowa Plan" is a document of first class importance, and I am carrying a copy of it with me to far-off India for the encouragement of those who, like myself, are labouring to bring education on to its individual and racial fundamentals, and to bridge, as soon and as safely as possible, the awful gulf that lies in education in

India between twelve per cent. of literacy and what it should be. Last night I listened with deeply stirred feelings to the choral concert of prize-winners from the schools of the State ; and I understand that instrumental music is similarly encouraged. By and by, I feel sure, a state-wide fostering of the visible arts also will arise, and exhibitions of prize-winning works in sculpture and painting will form part of your periodical celebrations. Your sagacious fostering of the aesthetical expression of youth, your researches into the education of the very young, your care for the sick, your thought for those nominally beyond educational age, are indications of the true vision of the University of the Future as the complete *alma mater* of the citizens of the State.

That vision will encompass no restricted area of human need, but will honour to the fullest extent the claim of every citizen, boy and girl, rich and poor, brilliant and mediocre, to be well born, well educated, and well employed. In honouring that claim the University of the Future will help into life more abundant than anything that humanity has yet experienced a coming generation and its successors whose powers, developed and poised, will exert themselves through the high intensity of balanced activity and repose, to the creation of a world in which the futilities and barbarities of physical antagonisms will be transmuted into the high adventures and mutually beneficent struggles of the immortal Spirit in Man.

JAMES H. COUSINS

SIR WILLIAM BROWNE AND HIS BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS

Sir William Browne, a descendant of a good family, was born in 1590 at Tavistock in Devonshire. After he had finished grammar school about the beginning of the reign of King James the Fifth, he went to Exeter College where he excelled in the classics and in the Belles Lettres he hardly had an equal. Before he took a degree, he removed to the Inner Temple, London, where he gave more time to the Muses. In the early part of 1624, he returned to Exeter College, where he became the tutor of Robert Dorner, who afterwards became Earl of Carnarvon. On March twenty-fifth, 1624, Browne received permission to be created a Master of Arts although the degree was not conferred upon him until the following November. In the public register of the University, he is recorded as a man well-skilled in all kinds of polite literature and useful arts. "Vir omni humana literatura et bonarum artium cognitione instructus."

William Browne's poetical works brought him in contact with many of the most learned and ingenious men of the age. At the Inner Temple, he was closely associated with Wither and Charles Brooke and Selden, who wrote stanzas which praised the first book of the *Britannia's Pastorals*. With Drayton he was quite intimate, and prefixed some lines in the second edition of the *Polyolbion*; and some of the most charming praise ever written, Drayton wrote in honor of the *Britannia's Pastorals*. "The learned shepherd of fair Hitching Hill" was, as several indications prove, intimate with Browne who was not only familiar with Chapman's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but also knew the *Hero and Leander* very well. Ben Johnson prefixed to the second book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* some excellent but not extravagant praise. It is said that Pattison possessed at his death only one book, and that was the *Britannia's Pastorals*.

In 1613 was published in folio form the first book of the *Britannia's Pastorals*. It appears that most of it was written before the author was twenty years old.

"Here could I spend that spring of poesy,
Which not twice ten suns have bestowed on me ;
And ten the world the Muse's love appears
In non-ag'd youth, as in the length of years."

In the fifth song of the *Britannia's Pastorals*, he inserted an "elegy on the bewailed death of the truly beloved and most virtuous Henry, Prince of Wales, whose loss was justly a subject of national regret." These pastorals were generally read and admired, and they procured for Browne a great reputation. There seems to be very little about his life, but it is known that he was a man who obtained the highest distinction as a poet in a learned and poetical age, and to whose memory time has not been just. He who was so highly esteemed by the critical Jonson, and admired by the learned Seldon was, a short time after his death, almost forgotten. But the works of a real poet Seldon will be forgotten, and any honors which, through envy or accident, are withheld in one age, are sure to be repaid with interest in another. The present age already has begun to give Browne some of the honor due him, and each subsequent generation will complete the measure of his fame.

Browne's descriptions in his *Britannia's Pastorals* show that he loved nature, and there is much rural imagery which shows the master touch. Although his name rests chiefly upon his largest work, much skill and charm are shown in his various kinds of verse. The *Britannia's Pastorals* is much wider in scope, if one follows the definition given by Pope in his *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*. He says : "A pastoral is an imitation of the action of shepherds or one considered under that character. The form of this unication is dramatic, or narrated or mixed with both ; the fable simple, the manners not too polite nor too rustic ; the thoughts are plain, yet admit a little quickness and passion. If we would copy nature, it may be useful to take this idea along

with us that Pastoral is an image of what they call the Golden Age, so that we are not to describe our shepherds as shepherds as they really are, but as they may be conceived then to have been when the best of men followed the employment. We must, therefore, use some illusion to render a Pastoral delightful, and this consists in exposing the best side only of a shepherd's life, and in concealing the miseries." Browne followed this plan in his *Shepherd's Pipe*, a series of eclogues, but, in the *Britannia's Pastorals*, there are stories of Hamadryads and Oreads—figures which seem almost too shadowy to be real, yet they are placed in the most exquisitely rustic landscape. When the story passes to the yellow sands and "froth-girt rocks" washed by the crisped and curling waves from "Neptune's silver, ever shaking breast," or when it touches the mysteries of the ocean world, over which "Thetis driv'd her silver throne," Browne's fancy is as delicate as when he revels in the fragrance of the woodlands, when the golden and green leaves hide the feathered choir, where the tips of scarlet berries gleam, where the dropping of nuts is heard, and where the active and bright-eyed squirrels leap from tree to tree. The loves, adventures and hardships of Marina, Celadyne, Redmond, Fida, Philocel, Alelheia, Metania, and Amintas are no more charming than the descriptions of the black-bird and the dove as they call from tree to tree. They are no more delightful than the pictures of the crystal streams that leap through banks purple with violets, rosy with eglantine, or sweet with thyme, or the thickets where rabbits hide. Then there are word paintings of hidden nooks over which the alders and elms throw many shadows, circles of green grass made by dancing elves, rounded hills shut in by oaks, pines, birches, and laurel where shepherds pipe on oaten straw or shaggy haired satyrs frolic and sleep, and meadows whose carpets of cowslips and mint are renewed each day by nymphs pouring out gentle streams from crystal urns. Huntsmen dressed in green rush through the woods with their hounds at their heels, fishermen are seated by quiet pools, shepherds dance around a May-pole,

and shepherdesses gather flowers for garlands. There are pictures of gloomy caves surrounded by hawthorn and holly that "outdared cold winter's ire," and of sheltering old hermits skilled in the secret power of herbs. Browne's picture of birds is beautiful. He describes a choir where the tiny wren sings the treble, the nightingale the tenor, and the bees the bass. His fairy haunts are equalled only by Herrick and Drayton. In the third book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* is found this lyric :—

"I truly know
 How men are born and whither they shall go ;
 I know that like to silk-worms of one year,
 Or like a kind and wronged lover's tear;
 Or like the pathless waves a rudder's dent,
 Or like the lever sparkles of a flint,
 Or like to thin round cakes with cost perfum'd,
 Or fireworks only made to be consum'd
 I know that such is man, and all that trust
 In that weak piece of animated dust.
 The silk-worm droops, the lover's tears soon shed,
 The ship's was quickly lost, the sparkle dead;
 The cake burns out in haste, the firework's done,
 And man as soon as these as quickly done."

The *Britannia's Pastorals* shows that Browne was devoted to the streams, dales, and woods of his native Devonshire :—

" Hail, thou native soil ! thou blessed plot,
 Whose equal all the world affordeth not !
 Show me who can, so many crystal hills ;
 Such wood-ground, pastures, quarries, wealthy mines ;
 Such rocks in whom the diamond fairly shines. "

And, in another place, he says :—

" Drayton and Browne with smiles they drew
 From outward nature, still kept new
 From their own inward nature true. "

Browne continued admirably the Spenserian pastoralism by his lightness, his swift plays of fancy, and by his great impulse toward pure song. He tried to enliven his pastorals by the introduction of a tale, which is similar to a Chaucerian

tale. Like Drayton, he used the homely touches with more felicity than many poets of their day. He seems to be more like Jonson and Campion, yet he is decidedly unique. It was he, and not Jonson, who wrote the "Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke."

Quiller Couch has said ("Adventures of Criticism," 1894, p. 61): "William Browne is perhaps the easiest figure in our literature. He loved easily, he wrote easily, and no doubt he died easily. He no more expected to be read through at a sitting than he tried to write all the story of Marina at a sitting. He took up his pen and composed: when he felt tired he went off to bed, like a sensible man; and when you are tired of reading he expects you to be sensible and do the same." That is very well said, and needs no comment. In the *Britannia's Pastorals*, there is that peacefulness and quietness of mood such as is found in some of the rare old paintings of scenery; the love of truth is prevalent in all of Browne's lines, and there is a natural ease of cadence. His verse is as refreshing as the perfume of new mown hay, and there is throughout it an Arcadian simplicity. It is doubtful if any one could find more simple beauty than in the lines which describe Marina, who was trapped in a cave, and was fed by a robin red-breast on ripe cherries and strawberries, or the little brothers who were frightened by the mad bull, or the small boy who

".....gotten new
To play his part amongst a skilful crew of choir musicians."

What Wight He Loved from the second book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* is unusually interesting and the following is a part of it:—

" Shall I tell you whom I love?
Harken then awhile to me;
And if such a woman move,
As I now shall versify,
Be assured, 'tis she or none
That I love, and love alone.

Nature did her so much right
As she scorns the help of art;
In as many virtues dight
As e'er yet embraced a heart:
So much good so truly tried,
Some for less were deified.

Wit she hath without desire
To make known how much she hath;
And her anger flames no higher
Than may fitly sweeten wrath.
Full of pity as may be,
Though, perhaps, not so to me.

Reason masters every sense,
And her virtues grave her birth.
Lovely as all excellence,
Modest in her most of mirth:
Likelihood enough to prove
Only worth could kindle love. ''

LOUISE A. NELSON

WEEP NOT FOR ME

Weep not for me when I am gone
When life's red blood ebbs out of me,
When mine ears are dinned by the last gong
Calling me far away from thee.

Weep not for me, beloved one,
After the Divine Dictator
Shall say to me, 'Your life is done,
Come back to your Creator.'

Weep not for me, nor waste thy tears,
But thank Him for the giving
To you and I, the long, long years
Of a happy peaceful living.

Weep not for me, but pray anon
And pray for thyself too,
Ere you lack the grit to carry on
As I would want you to.

If your heart be wrought with anguish,
I will know my dearest Love,
And look down on you with languish
From my Celestial home above.

My lonely soul will seek always
Your Spirit thru the heavenly space
In all ethereal halls and by-ways
My Spirit shall wait for your embrace.

So weep not, nor waste thy tears !
I only ask of you
With the few remaining years
To be forever true !

AN EXAMINATION OF HUME'S THEORY OF RELATIONS

Hume's philosophy has been aptly described as 'naturalism,' inasmuch as the determining factor in his thinking was the attempt to substitute instinct and belief or feeling for reason in accounting for the facts of human experience. One of his chief aims was to shew that, except with reference to such relations as those upon which mathematical science is based, belief never rests on rational grounds, that the syntheses of reason are merely generalised beliefs. For instance, the assumption of permanent and identical things is a 'natural belief' occasioned by the instincts or propensities of our human nature. The 'plain man' takes his perceptions to be the real things ; and, accordingly, conceives of them as continuing to exist when unperceived, and as remaining identically the same even though they have undergone change. Yet, in the case of visual perceptions, he has only to close his eyes in order to annihilate these perceptions ; and since, on opening his eyes again, the perceptions he has are new perceptions, separated by an interval from the previous ones to say that simply on account of their resemblance to the latter they are identical with them is manifestly unjustifiable. The identification of perceptions with real things is an 'illusion,' due to the mind's propensity to feign : but the belief in the existence of external objects thus engendered turns out to be *practically successful* in the ordinary affairs of life, although theoretically it can neither be proved nor disproved. So, again, with reference to the self, the existence of a permanent and identical entity cannot be rationally established. Far from the self being a simple substance, and the most certain existent of which we are cognisant (as the Cartesians held), it evinces itself, from the standpoint of reason, as merely a multiplicity of *discreet* experiences. But

we instinctively *believe* in its permanence and identity ; and this belief *works successfully* in all matters of practical life. It is, however, as little capable of being theoretically proved as of being theoretically disproved.

It was certainly unfortunate that T. H. Green, in his examination of Hume's philosophy, ignored this doctrine of belief. But that the doctrine is beset with insurmountable difficulties there can be no question. It virtually assumes the very distinction between the conscious subject and its states which it is postulated to avoid, and which would undermine Hume's fundamental position that the sole constituents of experience are isolated perceptions. In trying to discover the nature of belief, he was compelled to suppose that it was either an 'impression' or 'idea', or a quality of 'impressions' and 'ideas.' The former alternative was precluded, seeing that two persons might have similar ideas in their minds and yet entertain very different beliefs concerning them. It must, therefore, be some quality of 'impressions' or 'ideas'. And the only way in which similar 'impressions' or 'ideas' can differ from one another qualitatively, is, according to Hume, in respect to the 'force' or 'vividness' with which they are endowed, so that we may be said to believe a proposition when our ideas are forceful or vivid, and to disbelieve it when they are faint and weak. Now, in the first place, it is impossible to understand the meaning of the terms 'force' and 'liveliness' as applied to ideas, unless by the term 'idea' be meant an 'image', which was no doubt what Hume did mean. 'Ideas', however, in the sense in which in this context they are relevant, are certainly not 'images,' and on that account alone the theory cannot stand. And, in the second place, even if we could assign a meaning to the phrase 'the vividness of ideas,' we should have the hopeless task on our hands of shewing how differences in respect of this one quality can be used as the basis of a number of important distinctions. The differences between perception and imagination, between memory and imagination, between

belief and doubt are all, according to Hume, due to differences in the liveliness and force of our ideas. Suppose that I (a) remember an isosceles triangle which I drew yesterday, (b) believe that the two angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal to one another, (c) imagine an isosceles triangle. How exactly could these processes be distinguished on the view we are considering?¹ In the third place, it is clear that Hume was himself wholly unable to work out this view of belief without calling to his aid, if not in name yet in fact, the mental process which Locke had variously designated as that of combining, distinguishing, abstracting and judging. Now whenever Hume finds it impossible to recognise in an 'idea' the mere copy of some original impression, he introduces the qualifying phrase 'manner of conceiving.' Thus, for example, we have an *idea of necessary connexion* when we assert that one thing is the cause of another. This idea, Hume avers, is the reproduction of an impression which the mind *feels* itself compelled to 'conceive in a particular manner.' Yes; but it is the *mind*—not the collection of discrete contents which is all, Hume insists, we are justified in taking the mind to be—that conceives, or, in other words discriminates and judges; and, unless the two ideas of a particular cause and a particular effect can be held together in one act of apprehension and thus be thought of in connexion, it would be simply inexplicable how this 'manner of conceiving' could come about. Now, it may be said in Hume's defence that he admits the inexplicability. In the present context, that is hardly, I think, true. In any case, however, he does allow that we *have* the idea of necessary connexion, an idea, that is to say, which, whether 'fictitious' or not, involves the apprehension of two terms in their togetherness and mutual relation.

¹ Similar difficulties present themselves in any theory of belief as a quality of ideas. And any theory which tries to reduce the mind to a 'bundle of perceptions' is forced to such a theory of belief. For example, Mr. Bertrand Russell (in his *Analysis of Mind*) takes the mind to be a complex of sense and images and interprets belief as a *feeling* which accompanies certain of these sense and images.

How, then, can it possibly be maintained that we certainly know of all 'perceptions' that they are 'separate and distinct,' when, even from the point of view of empirical observation, we certainly know that *some* ideas are not?

So far as the distinction between 'natural' and 'philosophical' relations is concerned, Hume includes under the former three relations of resemblance, contiguity and causation, while under the latter he includes the seven relations of resemblance, identity, spatial and temporal relations, relations of quantity and number, relations of degree, contrariety, and causation. Obviously these cannot be regarded as two divisions of the same class, because, as Meinong remarks, the genus common to both is wanting. Nor can the way in which these two kinds of relation (if one may use this in exact expression) stand to one another be that of mutual exclusion, seeing that, for example, causation belongs to both lists, contiguity and resemblance would seem as a matter of fact to be both philosophical and natural relations, though not necessarily to subsist together, while there are some philosophical relations (such as distance¹) which seem to preclude the presence of natural ones. In the long run, it is, however, only 'natural' relations that Hume will admit to be true relations. And with these he couples the view that, by virtue of variations in them, the 'imagination' (which is, as Pringle-Pattison observes, a 'hardly veiled reintroduction' of the conscious self) may determine to group ideas together in particular ways. Association of ideas is, then, the substitute that Hume has to offer for the synthesis that would appear to be essential to knowledge, and it is by the principles of association that he endeavours to explain what are otherwise called judgments of relation. The attempt turns out to be a failure, as Hume himself candidly acknowledges in the Appendix to the *Treatise*. The only combination which, by any show of plausibility, could be accounted

¹ "In a common way," Hume remarks, "we say that nothing can be more distant than such or such things from each other."

for in this manner would be the formation of complex ideas out of simple constituents. But the idea of a relation between two known contents is not rightly to be described as a complex idea,¹ and, as there is no impression from which it could have been derived, Hume was finally obliged to recognise that the association theory of its origin breaks down. Throughout his attempt to employ the theory in this context one can discern a perpetual see-saw between two conflicting methods. On the one hand, association is treated by him as that which gives rise to ideas of relation, and, on the other hand, ideas of relation are treated by him as the features that give rise to association.

The inherent contradictions involved in Hume's treatment will best be brought out by considering the way in which he handles certain of the relations that he enumerates.

(a) The relation of *resemblance* is said to be necessary to relation of any kind, although, as Meinong urges, it would be hard to show how it is involved in such a relation as that of cause and effect. But the fundamental difficulty in Hume's account of resemblance is this. He informs us, on the one hand, that such a perceived object as a 'globe' contains many different resemblances and relations, and, on the other hand, that it consists in 'the impression of a white colour disposed in a certain form.' Now, however, gladly one would accept from Hume acknowledgment of the fact that the content perceived is not, in such a case at least, a simple unit, however readily one would recognise his acknowledgment that 'resemblances and relations' are comprised within this content, yet the acknowledgment must be pronounced to be wholly irreconcilable with his general view. If, in the case cited, the 'globe' is an 'impression,' and if 'relations' are 'ideas,' how can the former contain 'different resemblances and relations?' An

¹ Inconsistently enough Locke had described 'ideas of relation' as complex, and he did so because they involved, in each case, a plurality of compared ideas. But this is obviously no reason for supposing that the 'idea of relation' is itself complex; and, indeed, at other times, Locke speaks of such 'ideas of relation' as succession and power as simple.

idea of resemblance can, as Hume is reluctantly compelled to admit, only arise through an act of comparison, by which various 'impressions' are found to be partly identical and partly different. If, then, we have the 'impression' of a 'globe,' that must imply that we have previously gone through a process in which various objects have been perceived and discovered to resemble one another, which means, in other words, that the 'idea of resemblance,' so far from being just a 'related idea,' is the product of an act of judgment. An idea qualified by relation of resemblance to other ideas is, in short, a very different thing from an idea of resemblance,—different, as Green puts it, with all the difference which Hume ignores between sense and thought. If it be urged that, in the case of the complex content just referred to, we first apprehend directly its various features, and *afterwards* discern that these resemble the features of other complex contents we have had before us, then the reply is that by such a contention the difficulty is only thrown a stage further back. If the content now before my mind has various features, these must be distinguished from one another, and the act of discriminating is identical in character with that by which one content is found to resemble another.

(b) Following a distinction which Hume himself does not make, but which is now sufficiently familiar, we may speak of the formal and real relations involved in conscious experience. Under the former are included spatial and temporal relations, which are universal elements in our experience. The discussion of them is opened by Hume with the consideration of a specific problem, the problem, namely, as to whether space and time are, as the mathematicians supposed, infinitely divisible. In conformity with his general view, Hume was bound to maintain that they are not, that such infinite divisibility is a fiction. He persists in regarding the ultimate elements of experience as discrete units, capable of being represented in isolation as ideas. In what orders or classes of impressions are, then, the units of space and time to be found? Hume's answer, when freed from

much ambiguous phraseology, is briefly this. Certain impressions, those, namely, of sight and touch, have in themselves the characteristic of extension, because these impressions (in this context Hume speaks of them as 'points') exhibit a certain order or mode of arrangement,—which order or mode of arrangement is common to both coloured points and tangible points and which considered separately is the impression from which our idea of space is taken. And so, too, in respect of time. All our impressions and ideas are received in a certain order, the order of succession. This *order* is itself the impression from which the idea of time is derived. "The ideas of space and time are no separate or distinct ideas, but merely those of the manner or order in which objects exist."

After what has been already said, it is hardly necessary to emphasise the two-fold inconsistency here,—first, in describing the *order* in which the impressions are arranged as itself an impression, and, secondly, in describing *co-existence* and *succession* as ingredients in an experience which actually consists of isolated units. On the one hand, the 'points' which are said to be in a certain order must be *ex-hypothesi* themselves impressions. If, then, *any* impression can be said to be one of 'coloured (or tangible) points disposed in a certain manner,' this can only mean that the impression in question is or consists of such 'points.' And, indeed, in one passage, Hume expressly describes extension as "a compound impression, consisting of parts or lesser impressions, that are indivisible to the eye or feeling, and may be called impressions of atoms or corpuscles, endowed with colour and solidity." Yet, unless these "lesser impressions" can be regarded as present together, they must follow one another, and thus precede the "compound impression." On the latter supposition, extension would consist of parts none of which could be present at the same time, and all of which must cease to be present before extension itself could come into being. But the former supposition is precluded by what Hume inculcates in regard to time.

It is true he does not assert in so many words that all visual impressions must be successive, but he does assert that 'the impressions of touch,' which along with those of sight he had represented as constituting the 'compound impression' of extension, 'change every moment upon us.' And after having made out extension to be a compound of co-existent impressions, he proceeds to speak of the idea of time as derived 'from the succession of our perceptions of *every kinds*, ideas as well as impressions.' The parts of time cannot, he urges, be co-existent; and seeing that 'time itself is nothing but different ideas and impressions succeeding each other,' it would follow that 'the parts of time' are those 'perceptions of every kind' from which the idea of time is derived. If, then, *all* impressions, as parts of time, are successive, how can some impressions, as parts of space, be co-existent? On the other hand, not only does Hume fail to account for the awareness of co-existence, he equally fails to account for the awareness of succession. The bare perception of impression after impression, even supposing such perception were possible, would not of itself constitute such awareness. A succession of perceptions is one thing, a perception of succession is quite another, and from the former to the latter there is 'no road.' How could a sequence of impressions of which no two are present together, undetermined by relation to anything other than the impressions themselves, yield a consciousness of the relation between the moments in which the impressions are given, or of the sum of such moments? As Kant was presently to insist, no apprehension either of co-existence or succession is possible save in reference to a permanent over against which temporal changes can be recognised.

From his view of space and time there follows in Hume's *Treatise* the most extreme empiricism with respect to the nature of mathematical reasoning, an empiricism which does not, however, extend to the propositions of arithmetical and algebraical science. With respect to these, he apparently held that, since

each element of conscious experience is presented as a unit, and since we are capable of considering any complication of facts as a unit, our *manner of conceiving* is absolutely general and distinct, and that upon it there could be based a perfectly accurate and general science, that, namely, of discrete quantities. But in regard to geometrical science, since the data are facts of experience apprehended in a wholly empirical fashion, the results, which rest on comparisons themselves empirical, can never be more than approximations. Geometrical propositions imply an exactitude which does not correspond to actual knowledge. "Though it (*i.e.*, geometry) much excels, both in universality and exactness, the loose judgments of the senses and imagination, yet it never attains a perfect precision and exactness."

Hume's account of mathematical relations, full, as it is, of obscurity and of irreconcilable statements, is in itself a sufficient refutation of his whole theory. From the well-known passage in the *Inquiry*, where the distinction is drawn between relations of ideas and matters of fact (§ iv, pt. 1), one would gather, as Kant did, that, according to him, mathematical propositions are all of them analytical, true on the ground that denial of them would amount to a violation of the law of contradiction. In reasoning on mathematical data, he appears to say, we may proceed by a mere contemplation of our ideas, because the ideas exactly correspond to the impressions, and mathematical propositions have, therefore, a truth or falsity, independent of the concrete existence of the objects which may be implied in them. But, seeing that no more can be got from the 'ideas' than is contained in the original impressions of which they are 'copies,' a *relation* between ideas must *either* be an actual occurrence, and then, according to Hume's own shewing, its non-occurrence would involve no contradiction, *or else* 'analytical,' and in that case it would have to be restricted to the content of a single idea, which clearly it is not. And so again, with reference to the argument that, since each impression may be treated as a unit and independently of its concrete

setting, the relations of number may be regarded as at once certain and universal, it is clear that Hume is here making use of a distinction between the process of numbering and the things numbered to which on his theory he was not entitled, and which is indeed totally inconsistent therewith.

But, as we have seen, Hume certainly did not regard all mathematical propositions as analytical ; and with respect to geometrical relations he completely fails to account for the universality and necessity which admittedly they seem to possess. Even the fundamental idea of equality he took to be based on, and to be a copy of, the crude impression of 'equivalence,' of which we have no other standard than that of immediate observation. And when he comes to explain what is meant in geometry by a line, surface, or solid, his failure to do so is no less apparent. Each of these is, he avers, a complex of 'coloured points,' so that one line is equal in length to another if it comprises the same number of 'points.' But these 'points' are so minute and so confused with one another that there is no possibility of counting them. It is, indeed, difficult to treat such a statement seriously. If a line be a collection of 'coloured points,' it can only be made up of coloured surfaces lying side by side, and separated, therefore, from one another. How could these constitute a line, or even a continuous surface ? Not only so. Each 'coloured point' or surface, would be divisible into parts, and these again into smaller parts, and so on indefinitely. Consequently, we should never come upon a line at all. In short, the line of the mathematician is obviously not made up of 'points' of this description ; it is continuous, and any attempt to reduce it to discrete elements is destructive of its very nature.

(c) Coming now to what we have called real relations, relations between matters of fact, we have in them evidently reference to an existent conceived as independent of the momentary state of perceiving. Whenever we assert that something is or that it was or that it will be, our thought seems to connect

what is immediately present with an existent distinguishable therefrom and independent of it. The typical example of such propositions is to be found in those that are concerned with events that occur. It is, then, upon the relation of cause and effect that all propositions concerning matters of fact ultimately turn.

The analysis which Hume offers of the supposed connexion of cause and effect is well-known. The result reached by him amounts virtually to a complete reversal of our ordinary conceptions of the relation of one event with another. According to his view, there is no reason in the nature of things why any one event might not be followed by any other event; no reason, for example, why the rays of the sun should not freeze water instead of converting it into vapour, or why the north wind should not set the world on fire. We have no other guarantee that this will not happen than a subjective belief, engendered by custom ; but for aught we can tell to the contrary, what we call 'natural laws' are merely statements of accidental conjunctions, of the fortuitous arrangements of natural circumstances, in which there is no necessity of order or connexion to be found.

This view has been so often effectively criticised that I can here confine myself to three considerations. In the first place, I think it evident that Hume is really assuming that very necessity of connexion for the appearance of which he is professing to account. For we are clearly entitled to ask how it comes about that our 'perceptions' do succeed one another in the regular, invariable way, which he asserts they do, in order to give rise to the *belief* or *feeling* of their necessary connexion. Hume recognises amply enough that, even if such necessity of connexion be a fiction, the task is imposed upon us of explaining how the fiction is produced. And it is produced, he contends, by the circumstance of our having repeatedly experienced that certain definite 'perceptions' invariably occur when certain other definite 'perceptions' have preceded them. But, if our

'perceptions' do, as a matter of fact, succeed one another in this regular invariable way, does not such invariability of succession really imply that very fact of necessary connexion which was called in question? In fine, in trying to explain how the *illusion* of necessary connexion is engendered, Hume is virtually admitting that necessary connexion is already there. The necessity, he declares, is a subjective feeling, a habit of expectation, and this subjective feeling or habit of expectation is formed by the invariability of the succession of our perceptions. Yet, this invariability which gives rise to the feeling or habit in question is, in truth, only conceivable as the expression of just that systematic order and connexion in the nature of things, of which Hume could discover no evidence. In the second place, it has to be noted that a merely constantly observed sequence is never of itself sufficient to establish the fact of causal connexion. If it were, the relation between day and night would have to be regarded as a relation of cause and effect, for night constantly follows day, and the expectation we have on the experience of day that night will follow is as strong as any expectation can be. Because two events have been frequently, or even invariably, conjoined in experience, to conclude, from that circumstance alone, that they are related causally is a characteristic fallacy, a fallacy which logicians have signalled as that of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. No doubt a constant conjunction of two events does afford a presumption that the relation between them is a causal relation, but it is never in itself sufficient to establish that there is a causal relation. Only a thorough analysis of the conditions can give us a right to assert causal relatedness. Furthermore, it is not true that it is only as a result of repeated observation we feel ourselves entitled to assert a case of causal connectedness. The procedure of the chemist or the physicist shows that his conviction of the uniformity of sequence is irrespective of the number of instances in which it has been observed. A single instance in which one event has been followed by another is sufficient to establish the

fact of such uniformity, if it has been ascertained precisely what it is that precedes and what it is that follows *in that instance*. The scientist proceeds on the principle that what is a fact once is a fact always. And a uniformity which can be established in this way is precisely what is implied in the term 'necessary'. The fact of such uniformity is not contingent upon its having been experienced by anybody or everybody. It does not come into being with the experiment that brings about our awareness of it. It is experienced because it is real ; it is not real because it is experienced. Indeed, in actual scientific investigation it is often the case that what is directly observed is disregarded, and a hidden connexion is, by the experiment, established, in which the causal relation is found and acknowledged, although it differs from the observed features of the sequence. For example, when hydrogen and oxygen are combined in the proportion of two to one, and water is found to result from the combination, that connexion is forthwith regarded as necessary, and, accordingly, as a causal connexion. Nevertheless, the antecedent in this case only manifests itself as an antecedent when the experiment has been performed which produces the effect. It is obvious, therefore, that frequency of sequence has here nothing to do with engendering the belief in question. In the third place, I would call in question the assumption which lies at the root of Hume's whole theory of causation. So far from its being true that, as he asserts, there is nothing in any objects considered in itself that can afford us a reason for drawing a conclusion beyond it, exactly the opposite thesis might be laid down and defended. A conscious mind, it might reasonably be agreed, is incapable of recognising any object or event in itself ; every object or event carries us inevitably beyond itself, and constrains us to recognise its connectedness with other objects or events. Without such recognition of connexion, apprehension of an object or of an event would be impossible. Causal connectedness can, then, never be resolved into mere conjunction or succession. No

doubt, considered as an event, the effect may be looked upon as, in a sense, 'distinct from' its cause. The point is, however, that it never is *merely* an event. To treat it merely as an event is to treat it as a mere particularity,—that is to say, as a mere characterless unit. No effect is merely an event of that sort ; it is always an event possessed of qualities, an event of such and such a character. And this means that it is the same universal feature which is present in both cause and effect, and which unites them together as elements in a single whole. So far from its being true that "we are never able to discover any quality which binds the effect to the cause," it may be said that it is *precisely* the same quality which is present in the two particular events, and which constitutes their intelligibility.

That Hume was aware of the inherent impossibility of the task at which he had been labouring is apparent from his Appendix to the *Treatise*. "There are two principles," he says, "which I cannot render consistent ; nor is it in my power to renounce either of them, namely, *that all our distinct perceptions are distinct existences*, and *that the mind never perceives any real connexion among distinct existences*. Did our perceptions either inhere in something simple and individual, or did the mind perceive some real connexion among them, there would be no difficulty in the case. For my part, I must plead the privilege of a sceptic, and confess that this difficulty is too hard for my understanding." With remarkable discernment and subtlety, Hume thus hits upon the essential weakness of the view of experience which he had himself propounded. He had done all that it is possible to do in the attempt to manufacture knowledge out of isolated mental states. He had tried to look upon what is known as consisting merely of disconnected particulars, connected only by external relations. And in the long run he has to admit that experience so conceived turns out to be but as a rope of sand, that no ingenuity would avail to introduce coherence into elements defined from the outset as incoherents, or to bring into relation elements that had all

along been regarded as relationless. I think the value of Hume's philosophy largely consists in the thoroughness with which he endeavoured to work out a thought which has always influenced philosophic speculation, a thought that had largely determined the theorising of Locke, but which had never previously been freed from extraneous considerations, and so had never been able to exhibit its real significance in regard to the conception of relations.

M. R. ANNAND

THE INFLUENCE OF FASCISM ON ITALIAN YOUTH

Fascism has accomplished many good works since the day when Signor Mussolini took the reins into his firm hands to guide Italy back into the right path which she had lost owing to bad government, but none of them is more important in its effect on the moral welfare of the country than the "Opera Nazionale Balilla" (National Balilla Association) for the education of the rising generation. It should be explained that "Balilla" was the nickname of an Italian boy hero of the 18th century, Giovanni Battista Perasso, who, in 1746, gave the first impulse to the popular insurrection that led to the expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa. The word is always used in Italy as a symbol of youthful courage and patriotism.

The President of the Association is Signor Renato Ricci, a young and energetic man who fought as a Bersagliere officer during the war and is now Vice-Secretary of the Fascist Party and one of the deputies for Tuscany.

Signor Mussolini, with wise forethought, is anxious to "form" the boyhood of the nation who to-morrow will have the country's destinies in their hands and on whom the continuation of its present prosperity and prestige must necessarily depend. He considers that the best means of effecting this end is to integrate and co-ordinate in one vast organisation the triple influence of Church, school and family and to hand over to this organisation the moral and material training of a youthful army which must be thoroughly Italian in education, in feeling and in will-power. An army! This word has aroused suspicion and indignation among the many enemies of Fascism, giving them an excuse to accuse Italy and Mussolini of dark designs against the peace of Europe and the world! But "army" as it is here understood, means something more and something better than an organisation for purpose of war;

it means an organisation of national energies, for defence if necessary, but also and above all, for keeping the country at a high level of progress, sure of itself and strong enough to go on marching forward in the van of civilisation, for its own benefit and that of humanity. So Fascism is educating boys, breaking them into physical exercises, inuring them to fatigue, training them to be soldiers, yes, but also to be good citizens, worthy of the heritage transmitted to them by their fathers and elder brothers who at a heavy cost, snatched victory from the jaws of ruin and defeat.

The slogan "*Libroe moschetto, Fascista perfetto,*" sums up Signor Mussolini's views. From the "book" young Italians will learn useful knowledge to fit them for any position in life ; with the "musket" they will be able to defend Italy's hard-own frontiers.

The National Balilla Association is admirably organised. It is composed of "Balilla" or small boys from 8 to 14, and "Avanguardisti" or the Vanguard whose ages range from 14 to 18. At the close of 1928 the "Balilla" numbered 812,242, and the Avanguradisti 423,959 ; altogether a total of 1,236,201 boys. These figures remain almost changed even after the recent Fascist levy, for if 89,574 of the Vanguard were then passed into the Fascist Militia, their place was at once filled up by 1,04,033 Balilla and the Balilla in their turn had their ranks completed by new recruits.

This imposing force of over one million boys is divided into 509 legions, commanded by 4,343 officers ; 646 chaplains and 470 doctors are also attached to the Association.

Physical development has, naturally, a large place in the work of education, though always carried on within reasonable limits. So far, instructors have been chosen from among the gymnastic masters already attached to the State schools but in the future they will be drawn exclusively from young men trained in the Fascist Academy of Physical Education which has just been opened at Rome, with the following curriculum :

anatomy, physiology, kinematics, anthropometry, physical therapeutics, the pathology of sports, philosophy, pedagogics, foreing languages, specialised sports, military technique, etc., everything, in fact, that is needed to turn out first-class physical instructors in the widest sense of the word. The Academy is presided over by a Rector who is a professor of the Rome University and by a Consul of the Fascist Militia, while the teaching staff has been carefully selected from thoroughly competent elements..

Athletics, sports and games of all kinds are encouraged by the Balilla Association which is active in organising competitions, trials of strength and test matches all over the country, as well as walks, excursions and summer camps. Ski-ing, boat-racing, fencing, swimming and shooting at a mark are not forgotten. It is difficult to over-estimte the enormous benefit to Italian boys of all these open-air pursuits undertaken collectively.

Such things were but little thought of before Fascist days and school-boys and students alike suffered in health and morale from leading too sedentary lives. In 1928 over 50,000 Avanguardisti took part in different competitions.

The Association also organises local courses of culture and professional education (for motorists, telegraphists, agriculturists, etc.,) and holds First Aid classes. It promotes concerts and courses of musical instruction and was responsible, during 1928, for 15,527 cultural and patriotic lectures. It possesses 347 libraries with 37,000 volumes and this branch of its activities is being largely increased.

The "Opera Balilla" is also provided with ambulances and since the beginning of the present year compulsory insurance against accidents of every kind, insisted on for all the members. A sum of 30,000 lire (about pounds 320) is paid in cases of disablement and 10,000 lire (pounds 110) are paid to the family of any boy accidentally killed. This insurance has been extended to the pupils of State schools whether they are members of the Balilla Association or not.

Space forbids any further details about the work carried on by the "Opera Balilla," but enough has been said to give a good general idea of the immense importance of the movement. The Fascist Government is determined that Italian boys shall be adequately trained, so far as is possible to meet the difficulties of life in a brave, self-reliant spirit, while at the sametime making the best use of all that Fascism has accomplished for the benefit of the Italian nation.

SIGNOR RODOLFO GAZZANIGA

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Hastings resigned early in 1785 and Lord Cornwallis came as Governor-General in 1786. In the meantime salt revenue had begun to decline again. In 1785-86 and in 1786-87 the receipts from salt had fallen from the high figure of 1784-85. This led Lord Cornwallis to take up the question. The salt revenue policy underwent in his hands a small but important alteration. Before the maturer verdict of experiences, the innovation of Cornwallis proved itself to be fundamentally wrong in principle and pernicious in effect and during the half a century it was in force it had produced incalculable mischiefs and brought untold miseries.

Lord Cornwallis had observed that the merchants very frequently used to combine among themselves and corner the whole supply in certain parts of the territory. They were next free to dictate their own prices and make large profits on a small sale. Its consequence was that people had to pay very high prices for salt only to swell the incomes of the profiteers; the state did not obtain any benefit therefrom. Cornwallis took the cue from this. He substituted quarterly auction sales of limited quantities, divided in large lots, for the hitherto existing system of regular sales to unlimited extent at fixed prices. The idea in the back of his mind was that the altered system would rouse the whole-sale dealers to active competition with each other and thus, at one stroke, it would put an end to combination of dealers and at the same time force up the price to a sufficiently high level, if not to the highest. To Cornwallis, therefore, not only did it promise the roseate prospect of a considerably increased revenue but it at the same time ensured against its interception by the

merchants, who would no longer be in a position to charge a price much above what would cover their normal profits for risks and troubles of management.

Thus it was that the machinations of the profiteers were transferred from the market place to the Council Chamber of the Government and were finally legalised as a regular Governmental policy. The monopoly ceased henceforth to be a mere instrument of taxation and did really become an instrument of commerce. Hastings, it must be observed, had only once made the mistake of introducing a system that made the tax uncertain but Cornwallis was guilty of a graver offence, for he made it, in addition, the subject of an anti-social commercial principle that had no regard for the silent millions, committed to his fostering care and protection. To use a common metaphor, Hastings had thought fit only to acquire the giant strength of the monopolist but it remained for Cornwallis to use it as a giant.

The authorities in Bengal have however always claimed that it had never been their object to starve the market in order to take the fullest advantage of the system. It had rather ever been their careful concern to keep in view more the comfort of the people than the mere productiveness of the tax. All that they did was to fix the supply with reference to the estimated demand so as to raise not the highest that the trade would bear but a more or less fixed rate of impost, approximately equal to Rs. 3-4 as. And the rate itself, they contended, was fair enough to enable the country to provide itself with an ample supply of the commodity so that any reduction of the tax would only have meant a loss of revenue without any increase of consumption. They therefore claimed to have succeeded in realizing the enhanced rate absolutely without any attempt on their part to stint the quantities given out for consumption but on the contrary by supply extended *pari passu* with the growth of population. It was probably true that the system was not as a general rule managed with an

eye to the maximum net revenue. But then the crude and fallacious idea of the authorities about the very restricted use of the article in the country¹ and their exaggerated sense of the inelasticity of the commodity were sufficient to nullify any effect that their good intentions might have otherwise produced.

From the following figures the reader would be able to judge how uncertain and arbitrary had the tax become in those years.²

Year.	Average price of sale per 100 mds. at Govt. auctions.					
				Rs.	A.	P.
1790	304 6 0
1794	377 3 0
1795	359 1 0
1822	523 12 0
1823	465 5 0
1825	465 5 0
1834	465 0 0

The system of monopoly pursued in France in respect to salt (1312-1791) is strikingly illustrative of the Indian salt monopoly. But even the much vituperated French gabelle had the redeeming virtue of the invariableness of the price and certainty of the supply. Russia was another country that had a salt monopoly but the Russian Government used to vend the whole of its manufactured salt in all parts of its territory at an

¹ The report of the Board of Salt, January, 1832 (App. to Select Committee on Salt, 1836) is a clear evidence of the above statement.

² Probably the most striking example of this will be found in the following incident that will speak for itself. In 1822-23 the East India Company paid off one of its loans. Owing to the consequent abundance of money in the Calcutta money market, wild speculations on salt set in. Thanks to the speculators, the price was at once raised from about Rs. 350 to Rs. 600 nearly. They very soon learnt to their cost that they had gone too far. Their loss was heavy and a large part of salt at Government depots remained unclaimed.

unvarying price. James Grant in his study of finances¹ of Bengal had extolled the superiority of the Bengal system over those of the European countries on account of freedom of retail trade that the system afforded. It was not true, as we shall see, that the trade was at any time sufficiently free, certainly it was less so after the innovation of Cornwallis. But, assuming it was, the benefit that might have been conferred upon the trades was but as dust in the balance compared with all the injury that was to be inflicted upon the consumers.

For many years however the full significance of the change was but dimly realized. Certain it is, that if Cornwallis had foreseen half the evils his scheme was capable of, he would have been the last person to adopt it. Four years after the scheme had been introduced, we find the Court of Directors laying down in their despatch of 19th September, 1792, the general principle "The tax which the subject is to pay to the State should not be arbitrary but ascertained and fixed." But it was a travesty of circumstances that they had at the same time signified their general approval of Lord Cornwallis's scheme, evidence that they had failed to study the scheme in its true light. Even after the lapse of many years it was not considered to be of sufficient importance to receive more than a passing reference from the Select Committee of 1812.

The new policy was on the whole financially remunerative, though not to the extent it should have been. The average revenue during the six years from 1786-87 when its operation commenced to 1791-92 (both years inclusive) was £ 935,319 so that the benefit derived by the measure amounted to more than

¹ Cf. " Yet as in its actual form, it (the Bengal system) leaves the most perfect freedom of interior traffic to all European and native inhabitants excepting only British subjects, after the first immediate sale on the spot where produced; it differs widely from those pernicious institutions under the same denomination, in other parts of the world, fraught with complete disadvantage to trade."—An historical and comparative analysis of the finances of Bengal from the Mogul conquest to the present time :—Extracted from a Political survey of the British Dominions and Tributary dependencies in India by Mr. James Grant. Fifth Report of the Select Committee, 1812, App. No. 4, Firminger's edition, Vol. II.

£300,000 annually in comparison with the largest revenue obtained in previous years.¹ The highest during the period was in 1789-90 when a revenue of £ 119,445, almost the double of the highest of the preceding period, was derived. In 1793 we find Cornwallis reviewing with satisfaction that the alteration had "already proved a gain to the Company" and expressed further the hope that "this mode of disposing of the Company's salt" would "continue uniformly in future years to produce the same advantages."² In 1812 also the Select Committee in their Fifth Report expressed satisfaction at the financial results.³

But properly viewed the scheme had really stultified itself. It had not succeeded in breaking down combinations among merchants; on the contrary it had made the situation worse. Nor could it, in consequence of that, secure for the treasury the best part of the price realised from the public. The persons that thronged at the Company's auction sales were not all genuine traders. The largeness of the lots and sales of limited quantities in one central spot had invited a number of speculators,⁴ rich merchants and brokers of Calcutta, and had furnished them with the ready means of entering into close combination, of dominating the market⁵ and of defrauding

¹ Second Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1810.

² Minute of the Governor-General, dated the 11th February, 1793. See Second Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, App. No. 9 (A).

³ See Appendix D. No. 1.

⁴ See letter from the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to Governor-General in Council, dated 19th November, 1834 (Sec. 18 of App. No. 20 to the Report of the Select Committee on Salt, 1836), from which we make the following extract. "The misfortune indeed is this and it has been the crying evil of the salt department for a long time (perhaps nearly from the first) that the majority of these are not strictly speaking salt merchants but speculators on the rise and fall in the Calcutta market."

⁵ Whether or not there existed such a dominant combination of a knot of capitalists was for long an apple of discord. The large balances of salt that remained every year uncleared at the Government *golahs* were pointed out by the critics of the Governmental policy to be the most unequivocal symptom of the existence of a sub-monopoly, which found it to its advantage to get a great profit upon a small quantity and consequently

both the State and the consumers. Thanks to the policy of the Government, wide was the margin that the tax "contrived" "to take out of the pockets of the people" "over and above what it brought into the public treasury of the state." If, therefore, the revenue increased a little, the burden of taxation far outdid it and was out of all proportion to the increase.¹

pursued the above policy to induce the Government to lessen the supply of the subsequent year. It was, however, maintained by others, especially the authorities concerned, that such a regularly organised scheme could possibly be carried on at a cost "wholly irreconcilable with their ideas of native character and totally disproportional to the object in view." They found no reason why the merchants would adopt the alleged tactics of non-clearance, when it was well-known that the quantity on hand constituted only one of the elements of calculation in determining the amount, the Government put up for the next sale. They were therefore prone to look upon the above circumstance as an evidence of amply supplied and even overstocked market. As time wore on, the authorities had more and more abundant proofs of the existence of a sub-monopoly in the frequent manifestations of a common interest on the part of Calcutta purchasers. Some times it happened that notwithstanding a very considerable diminution of the total quantity allotted for sale, the price in the auction sale did not show any tendency to rise nor did the clearance of purchased lots proceed with any more alacrity. (*Vide Resolution of Government of India, 22 January, 1835.*) Incidents also occurred when nobody even came up to offer the upset price. Gradually the fact of its existence came to be almost generally accepted and even the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, which long refused to believe in its existence had ultimately to confess it in a letter to the Governor-General, dated the 19th November, 1834. The relevant passages in the letter run thus. "We have often stated to Government our impression that no sub-monopoly of salt, strictly to be so called, can be said to exist; but we think (for perplexed as the question is by so many real difficulties, and so many interests striving to conceal the real facts of the case we are unable to form conclusive opinion) that there are two classes of persons, one of which bears a resemblance to a sub-monopoly, as much as any knot of capitalists in any market acting on a common interest, would naturally assume such a character"....."The other class of purchasers of salt at the public sales are known by the general name of Dhuratia. They are very few. They are the relics of a larger and very wealthy body, once engaged in the same description of dealings. They may have been said to have possessed themselves of a sort of sub-monopoly for a particular tract of country. Many of this body are shroffs in the Burrabazar.....etc." Plowden, who was appointed in 1856 to investigate into the whole question of supply, manufacture and taxation of salt was disposed to regard the sub-monopoly as the "direct and unavoidable consequence of a false system of restrictions."

¹ Cf. "The paltry increase in the salt monopoly has been produced by increased taxation by mere brute increase of the cost of a necessary of life, etc." Crawford, J.—An inquiry into some of the principal monopolies of the East Indian Company.

ORISSA.

In 1803 was acquired from the Bhonsla Raja of Berar and Nagpur another extensive salt producing area, the province of Cuttack, with the port and district of Balasore. Steps towards the extension of the monopoly to the newly acquired territory were taken immediately after its annexation.

The manufacture of salt, which seems to have been a very limited industry, was then in the hands of the Rajas and Zemindars whose estates bordered on the coast. In the first instance they were disallowed from manufacturing salt in any part of the province without any license from the Government. The sale of the article continued for some time to be free, subject to the payment of a duty of 12 as. per maund. But at the same time the Government declared its readiness to purchase at all times salt to any amount at the fixed price of 4 as. per maund.

Gradually, the Government brought up from the Zemindars the right to manufacture salt till in 1813 it had succeeded in establishing its complete monopoly over the whole province. "The measures pursued, however, operated rather to restrict the supply than to subject it to taxation ; occasioning distress to the people without any important addition to the Government resources."¹

In one important respect the monopoly of Orissa differed from the system of Bengal. In the latter province it was observed that salt was not vended on account of Government otherwise than by whole-sale. The actual retail distribution of the commodity among consumers was left to private enterprise. No doubt in the narrow strips of saliferous tracts, where inhabitants would have been easily tempted into illicit consumption under the pressure of a high duty, there was

¹ Letter from the Rt. Hon'ble Holt Mackenzie to Thomas Hyde Villiers, Esq., in reply to a letter in the Revenue Department, dated the 17th January, 1832, circulated by the Commissioners for the affairs of India.

provision for retailed sale in small quantities at reduced prices, the object being to obtain some revenue where persistence in the full rate of duty would, owing to the great facility of smuggling, have brought little.¹ But confined as the retail sale was to narrow limits and to quantities comparatively insignificant, we leave it aside as of no significance for Bengal.

In Orissa, on the other hand, the Government undertook from the beginning to carry salt at suitable points in the interior and to supply the article from there on retail. It was not that the Government had the express purpose of taking the entire retail trade into its hands; on the contrary salt was as readily sold from the depots in large quantities for the convenience of big dealers.² It was but the peculiar situation of the province, affording the greatest facility to smuggling from all sides, that had precluded the possibility of exempting any part of it from retail sales at reduced prices.

Judging from what it was in Bengal as to what it would have been in Orissa, one is apt to look upon this departure as a fortunate circumstance for the province. For, whether or not, the cost of transport, as contended by some, was more than what might have been under private enterprise, this at least is sure that it proved an effective bulwark against all the concomitant evils connoted by the rise of any pools, rings or combinations of any form of the middlemen.

In 1817 distress and discontent caused by the Salt Law had reached such a point that there broke out a disorder among the populace. It was a great eye-opener to the Government. Arrangements were soon after made for the supply of the province by extended local sales at fixed prices, much below

¹ Cf. "In those districts a man would have only to take a pipkin and a little brine and make salt for himself." Evidence of F. W. Prideaux before the Select Committee of 1853. See his reply to Q. 7266.

² "In this view the sales in the Cuttack province excepting those in the saliferous localities and their immediate neighbourhood, would perhaps be more correctly designated as "local" than "retail" sales." Notes on the system of retail sale of salt by the Government, App. to Plowden's Report on supply, manufacture and taxation of salt in British India, 1853.

the average of the auction sales, held at Calcutta. A long chain of *golahs* was thus established, stretching from one end of the province to another. It brought much needed relief and was followed by an appreciable increase of sales and of revenue.

(*To be continued.*)

PARIMAL RAY

INSTALMENT CREDIT SYSTEM IN AMERICA

(Through Indian Eyes)

Purchase by deferred payments or buying on the instalment plan, by the reason of its enormous growth in many countries; and especially in the United States, since the war, is a development which has been watched with interest by economists and financiers. The whole scheme is nothing but a new form of extended credit within the reach of all the people. A study of its methods will well repay the time spent of our employers and workers alike. It is true what is suited to the needs and temperament of the people of one country may be anything but successful when slavishly imitated. But when all allowances are made the fact remains that other countries could gain much by an intelligent application of what is best in the system. We are told by eminent financiers and economists that the Instalment system is doing much good to the whole population of the United States of America. The people are enjoying the fruits of the present wave of prosperity. The poverty is practically non-existent. The people are well-paid, well-clothed and well-fed. Others who were not very enthusiastic about this scheme say that it is something like inflation of currency during the war.

But the facts that are before us, are not very discouraging. About 15 % of all retail purchasers are bought on instalment credit system and the total amount of instalment debt outstanding at a given time is estimated at \$ 2,750 millions. This appears to be very large amount but is really small in comparison with the total amount of credit of all kinds outstanding at a given time.

The system though it was in use since these 50 years in America did not work out well until it was introduced in Motor Industry some ten years back. The motor manufacturers did not welcome this scheme at the beginning as they opposed to

sell cars on credit. Later on they encouraged it through a desire to increase sales and reduce the cost of production. The result of the introduction was very amazing. On the average one in three persons in America own his car and it is not uncommon to find a working class family possessing more than one car. The bread winner rides his car to his works spot, the housewife to her shopping and the schoolboy to the school.

Within the ambit of the instalment system come out notably such luxuries as wireless sets and musical instrument but even the necessary supplies.

The following are the relevant statistics showing the percentage of Instalment Credit system used by the American population :—

Automobiles	75%	of all the production.
Household furniture	19%	,
Gramophones	80%	,
Washing materials	75%	,
Vacuum cleaners	65%	,
Jewellery	25%	,

About \$ 140 millions worth of clothing is sold annually on deferred payments. The time for the repayment of this class of credit is short and the amount outstanding is only 1·4% of the total instalment debt.

In a town of 50,000 inhabitants let us suppose that 600 families begun to use the extended form of instalment credit system, about 50% of the poor class families will avail of this credit system, 35% of the middle class people and 15% of the well-to-do families. The movement has been fostered by leading houses of the country and a host of financial concerns has sprung up to provide the necessary facilities. There are nearly 2,000 of such companies operating in all parts of the country. Some of the companies specialize in financing automobiles, others specialize in furnishing furniture and other household goods. Some specialize in agricultural machinery,

others in industrial plants. Some concerns are formed for the purpose of marketing the manufactured goods in clothing, others are subsidiary to commercial banks. Some finance companies discount notes with other banks, others place in trust with some of the Trust Companies and issue short term debentures against the Trusted notes, which are sold to Banks. Sometimes long term collateral trust bonds are also sold.

By a system of insurance the prospect of losses is minimized, and the percentage of failures to the completed instalments over a period of two years was less than $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total outstanding debt.

Regarding the prices the instalment consumers' pay is a bit higher, notwithstanding these higher prices it can be said they pay less to-day than they would pay when there is no instalment system. Because of this system the production has been increased, the manufacturing cost per unit has been decreased and the economies gained through these have been passed on to the consumers.

For a progressing cheapening of the products by ever-increasing production there should be a constant demand for the goods. Otherwise there would be a set back if the market were to reach the saturation point. This should be avoided by an accurate observation of the market conditions. Another thing is about finance. If the instalment credit is not controlled it will be very dangerous and will help to tend panics and depressions. The Instalment system is an important contribution to the modern economic organization. It will in due course of time change the hearts of those conservative sections, who are looking with disfavour on the movement.

To ameliorate the economic and social condition of our poor and middle class workers and employees of this country, it will not be an enormous task if our financiers and industrialists keeping a watch over the pitfalls sincerely introduce this system.

THE AVESTAN GATHAS¹

The Avesta text is often repelling. Whoever has had sufficient experience would excuse M. Geldner for not having finished his monumental work, at least for having written, in the beginning of the preface, that "the Avesta is not one of those fertile fields to the study of which one should consecrate the best years of one's life."

But, beside the interest which it holds for the linguist, beside the fact that it is the only literary text preserved in ancient Iran, it has the merit of containing a series of verse compositions, like the Vedic strophes, which have a peculiar significance. These are the gathas.

James Darmesteter has, no doubt, put forward the theory that the gathas were the later text; that the language differed from the rest of the Avesta only in orthography; that the abstractions found there were probably in imitation of platonic doctrines. Saying this, Darmesteter did not push to the extreme conclusion the process which made it possible for him to revive the study of the later Avesta: reasonably convinced that the later Avesta in its present form is a compilation of the Sassanide epoch, he has interpreted it by means of tradition which goes back to the times when the Avestan doctrine was the state religion. But what is practically true of the Sassanide Avesta is not true of the gathas which are inserted there. Between the language of the later Avesta and that of the gathas, there are many and fundamental differences: in proportion as the writing or script allows us to note, the phonetic form presents remarkable divergences; the morphology is often not clear; the vocabulary is largely different: Regarded essentially, the abstractions in the gathas have not the character of platonic

¹ Translated from Meillet's *Trois Conférences sur les gâthâ de Avesta—Introduction*.

abstractions. The hypothesis of Darmesteter has not been accepted, and all the world agrees to see in the gathas a text at once ancient and original. Nevertheless, the translation of the sense of this text was lost in the Sassanide era : the pahlavi translation of the later Avesta is generally correct and furnishes the key to interpretation, so much so the pahlavi translation of the gathas shows that the translators are ignorant of the grammar of the text and of the meaning of many of the words. The translation by J. Darmesteter, done according to tradition, rests then on a very weak basis, and it is impossible to utilise it. J. Darmesteter has applied here a principle which he taught : the scholar should have a clear-cut doctrine, and should rather make a mistake of fact than have a feeble doctrine which allows itself neither to be proved nor disproved completely. So far as the later Avesta is concerned, J. Darmesteter has been correct in his findings; but as regards the gathas, he has been mistaken. The public, accustomed to place confidence in the sound translation of the Avesta, should guard itself against the portion devoted to the gathas.

Indeed, it is not possible to translate the gathas in a sure and complete manner. Beside the fundamental difficulty to be explained here in Chapter II, one is struck by the singularity of a text which is found isolated in the Iranian literature, by the desire which the authors have of expressing themselves in a way widely different from the usual, and finally, by the great number of words of unknown meaning which one comes across there. Thus the words are thrown off in an order which seems often arbitrary and which systematically disagrees with the usual order : the name of the god of the gathas, Ahura Mazdā, which is, as one knows, a juxtaposition and which in Persian is presented as one word, one of which the second term only is inflected, appears most frequently with the two terms separated, or at least the order of the two terms reserved, and one finds it a nominative *Mazdā Ahurō*, rather than *Ahurō Mazdā*. This common fact suffices to give an idea of the difference which the

authors have held to guard between the current usage and their manner of writing.

The translation which M. Bartholomae published in 1905 under the title *Die Gāthās des Avesta, Zarathushtra's Verspredigten* is the only complete translation on which one may generally rely. It rests on a linguistic doctrine firmly built, coherent from end to end, and follows the text most closely. It starts from the admirable dictionary of the same author and it has merits. But it is to be regretted that M. Bartholomae should have believed it his duty to translate almost wholly a text in which a great many passages are almost unintelligible, that he has thought it necessary to explain almost all the words even where the data do not allow us to find the exact significance, that he does not explain in any manner in his study of the degree—variable from case to case—of probability of his interpretation. On the whole, M. Bartholomae gives a just idea of the gathas; but he who would study in detail the text can do so only on one condition,—that he would examine to what extent the translation of the passage under discussion rests on data positive and certain.

What shows that the translation of M. Bartholomae is generally correct is that the translation, independent and profoundly critical, which MM. Andreas and Wackernagel have offered of one portion of the gathas, errs in detail. One knows that MM. Andreas and Wackernagel have, on the form of the text, some opinions wholly different from M. Bartholomae's; on the spirit of the text, they are most frequently of the same opinion with him. But one would have praised them if they had left more of the passages untranslated and if they had made more use of interrogation marks. These translations are published in the *Nachrichten* of the academy of Gottingen in 1909 (pp. 41-49), 1911 (pp. 1-34) and 1913 (pp. 363-85); they have bearing on the chapters 29 to 32 of Yasna.

If many passages still remain obscure, one might say that the general sense of the gathas is known and that there is now harmony among the scholars who study them.

Although the text has been often studied in recent times, there remains much to do to exactly determine its place in history, in literary character and religious significance.

We would attempt to present the conclusions in a most distinct manner so that the Iranists may confront them with facts, and to confirm or refute them.

After the *Zoroastrian Theology* of Dhalla (New York, 1914) it is easy to see how the doctrine of the gathas is distinguished from that of the later Avesta. The religion of the later Avesta appears as a compromise between the religious reform of which the gathas are the only authentic monument and the ancient Iranian tradition parallel to the Indian tradition represented by the Vedas. The doctrine is placed in the light of religious development by James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913 and by R. Pettazzoni, *La religione di Zarathustra*, Bologna (without date, preface dated November, 1920). M. Bartholomae has briefly summed up his views in a recent small brochure : *Zarathustra's Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg, 1924.

The three authors agree in giving the most prominent place to the personality of the reformer whom the Avesta names as *Zaraθustra*. Even the text of the gathas is willingly attributed to him. Nevertheless, there is nothing to prove that all the fragments come from the same hand. The fact that *Zaraustra* is frequently mentioned there in the third person does not lend countenance to the view or supposition that all the pieces in the gathas are the works of the reformer himself.

Really speaking, all that is certain is that the compilers of Yasna have inserted in their text a number of archaic fragments which are preserved and which, so far as they were concerned, were almost unintelligible, but considered as a sacred heritage. The gathas are ruins preserved from Zoroastrian reform, but one fails to see how it may be established that all these are works by the same hand. One fragment expresses personal sentiments, has individual accent, has life. Another,

like Yasna L. is devoid of character and creates an impression of being the work of a school. The pieces preserved are too few in number and too little in length to allow of any useful departure. The fact that the gathas are considered here as a whole is due to the impossibility of doing any critical work, not to the conviction that these texts form an entire work. The small collection of the gathas represents the remnants of one whole literature. If one treats them here as a unit, that is necessary for critical purposes : these texts are too slight, and above all too disjointed, for the critic to have any chance of coming to sure and accurate results, or even results probable and a little more definite. The collection is luckily sufficiently coherent, so that there is nothing very inconvenient to treat it as a whole. But one should remember that if the gathas are seen as a whole, it is so by a rough approximation which without doubt is wide of reality. It is with that reservation that one should read these lectures reproduced here.

Be that as it may, the gathas form, in the traditional Avestan text, a strange literature, and one can feel it.

The manner of writing marks the difference from the very beginning. The language is essentially different. And the doctrine differs still more, as one may find at once on reference to the work of M. Dhalla on the Avestan Theology, already mentioned.

In the gathas one breathes everywhere in the presence of systematic religious reformation, the moral ideas appear in the first view; the opposition of good and evil spirits comes out without cease; the reward after death is the main question; the beneficent powers expressed in abstract terms which constitute some sort of court to Ahura Mazda are mentioned almost in each strophe, either by name or at least by means of allusions; the sacrificial rites, on the other side, do not play any part.

On the contrary, the doctrine of the later Avesta has a *syncretic* character; this is the result of a compromise between

pure Zoroastrianism of which the gathas give a glimpse, and an ancient ritualistic religion, of a type corresponding to the Vedic. Gods like Miθra are adored. Sacrifice is largely practised; so much so that the collection in which the gathas have been incorporated is the part which is recited at the time of sacrifice, for want of careful preservation of the old texts proper to be recited in the solemn sacrifice; the priests who, at the close of the Arsacide period and at the beginning of the Sassanide period had organised the Avestan religion, had utilised the only religious poems preserved, though these poems had not been composed in view of the ritual and though they came out moreover from a reaction against ritual; nothing shows better the compromise effected between Zoroastrian religion and the religion of the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) aristocracy, and also the ruin of ancient traditions since the Macedonian conquest and the beginnings of the Parthian kingdom, Iranian from the political point of view, Hellenic from the point of view of civilisation. The *Aməša spn̄ta*, who consist solely of beneficent powers, without any material personality, materialise more and more and come towards concrete personages. All sorts of usages and superstitions are incorporated in the religion and more or less justified by the opposition of good worlds and bad. The Evil Spirit which was only an expression realised from evil-doing, comes out a sort of divine being opposed to Ahura Mazda; thus is constituted a sort of dualism, in the place of the moral opposition between good and evil which characterises the doctrine of the gathas.

This syncretism is well illustrated in a famous chapter of the later Avesta, Yasna IX: Zoroaster figures there, but is accompanied by *Haoma*, who is the principal object of Indo-Iranian sacrifice, the Vedic *Soma*. And it is from this sacrifice that the legendary figures of the Indo-Iranian tradition come out: the same names are to be found simultaneously both here and in the Vedas. Zoroaster becomes an epigone of persons of Indo-Iranian tradition.

The ruins of that tradition were then kept up side by side with ruins, wholly different, of the Zoroastrian reform. The language bears evidence ; as a whole the language of the Avesta is in a more advanced stage of development than that of the gathas ; but it contains archaisms which, already in the language of the gathas, had disappeared or were about to disappear. (See *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, II, p. 183, ff.)

It is important moreover to note that in spite of the close proximity of linguistic types, the language of the later Avesta is not the continuation of the language of the gathas. The fact has been indicated; but it has not been studied in the way it ought to be. A vocabulary bears a striking proof of the difference between the two. The later Avesta names the three castes, as the priests, the warriors, and the agriculturists by three Indo-Iranian terms ; the name *aθaurvā* for the priest, approaches closely the Vedic *āthārvā*--the name *raθaēsta* (in the nominative) for the warrior is identical with the *rathesthah* of the Vedas; as regards the name *vāstryō f̄suyas* for the agriculturis, it is not found in India; but the form from which is derived *f̄su-ya*--the name for the "beast," Sanskrit *paśu*, Av-*pasu*, declares itself as old by its vocalism (vocalism to the zero degree of the radical element in a derived verb). Now, the gathas have three different terms for the same ideas; *airyamā* (aryama means "a companion" in Vedic); *xvaētus* (that is to say, "members of a group"); close to Gr. ειης. ειαπος, ειαπος; *vəγəzənəyō*, *vəγəzənyō* (with some traces of speech found later; *vāstryō f̄suyas*). The later Avesta is more faithful than the gathas to the traditional Indo-Iranian vocabulary.

When the great nationalist Iranian revival was effected which ended in the foundation of the Sassanide empire, the little remnant of miscellaneous traditions was utilised, though ill. The Mazdyan religion which then had to take its definite form became the State religion, while Zoroastrianism had been a sect. That the Avestan religion is narrow and strict is largely

due to this ; hence the contrast, so striking, between the entirely moral religion of the gathas and the intellectual poverty of the Sasanide Avesta. One sees thus that the Avesta gives a very slight idea of the liberty of spirit, of the religious ardour, of the lively intelligence, of the taste for changes in manners which has always characterised the Iranians. The gathas reflect that brilliant mentality and all its ardour ; the later Avesta does not contain even the ashes of that brilliance.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE BENGAL LAND-HOLDER—SUB-DIVISION, FRAGMENTATION AND SUB-INFEUDATION.

I

The importance of Sub-Division and fragmentation of holdings as affecting agriculture in India has attracted attention for some time. Some years ago the Board of Agriculture passed a resolution in these terms, "That this meeting of the Board of Agriculture recognises that in many parts of India, the extreme and increasing Sub-Division of the land and scattered character of the holdings together form a very serious impediment to agricultural progress and to the adoption of agricultural improvements, and wishes to suggest that the attention of local Governments be called to the matter. It recommends that the question be closely investigated and experiments made in each provincial area in consultation with the Registrar of Co-operative Societies with a view to the adoption of such measures as seem best adapted to meet the special local circumstances and to the introduction of such legislation as may be necessary."

The Government of Bengal sent two officers, Mr. McLean, Deputy Director of Agriculture, and Rai Sahib N. C. Bose, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, to the Punjab to study the methods adopted so successfully in that Province. They came to the conclusion that consolidation of holdings could not be of much help to the cultivators of Eastern Bengal, though it would be beneficial in Northern and Western Bengal. Government also sanctioned a special Inspector of Co-operative Department to start societies for the purpose, and it was proposed to initiate experiment in Government Khas Mahals. No progress, however, seems to have been made in that direction and there seems to be an all-pervading feeling that the difficulties to be faced in one way or another are insurmountable.

In the meantime the evil has grown to an alarming extent, both among the actual cultivators and those who eke out an income from land by virtue of a superior interest in it. There has been tremendous increase of population. The simple rural industries have gone down under severe foreign competition throwing back the redundant population on the soil. Whereas the proportion of the population supported by agriculture was 53·83 per cent. in 1881, it was 77·3 per cent. in 1921. According to the census taken in 1921, in Bengal, there is only 2·21 acres of land for every actual worker in cultivation. The law of inheritance made Sub-Division inevitable. The law of primogeniture does not exist in Bengal. Both according to the Hindu and the Muhammadan laws, on the death of a man, his landed and other property is divided among a number of successors in various proportions. Things are made worse by the way the division is customarily made. Every successor gets a portion in each holding and very often a portion in every separate plot in the holding. This naturally leads to fragmentation of the holdings. Sub-Division has also been increased by transfers, by sales, gifts, mortgages, etc. Very often, it is a part of the holding which is transferred and not the whole of it. The process has also been accentuated by the prestige, which attaches to the ownership of land. This perhaps accounts for quite a good number of cases where the cultivator sticks to minute plots of land which have ceased to be economic in any sense. The process has gone to such an extent that it has become a serious menace to progressive agriculture. In Dacca, the size of an average holding is only 1·52 acres every cultivating worker, on an average, being in possession of 1·89 tenancies or 2·88 acres of land. The average size of a field is only ·55 of an acre. In Bakarganj the average holding measures 2·51 acres and a cultivator is in possession of 1·13 tenancies or 2·80 acres. The average size of a holding in Jessore is about 2 acres and the average size of a plot ·36 acre, and these are ordinarily situated at different places. In Faridpur the size

of a holding is 1.39 acres and the figures for Chittagong are 1.26 acres for occupancy raiyats and .57 for settled raiyats.¹ These figures represent averages; since there are many plots and holdings above the average size, there are many more which are below the average. These figures, however, fairly indicate the state of affairs in Bengal as a whole.

But the curse of rural Bengal is not confined to the Sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. An equally great evil is the system of Sub-infeudation, the existence of intermediary interests of various grades, which divide the cultivator from the proprietor paying revenue to the Government. The system perhaps owes its growth to the necessities of the situation of the landed interests in the early British rule; and unchecked by any attempt to systematise or limit its growth, and even aided by law, it has developed into its present state by following the path of least resistance.

In the stormy days following the Permanent Settlement, many Zamindars created hereditary, permanent interests in their property to ensure a secure though moderate income; they also sublet at comparatively low rates in order to secure ready money to meet the excessive land-revenue assessment ; for the capitalised value of the loss of prospective rent was realised in these cases as a lump sum in the form of Selami. With the growing prosperity of the estates, this cause of Sub-infeudation weakened, but tenures began to be created in order to avoid the difficulties of control and management. This process continued further where there were possibilities

¹ The figures are taken from the settlement reports, and are therefore, to a certain extent, out of date. But there is reason to believe that the process of sub-division and fragmentation has increased since the publication of these reports. The dates of publication of the settlement reports are

Dacca	...	1917
Bakharganj	...	1915
Faridpur	...	1916
Chittagong	...	1900
Jessore	...	1925

of growing income from land. But where the district was comparatively well-developed at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and rents were low, Sub-infeudation could not proceed far among the tenure-holders, but proceeded considerably downwards, creating under-raiyats of various grades. Thus in Jessore though Sub-infeudation above the grade of the raiyat is neither extensive nor complicated, it very often goes down to 2nd and 3rd grade, and sometimes as low as 7th or 8th grade below the raiyat.

Tenures are sometimes created by absentee or female co-sharers in favour of resident co-sharers in order to ensure a moderate competence from the property ; and petty tenures are also created to cover the homestead lands of men of the *Bhadralok* class.

In some cases permanent tenures were created for the reclamation of forest or waste land, such as the *haolas* in Bakharganj. Sometimes the creation of permanent tenures, at nominal rates simply covers the transfer of property, the method being adopted owing to the unwillingness of the land-holders to relinquish ostensible ownership entailed by sales.

Another way in which Sub-infeudation proceeds is that when estates are scattered, difficulties of management and control are sought to be remedied, by the acquisition of tenure-right in the intruding lands. In his Settlement report Mr. Ascoli says, that this method is very common in Dacca, and has been extensively employed by several landholders.

All these causes have enormously increased the number and variety of intermediate interests in land in Bengal, most of which are heritable, transferable and permanent. According to the Census of 1921, the increase in the number of the landlord class dependent on rent was 23 per cent. between 1901 and 1911 and 9 per cent. between 1911 and 1921. The increase in the population for the respective periods was 8·0 per cent. and 2·8 per cent. In both cases the increase in the landlord class has been something like three times as great as among

the population as a whole. The number of tenures assessed to cess as in the year ending 31st March, 1917 was 25, 75, 443; in the year ending 31st March, 1928, the number was 47,83,565.

Tenures of 3 or 4 grades are common all over Bengal, and in some places their number is very much greater. Thus in Bakharganj, according to the Settlement Reports, between the proprietor paying revenue to the Government and the cultivator who tills the soil, there are normally eight, often twelve and occasionally twenty grades of intermediary holders, each holding a definite and separate sublease of the land from the next higher in scale. To such an extent the process has been carried in Bakharganj, that the various intermediary interests in land are bought and sold like stocks and shares by purchasers and land-speculators who have no direct connection with the land.

Matters are further complicated by the fact that estates and tenures are ordinarily held on a coparcenary system. Each estate has several *hishyas* (shares); and each one of them is held jointly by several persons who own complicated shares in the different *hishyas*. With the growth of individualistic notions the joint-family system has broken up and with it the joint management of family property. But there is no cheap machinery of partition for tenures. These combined with the laws of succession, to bring about the aliquot interests in tenure, by which every owner treats his interests in the property as in every way an independent concern; but he does not claim any specific share of the land as his own, but claims an undivided share in the whole tenure and in every field in it. Sub-division of holdings is bad enough; but this system combines all the disadvantages of divided management, with the confusion of coparcenary ownership. The effects are particularly baneful because they go down to and involve the cultivators. It means all the trouble, loss and disadvantages, not only of separate collections and receipts, but of separate Nazar

Selami and Abwab. Mr. Jack estimates that in Bakharganj owing to the aliquot system, the cultivator's title is complex in one out of every four fields in the district.

As in the raiyati holdings, so also in case of estates and tenures, these are not held in compact blocks but are hopelessly scattered ; moreover they do not always cover separate lands, but various interests are interlaced in the same plot in a most bewildering manner. Illustrating the complicated nature of things in Dacca, Mr. Ascoli describes a typical Thana (Nawabganj), with an area of 127 square miles containing 260 villages, as follows : " Within these 260 villages, no fewer than 764 revenue-paying estates, and 65 revenue-free proprietors have been recorded, averaging 3·19 estates per village, with an average of .15 of a square mile for each estate. These small estates, are not, however, compact units, and the total number of entries of estates required, was no less than 2909 or 11·12 in each village. This does not however imply that each separate portion of an estate was as large as .04 of a square mile. In each village in which an estate appears, its land is distributed into several distinct blocks and *chacks*;..... in the thana under discussion, the number of *chacks* of an estate in each village would average about 4; this would reduce the average area of each specific portion of an estate to $\frac{1}{100}$ th of a square mile" ¹.

The tenures also suffer from the same evil ; to what absurdity things can be carried will be clear from an example from Mr. Jack's Bakharganj Settlement Report. " There are 57 different interests which co-exist in this single plot (No. 280 in village Mallik Doba) of which 8 are proprietary interests, 45 tenures, and 4 raiyati interests. The expression 'interest' is not meant to convey the idea of an individual person. In some interests there are 8 or 10 persons jointly concerned. On the other hand, the same person, or group of persons may recur in

¹ Report on Settlement Operations in Dacca, page 60.

different interests. When we examine the 57 interests, we find that 41 are purely rent-receiving, while 16 are in physical possession of the soil—an ordinary piece of paddy land measuring less than 2 acres. These 16 groups enjoy it jointly.. They have not partitioned the plot, but they have separate ploughs and conduct their cultivating independently. Each group takes a portion of the field and a periodical exchange is made..... Each of these groups receives a separate rent-receipt from his superior landlord, and is in every way treated as a separate tenant.”¹ Absurdity can hardly proceed any further.

II.

It will be seen that the average holding in Bengal has fallen far short of a subsistence holding, meaning thereby land necessary to keep a cultivating family in ordinary comfort and efficiency. In the Jessore Settlement Report, published in 1925, Mr. Momin has worked out a hypothetical budget of a representative agricultural family of five members—three adults and two children. In preparing it he has taken paddy consumed by an individual to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers per day, which is equivalent to three-quarters of a seer of husked rice, estimated by the Famine Commission to be the amount required to keep a member of the agricultural community physically fit ; and the price of paddy has been calculated at Rs. 2-14 per maund. In preparing the budget provision has been made for the absolute necessities of life only. Not only no allowance has been made for any kind of occasional luxuries such as is indulged in during the religious festivals, but nothing has been put down for medicine, winter clothing or primary education ; milk has been omitted because it is regarded as a luxury and no allowance has been made for fuel, because the Jessore cultivator does not buy any for his domestic use. The total amount calculated on such a basis comes up to Rs. 250-14 or Rs. 50-3 per head. That it does

¹. Bakharganj Settlement Report, Page 57.

not err on the side of leniency has been shown by comparison with the figures of the local jail, which spent in 1921, Rs. 68-3-0, on an average on the dietary of every convict and Rs. 12-5 for his clothing and bedding. Mr. Momin has calculated, that assuming that the land of a cultivator, is representative of the district, *i.e.*, distributed among the various crops in the same proportion as the whole area of the district, his net profit from cultivation would be Rs. 32 per gross acre. In this calculation, no allowance has been made for the risks of cultivation, whether due to fluctuation in prices or the uncertainties of weather conditions, the interest on capital applied at various stages, and the various kinds of abwabs and landlord's fees which have become a normal feature of our rural economy. In estimating the costs of production the earnings of management or the remuneration for the cultivators' own labour have not been included ; and this need not be done for our purposes. For under the present circumstances, without any alteranative source of employment, the cultivator cannot very well regard land as a separate agent of production, which must justify its employment by its net product, but must treat it as being mainly valuable because it affords him an opportunity for the employment of his labour and capital. We are concerned not with the amount of net profit from land as such, but with the question as to what the cultivator gets out of his land as employed together with his labour and the capital at his disposal. Even on this basis of an income of Rs. 32 per acre, it follows, that in Jessore a family in order to live according to the representative budget of Mr. Momin, must have 7·8 gross acres of land. The area of the average holding according to the Settlement Report is only two acres. But from the cultivator's point of view it is the unit of cultivation and not the holding that counts. The average gross area per head of agricultural population in Jessore is 1·5 acres, *i.e.*, 7·5 acres for an average family are barely sufficient for its existence. The average figures conceal the extreme poverty of those whose incomes are below even this low average. Mr. Momin has given the results of

investigation into the economic condition of 1,643 families comprising 10,019 persons, as follows :—

(1) In comfort	... 15	per cent.
(2) Below comfort	... 32	" "
(3) Above want	... 33	" "
(4) In want	... 20	" "

The third figure comprises those who live from hand to mouth, and the fourth those who are starving.

How far these conditions reflect those of the province as a whole may be judged from the following figures given by Mr. Thompson, in the Census of 1921 showing the comparative wealth of the cultivating classes in eleven districts for which statistics have been prepared by the Settlement Department. If every person in the cultivating classes in a district shared the gross produce of the soil equally, and the share of an individual in Midnapur is represented by 100, then the share of an average individual in other districts would be as follows :—

Bankura (Sadar Sub-division)	... 135·4
Noakhali (Main land)	... 139·5
Tippera	... 140·2
Mymensingh	... 142·3
Faridpur	... 142·6
Rajshahi	... 148·1
Dacca	... 148·8
Bakharganj	... 153·3
Nadia	... 171·2
Jessore	... 174·6

The estimate apparently is vitiated by the differences in the proportion of gross to net produce in the various districts ; and perhaps the relative prosperity of the Jessore cultivator has been over-estimated. But still, these figures represent a gloomy indicator ; it can hardly be doubted that land has been so sub-divided, and the pressure of population is so great that those who are dependent on it can hardly do more than eke out a miserable pittance out of it.

J. C. GHOSH.

(To be continued.)

MY DREAM

I had a dream the other night
 Of mystery divine,
I filled me full of awe and fright
 It permeated time !

I dreamed I wandered down a lane
 Into a garden fair,
The lawn was newly washed with rain
 The flowers were wondrous rare.

And then I saw amid wide beds
 A couple kneeling there,
They were peasant-folk and their bare heads
 Were bowed in earnest prayer.

'Twas twilight then, yet past the hour
 For Angelus devotion,
I stood beneath a shady bower
 Moved to reverent emotion.

I came upon them quietly
 And paused ere I did speak
To ask them why they piously
 Knelt in devotion deep.

They said, "Buddha shall come here soon—
 So watch—and pray—and wait
For in the skies, before the moon
 Appears, a light will break!"

I knelt beside this humble pair
 And fervently voiced contrition
And to our merciful Buddha there
 Asked, for my sin's remission.

Ere I had finished with my prayer
 A light of wide division
 Appeared in the sky now bright and clear
 And showed His Holy Vision !

I looked at Buddha's Blessed Head
 My heart was beating fast,
 "Lord Buddha"—was all I said
 He spoke to me at last

"Here are two tablets, and therein
 A record is of Thee
 One is a list of each vile sin
 Committed deliberately."

"The other tablet that I brought
 Records all good of thee
 Good deeds, prayers and pious thought
 Which greatly pleaseth me."

My eyes were blurred, I could not see
 The tears began to fall,
 As guilty a feeling came o'er me
 As ever I can recall.

The precious soul He gave to me
 To guard and carefully tend
 And return to Him completely free
 Of sin, at my life's end—

Was filled with stain of lowly sin
 I thoughtlessly committed
 I resolved to make amends to Him
 Then I, my life submitted.

Ere He did go, He spoke once more
 And kindly was His voice !

"Do good deeds to enter the door
 Of my Kingdom, and rejoice!"

HENRY V. JALASS

A RATIONAL VIEW OF COLERIDGE'S SUPERNATURALISM.

Both in technique and poetic expression, Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural is rather unique in English poetry. The fact that it comes from a purely literary circumstance in the life of the poet is generally overlooked and, even if mentioned, is disposed of as having no bearing on the question. Lowell described the supernaturalism of Coleridge as "marvellous in its mastery over that delightfully fortuitous inconsequence that is the adamantine logic of the dreamland." Walter Pater thought that this "delicately marvellous supernaturalism" had "the plausibility to reason and general aspect of life"; and many others think like this or slightly differently but such laudatory phrases in hyperbole lead us nowhere.

Some critics have stressed upon the influence of certain experiences of supernatural phenomena to Coleridge as a boy. With due allowance made for the idealising tendency with which Coleridge looks back on his childhood, the picture that stands out is of a remarkable boy, solitary, imaginative and precocious. He read "Jack the giant-killer" and "Robinson Crusoe" before he was six and "the Arabian Nights" a little later, which so excited his imagination that he was "haunted by spectres" whenever he "was in the dark." He says, "I became a dreamer and acquired an indisposition to all bodily activity." Apparently at the age of eight, he remembers to have listened to his father telling him about the wonders of the stars and the heavens "without the least mixture of wonder and incredulity." "For," he writes, "from my early reading of fairy tales and about genii and the like, my mind had been inhabited to the vast; and I never regarded my senses in any way as the *criteria* of my belief. I regulated all my creeds by my conceptions, not by my sight, even at that age." It is difficult to say how far the mind of this precocious poet was

really influenced by these boyhood's fanciful studies of folk-tales and romances ; we can only regard them as most unusual experiences for a boy to have had. We know for certain that later in life he outgrew all his childhood's ideas and fancies, which might have just lingered, if at all, somewhere in his subconscious mind. Coleridge as a mature man never really believed ghosts or supernatural spirits as capable of being perceived by the physical senses. On page 234 of his 'Anima Poetae,' he states explicitly : " I am no ghost-seer. I am no believer in apparitions. I do not contend for indescribable sensations, nor refer to, much less ground my convictions on, blind feelings of incommunicable experiences but far less contend against these superstitions in the mechanic sects." In another passage of the same book on page 235, he says, " During the years of ill-health..... . I saw a host of apparitions and heard them too—but I attributed them to an act in my brain. You, according to your own showing, see and hear nothing but apparitions in your brain and strangely attribute them to things that *are* outside your skill." So we may definitely take it that Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural had practically nothing to do with any conscious belief in supernatural agencies. Neither was it suggested to his mind by the studies and excursions into the literature of the supernatural that he had often made.

Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University in a very illuminating dissertation on 'The Eye in Coleridge'¹ points out that Coleridge was keenly interested in Friedrich Anton Mesmer's cult of hypnotic magnetism and attributes his supernaturalism to a considerable acquaintance with the contemporary notions of ocular hypnosis and animal magnetism. With numerous illustrations from 'The Ancient Mariner,' 'Christabel' and other poems, Mr. Cooper explains some of Coleridge's allusions to hypnotic fascination, hypnotic trances and sugger-

¹ See "Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of James Morgan Hart," published 1900.

tion to his power of '*fixing*' the eye. There is no doubt that Coleridge was quite interested in all kinds of study of animal magnetism and mediæval demonology, especially in his earlier years. He himself characterized "all such mysterious phenomena" as "facts of mind." He writes to Thelwall in 1796, "Metaphysics and poetry and 'facts of mind,' that is, accounts of all strange phantoms that ever possessed 'your Philosophy' are my darling studies." But it is very conjectural if Coleridge entered into any systematic study of ocular hypnotism or animal magnetism or how far such a study can be said to have materially influenced the type of supernaturalism that Coleridge had in mind.

The literary circumstance to which reference has been made at the very outset, is connected with the history of the origin and production of the "Lyrical Ballads" in 1798. In the fourteenth chapter of his "*Biographia Literaria*" Coleridge fully sets forth the ideas out of which the plan of the "Lyrical Ballads" first came. He and Wordsworth were to attempt in verse to make the romantic natural and the natural romantic. But the two poets would start from points diametrically opposite. The starting point of Coleridge was the supernatural. His main object was "to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for these shadows of imagination that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith," so that a new kind of supernaturalism—the creation of a new atmosphere, outside human and physical experience would be realized. "The excellence aimed at," Coleridge goes on, "was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions as would naturally accompany such situations," and these situations were to be real,—"real in this sense they may have been to every human being, who from whatever sense of delusion, has at any time believed himself under supernatural agency." Thus it is plain that the intellectual background of these abstract poetic principles is the real important factor

in Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural and his ideas of its function and uses. These intellectual theories far from being an alien and disturbing influence as in the case of Wordsworth, served as the real unifying and co-ordinating element in the art of Coleridge. To undertake to achieve this type of supernaturalism is, of course, not only difficult but requires an art and craftsmanship of the most superior order. It is not certainly easy to create in poetry the charm and plausibility of the supernatural with all the superb beauty of magic and wonder connected with it. From an examination of the materials and machinery of the supernatural with which Coleridge worked it will be possible for us to discover how far he was successful in his attempt and also the causes of his success or failure.

"The Ancient Mariner," "Christabel" and "Kubla Khan" are generally recognized as the best examples of Coleridge's use of the supernatural. The entire romantic machinery of the supernatural is handled in these poems with consummate skill. With many a delicate touch of suggestion, combined with a true psychological insight and simple humanity, Coleridge brings out all the elusive, shadowy phantom-like mysteries of an unseen world and all the mediaeval spell and haunting charm of romantic wonders. The "Ancient Mariner"¹ more than fulfils the author's purpose of inducing a "poetic theory" and of producing the desired supernaturalism. It is a triumphant application of a rare method to a strange theme. How is it achieved? How is the effect produced? What is the particular nature of the supernaturalism of the poem? Briefly speaking, the supernatural is achieved by the sheer vividness of imagery and landscape, by

¹ The origin of the composition of the "Ancient Mariner" is described by Wordsworth to Miss Fenwick : *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, London, 1850, pp. 107-108. A further reminiscence of Wordsworth was communicated by Rev. Alexander Dyce to Hartley Coleridge : Note to "Ancient Mariner": See the New Edition of Coleridge's Poems, 1859.

the terse vigour of descriptive phrases and the remarkable power of word-pictures and by the simple beauty of the old ballad with none of its extravagances and the preparation of the reader's mind for the reception of the incredible and the fantastic. Coleridge welds the story into an artistic whole with a sense of unerring propriety. We are made to move in a world of "unearthly weirdness" whose mystery and charm always remain unbroken by any inconsistency. We see the invisible and almost touch the intangible in a world, where the things that are too seldom "dreamt of in our philosophy" loom before our eyes. The story with its mediæval superstitions and irresponsible happenings is made actual and vital to our imagination by the faithful representation of natural phenomena and the simple humanity with which it is informed. Interwoven with the strange and recondite are the primal emotions of love, hate, pain, remorse and hope. "In the handling of a moral fantasy," Mr. Robertson says, "we have enshrined for us a harmony and variety of colors; a wealth of rightly felt and phrased impressions of the real inner and outer world." Industrious commentators have tried to trace features of the 'Ancient Mariner', to Shelvokee's 'Voyages,' 'Epistle' of Paulinius, Captain James's 'Strange and Dangerous Voyage' and various other sources. But for a type of work specifically characteristic of Coleridge's artistic employment of the supernatural, such conjectures are useless. To quote Professor Beers, the poem is nothing but "the baseless fabric of a vision," and also to quote the poet's own words to Allsop, "it cannot be imitated." For Wordsworth to have found fault with the poem, as evident from his patronizing note in the 1800 edition of 'Lyrical Ballads' only reveals his lack of conception of the supernatural and its function in poetry as understood by Coleridge. Wordsworth was fundamentally different from Coleridge in temperament and outlook. Wordsworth could produce and did produce the *supra-natural* in poetry but not the *super-natural*.

The history of the origin of "Kubla Khan"¹ and the circumstances of its production are too well-known. "Kubla Khan" was virtually composed in sleep or a sort of dream. It has just enough meaning to give it bodily thought. Professor Oliver Elton thinks that "in itself this famous piece is without flaw or beyond praise." "It seems to hover in the air like one of the island enchantments of Prospero," says Mr. Arthur Symons. Coleridge himself said: "All the images rose before me as *things* with a parallel production of the corresponding expressions." It is a pity that critics like Mr. Traill should have dismissed the poem as hardly more than a psychological curiosity. Also it is difficult to understand how critics like Charles D. Stewart should find in "Kubla Khan" so much as "the most comprehensive panorama of truth—the basic, everlasting truths of life—the organism of Truth itself." The poem, in fact, is nothing more or less than the simple, artistic, verbal realization of a poetic dream, visualized by the sheer imagination of a poet. The dream-faculty is expressed through a succession of gorgeous images—set to be-witching music, haunting and unforgettable. Professor Neilson's apposite remarks on the poem are worth quoting in full: "In Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' we have no wrestling with spiritual problems, no lofty solution of the problem of conduct found through brooding on the beauties of nature. Instead, a thousand impressions received from the senses, from records of Oriental travel, from numberless romantic tales, have been taken in by the author, dissolved as in a crucible by the fierce heat of his imagination and are poured forth in a molten stream of sensuous imagery, incalculable in its variety of suggestion, yet homogeneous, unified; and despite its fragmentary character, the ultimate expression of a whole romantic world." Those who take the poem to be incoherent may just have missed to follow the very simple transition between the stanzas. It

¹ See Coleridge's Note to the pamphlet publication of the poem in 1816 and also Lane's letter to Wordsworth, dated 26th April, 1816.

seemed to Charles Lamb that the witchcraft of 'Kubla Khan' would hardly "bear daylight." In fact, it has outlasted a century and may outlast many more.

The Quarterly Review (No. C. III, p. 29) commented on the supernatural in 'Christabel' thus: "The thing attempted is the most difficult of execution in the whole field of romance-witchery by daylight."¹ It has been suggested by a French critic, M. Brandl, that Coleridge borrowed the general situation of "Christabel" from Mrs. Radcliffe's "Romance of the Forest" and also a few details here and there from Burger's "Lenore," Monk Lewis' "Alonzo," Walpole's "Mysteries of Udolpho." But this question of indebtedness is quite immaterial when we remember that the supernaturalism of Coleridge is widely different from either of these writers. The difference is between the maker of horrors and the maker of horror. The superior art with which Coleridge excites the supernatural wonder and curiosity and produces the atmosphere of what Aristotle called the "illusion of higher reality" is totally absent in either Mrs. Radcliffe or Horace Walpole. Mr. Arthur Symons thinks that "Christabel" is "a piece of pure witchcraft needing no further explanation than its mere existence." George Brandes finds that "the chief merit of the poem, apart from its full-toned sweet melody, lies in the peculiar power with which the nature of the wicked fairy is presented to us, the *demonic* element which had never been present in such force in English Literature before." Coleridge has been very severely taken to task for not having been able to bring the poem to conclusion in the way he had first intended in 1797. No one was more conscious of his failure to complete the second part of the poem than Coleridge himself. In the 'Table Talk' of July 6, 1883, Coleridge confessed :

¹ For incidents relating to the production of "Christabel" (Parts I and II), see Gilman's "Life of Coleridge," pp. 281 and 301-303; Coleridge's letter of the 9th October, 1800 to Sir H. Davy; "Table Talk" of July 6, 1833, and Preface to the pamphlet-edition of the Poem in 1816, published by John Murray.

"The reason of my not finishing 'Christabel' is not that I don't know how to do it—for I have, as I always had, the whole plan entire from beginning to end in my mind; but I fear I could not carry on with equal success the execution of the idea, an extremely subtle and difficult one." Whatever may be the reason, too much opium or too much German metaphysics, Coleridge felt his inability to "lubricate" his "inventive faculty" and sincerely admitted it. This reminds us, curiously enough, of Friedrich Schlegel explaining the failure of his play 'Alacros' thus: "I should have taken more opium when I wrote it." As for Coleridge, he wanted to hear "*ad libitum*" some "fine music" to "harmonise" his "thoughts" and "animate" his imagination, but unfortunately his imagination in "Christabel" failed to sustain him, music or no music. Among his contemporaries, Jeffrey and Moore did not think very highly of the poem, although Scott and Byron admired it immensely. To Section XIX of his long poem "The Siege of Corinth" Byron appended a note in which he praised "the wild and singularly original and beautiful poem." Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" was modelled on the irregular and yet characteristically melodious metre of 'Christabel.'

There is no need to exaggerate the differences between Wordsworth and Coleridge regarding the problem of the supernatural in poetry. Mr. Emile Legouis has tried to show that Coleridge was successively trying to lure Wordsworth into the region of the fantastic. But the copious records of the incidents relating to the composition of the poems in 'The Lyrical Ballads' hardly seem to point to such a conclusion. Both Coleridge and Wordsworth, from the very beginning of their collaborated works, were perfectly aware of their respective differences in method, treatment and ideas. Referring to the origins of the composition of the "Ancient Mariner," Wordsworth said: "Our respective manners proved so widely different that it would have been quite presumptuous in me to

do anything but separate from an undertaking upon which I could only have been a clog." (Prefatory note to 'We are Seven.') But the harm had already been done. Coleridge could not help introducing in the poem the moral and earthly notion of the expiation of sin, which Wordsworth had already suggested to him. Coleridge, however, came to regret later having agreed to introduce the moral. "It ought to have had no moral," said Coleridge in reply to Mrs. Barbauld's criticism in 1800, "than the 'Arabian Nights' tale of the merchant's sitting down to eat dates by the side of a well and throwing the shells aside and lo! a genie starts up and says he *must* kill the aforesaid merchant *because* one of the date shells had, it seems, put out the eye of the genie's son." Coleridge's reply seems humorous enough; he is evidently insisting on that pure beauty which the sheer supernatural effects can produce in poetry. In his own day, some complained that the ballad was too fantastic, others deplored that it had very little practical moral. In any case we would have been perfectly willing to exonerate Coleridge from the absence of any kind of moral whatsoever. As it is the effect of the moral tag at the end of the poem is not too preponderant. The working of the central idea in the poem has not been fundamentally affected and its artistic beauty is quite in keeping with the supernatural effect which Coleridge wanted to create. Modern criticism does not tolerate the carrying on of any poetic theme, natural or supernatural, into the field of merely ethical values. We know that it was Wordsworth who was constantly persuading Coleridge to *explain* and to trace the cause and effect of the supernatural results. Unable to discover any real "semblance of reason" or "probability" in the poem, Wordsworth declared, in an attitude of extreme coldness, quite surprising in a friend and co-worker, that the 'Ancient Mariner' was mainly responsible for the failure of 'the Lyrical Ballads.' Coleridge also could not help lamenting to Hazlitt that "Wordsworth was not prone enough to believe in the traditional superstitions of the place, and that

there was something corporeal, a matter-of-factness, a clinging to the palpable, and often to the petty, in his poetry in consequence. His genius was not a spirit that descended to him through the air ; it sprang out of the ground like a flower, or unfolded itself from a green spray, in which the goldfinch sang.”

The influence of Coleridgean supernaturalism is traceable in Scott, Byron, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites not only in the general pattern and tone of their stories but in many a single line and passage. Thomas Moore’s ‘Lalla Rookh’ and Robert Southey’s ‘The Curse of Kehama’ partly owe their inspiration to the oriental supernaturalism of ‘Kubla Khan.’ Some time ago the late Mr. George Brandes made a very interesting comparative study of ‘The Ancient Mariner’ and a poem in German entitled ‘Der Camao,’ written by an Austrian lyric poet, Mortiz Hartmann. He finds close resemblances between the two both in metrical form and poetic theme. “The comparison assists us,” Mr. Brandes adds, “to a clear understanding of the difference between a true poetical conception of the superstitious idea and a romantic treatment of it.” The type of romantic poetry which Coleridge inaugurated by his artistic handling of the supernatural has lately been systematized and standardized by theorists like Maeterlinck, Mallarmé and other French symbolists and by some of the modern Irish poets like A.E. and William Butler Yeats.

In the magic heights on which Coleridge trod in ‘Christabel,’ into fairy enchanted seas in which he sailed in ‘The Ancient Mariner,’ into the land of shadows where he dreamt of ‘Kubla Khan,’ Coleridge never again found himself. Yet, he might say with his ‘Ancient Mariner :—

“We were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.”

"WHEN ALL WAS DARK"

Step by step they cautiously groped their way through the impenetrable darkness. The young woman by his side gripped his hand and he retaliated assuredly. Suddenly they halted. Before their eyes a flickering light revealed a spectacle of dreadful horror. Why had they ventured out on such a quest? For a moment her thoughts turned to the comforting fire they had left at home.

"Let's go back," she whispered hysterically.

The man by her side was headstrong and laughed at her fears.

"I want to go home," again protested the girl.

He refused to heed her protestation. He had paid for their admission and they must have their due. Better thoughts surged through her brain as motionless she gazed as if hypnotized at the terrible feature before her. Suddenly a horrible dread took possession of her. Would this be the end? Surely the man who loved her wouldn't leave her to die like this. No! no! it couldn't be, and, as the maddening thought hammered itself into her brain, she stumbled blindly forward. As she did so she grasped the man's arm for support.

He shuddered and closed his eyes to blot out the dreadful vision dancing before them.

"Oh John, they are going to kill her," whispered the girl.

He opened his eyes and the tragedy enacted before him struck a paralysing terror into his very fibres. Would nothing save her? He dared not contemplate the next move. If he had known that they were going to witness such a spectacle as this he would never have brought her. Gazing with lips apart like a frightened child he saw a bearded giant brandishing an ugly-looking knife as if about to strike the beautiful young woman lying bound and gagged upon a crude wooden bench.

The girl by his side gave a smothered scream. He too, shuddered. It was hopeless now. Nothing could save the unfortunate woman before them. The end was inevitable.

Then, as if Heaven has heard her prayer, a huge grotesque shadow appeared and, as they stared, it shaped itself into the form of half wolf, half dog. The helpless woman's expression changed from petrified terror to that of hope. With one bound the animal sprang forward landing fairly and squarely upon the giant's shoulders. The watchers gasped and, as the giant stumbled, the knife fell to the ground.

The woman on the bench struggling for freedom managed to clutch the knife and severing the cords which bound her staggered to her feet. Calling the Alsatian with a fleeting glance at the stunned giant, she hurried away, the dog bounding after her wagging his tail with sheer delight.

The man and woman watching both gave sighs of intense relief and he in his joy drew her fondly towards him.

The first reel of the great Serial had finished.

CLIFFORD STANLEY DEALL.

ORIGINAL NATURE OF JĀTAKAS

The main object of this article is to prove that, bereft of the Bodhisatta idea, a Jātaka originally consisted of a verse or verses embodying in a concise form a past episode, generally with a moral understood with the help of a prose narration which for the most part remained implicit rather than explicit, changing according to circumstances ; and that all the Jātakas mentioned in connection with the seven Buddhas, *viz.*, Gotama and his six predecessors from Vipassi to Kassapa, were of this type.

While setting forth the notable incidents common to the lives of all Buddhas, the Mahāpadāna Suttanta of the Dīghanikāya (P.T.S. Vol. II, pp. 2-7) mentions only the seven Buddhas referred to above and gives particulars as to the caste, family, age, the tree of Wisdom, the noble pair of disciples, the strength of the Saṅgha, the personal attendant and parents with the kingdom and capital belonging to each, but nowhere does it mention the Bodhisatta of Gotama serving his term of pre-Buddha period under his six predecessors, a fact so strongly presented in the Buddhavamsa as being indispensable to the evolution of his Buddhahood.

This is a clear proof of the fact that the Bodhisatta theory is not only incompatible with the seven Buddhas but was altogether unknown in connection with their recognition and the homage which people still paid to their memory, so elaborately and beautifully depicted in the sculptures of the Bhārhut and Sanchi Stūpas.

The Jātakas found on these stūpas, therefore, must, of necessity, be devoid of the Bodhisatta idea being only illustrations of morals taught by the Buddha.

The question which now arises is whether this statement is corroborated by existing Buddhist literature which retains the use of Jātakas as primarily illustrative of morals only. In our attempt to show this, we need not go very far; for, such Jātakas have been found to exist in the Pali literature itself being in the commentary on the Dhammapada which is almost contemporary with the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (i.e., Fausböll's Jātaka collection) making an exclusive use of the Jātakas as previous birth-stories of the Buddha fulfilling his 'pāramitā' virtues.

It may be definitely stated that even when the Bodhisatta idea was rampant in the 5th century A.D., the compiler of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā has many a time referred to the Jātakas in his monumental work certainly not for exhibiting the career of the Bodhisatta which he has acknowledged indirectly, but for illustrating the morals of Dhammapada verses, especially of those bearing on the theory of Karma. It is interesting to note, that while in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, the Jātaka stories were being exclusively manipulated for illustrating the previous births of Gotama Buddha as a Bodhisatta, there grew up side by side in Ceylon another commentarial work known as 'Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā,' equally if not more reliable, making use of the same Jātakas for altogether a different purpose.

The author¹ of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, whoever he might be, was undoubtedly a very powerful writer and the mode of his presentation of the Jātakas in his work, apart from testifying to his integrity of purpose in reproducing them faithfully, differs widely and fundamentally from that of the 'Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā,' and brings out in clear relief the original nature of them in respect of their form and ideal, hitherto remaining inexplicable. As a matter of fact, the Jātakas of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā prove with the greatest degree of certainty that 'Santikenidāna' in other words 'paccuppanna vattu,' 'Veyyākaraṇa and 'Samodhāna' were never considered as parts

¹ The authorship is generally ascribed to Buddhaghosa by indigenous writers.

inseparable from an original Jātaka and that the Jātaka stories of inferior quality were not associated with the Bodhisatta whose introduction into them in the Jātaka-Atṭhakathā takes away much of their original simplicity and beauty minimising at the same time the historical importance of the prose narration.

We shall now verify our statements by quotations from the former work (the Dhammapada Atṭhakathā), which edited from various MSS. by the late Mr. H. C. Norman and published by the Pāli Text Society of London, is now available complete in four volumes, volume one having two parts. More than fifty-four Jātakas, the titles of which are mostly wanting, have been cited in this work in four or five different ways, the study of which alone is calculated to bring to light the truth about their real nature and to this we shall presently turn.

Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., in his article on 'Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary' (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1928, March) has expressed his opinion as to the original form of Jātakas basing his argument on the statements from Jātaka Atṭhakathā, in the following words :— "Not one, but several literary types are represented in the Jātaka collection. There are some Jatakas which were prose stories with only one or two or a few verses containing either the moral or the gist of the tale. In these cases it is likely enough that the commentary has preserved more or less of the old prose stories. Another type of Jātakas is that of 'Campū' in which the story itself is related alternately in prose and verse, in which case the commentary is often an expansion of the original prose text. But there are other Jātakas which originally consisted of Gāthās only : some of them, ballads in dialogue form, others ballads in a mixture of dialogue-verses and narrative stanzas, others again epics or fragments, and some even mere strings of moral maxims on some topic. In all these cases the entire prose belongs to the commentary."

To this very important finding we are now going to add further evidence from the Dhammapada Atṭhākathā which

will undoubtedly throw fresh light on the subject. The presentation of Jātakas in this work has been made in the following different ways :—

1. When the Teacher moralizes on an occasion and refers to a well known Jātaka by name, he points out the title only which in Pāli, is expressed by ‘Jātakam katheti’ as in the following :—

(a) “Bhikkhave bhaṇḍanakalahaviggahavivādā nām’ ete anatthakārakā. Kalahaṇi nissāya hi laṭukikūpi sakunikā hatthināgam jivitakkhayāṇ pāpesi Laṭukika Jātakam kathetva Bhikkhave samaggā hotha mā vivadatha, vivādaiṇ nissāya hi anekasahassavaṭṭakā jivitakkhayāṇ pattā ti Vaṭṭaka Jātakam kathesi”—(Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 55).

(b) “Satthā āma Viśākhe pāpikā va esā surā nāma, etaṁ hi nissāya aneke sattā auayavgaśanaiṇ pattā ti vatvā ‘kaṭṭa pan’ esā bhante uppānā’ ti vutte, tassā uppattiṇi vittharena kathetuṇi atītam āharitvā Kumbha-Jātakam kathesi ti”—(Vol. III, p. 103).

(c) “na bhikkhave idān’ eva puble pi mayham nātisamāgame pokkhāravassaiṇ vassi yeva’ ti vatvā Vessantara Jātakam kathesi”—(Vol. III, pp. 163-64).

(d) “na bhikkhave idān’ eva pubbe pi Devadatto nānappakārena mayham vadhanāya parisakkati ti vatvā Kuruñgamiga jātakādīni kāthetvā ...”—(Vol. III, p. 152).

The examples quoted above will clearly show that the expression ‘Jātakam katheti’ in the work is equivalent to simple reference to a Jātaka by name only, for drawing a moral and the story in which the past life of the Teacher may or may not be implicated, is not reproduced at all.

2. In the next place we shall see what is denoted by the expression ‘idam Jātakam katheti’ as against ‘Jātakam katheti’ in the above. The following will serve as examples :—

(a) “na bhikkhave idān’ eva ti vatvā sabbajanassa appiye cande pharuse Bārāṇasiyaṇi Piṅgalarāje nāma mate mahājanassatutthabhāṇiṇ dipetum—

Sabbo jano himsito Piṅgalena
tasmiṇi mate paccayāṇi vedayanti
piyo-nu te āsi akaṇanetto
kasmā tuvāṇi rodasi dvārapāla :

Ekanipāte imam̄ Vātamigajātakam vitthāretvā' tadā Sundarasamuddo vātamigo ahosi, imam̄ pana gātham̄ vātvā tassa vissajjāpetā rañño mahā-macco aham evā ti jātakam̄ somodhānesi—(Vol. IV, pp. 198-99).

Other instances of ‘Vitthāra, Jātakas’ in the work are :—

Uraṅga Jātaka (Vol III, p. 277); Babbu Jātaka (Vol. II, p. 152); Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 181); Akālarāvi Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 143); Nigrodha Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 148); Culladhanuggaha Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 67); Sūkara Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 347), etc., etc.

Thus it will be evident from the above examples that the addition of the word ‘vitthāra’ or expansion is found in every case whereverver a Jātaka in verse is augmented by a note of identification or by a further moralisation following it, in which the past life of the Teacher may or may not be involved. The force of ‘idam̄’ or ‘imam̄’ coming as it does immediately after the verse or verses together with ‘vitthāreti’ preceding the identification, makes the conclusion inevitable that ordinarily Jātakas existed in verses and that the portion dealing with identification was added afterwards showing ‘atīta’ or previous lives not only of the Teacher in connection with his followers, but also of other people independently of him with the main object of popularising the theory of Karma affecting man’s life. Devoid of the ‘vitthāram̄’ or the expansion in the shape of identification, a Jātaka was thus originally made up of a verse or verses embodying a past story with a simple moral.

4. In the fourth place we shall see that the prose narration without the aid of which the verse or verses of a Jātaka were unintelligible and which therefore, must have followed it from the very beginning was subject to variation. The prose narration or the ‘athuppatti’ (lit. interpretation) as it is called (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 285) also known as ‘atitavatthu’ (Vol. I,

Pt. II, p. 254) is found attached to several Jātakas mentioned in our work. They are as follows :—

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) Hatthināga Jātaka (Title not given) | Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 80-82. |
| (2) Kappaṭaka Jātaka | Do. Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 123-25. |
| (3) Kesava Jātaka | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 342-45. |
| (4) Cullasetṭhi Jātaka | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 250-54. |
| (5) Kuddalapandita Jātaka | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 311-13. |
| (6) Suva Jātaka | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 284-85. |
| (7) Kuṭidusaka Jātaka | Do. Vol. II, pp. 22-23. |
| (8) Mahimsāsakamāra Jātaka | Do. Vol. III, pp. 73-77. |
| (9) Somadatta Jātaka | Do. Vol. III, pp. 124-26. |
| (10) Godharājā Jātaka | Do. Vol. IV, pp. 154-56. |
| (11) Kurudhamma Jātaka | Do. Vol. IV, pp. 88-89. |
| (12) Bahubhāni Jātaka (Title given) | Vol. IV, pp. 91-92. |

In the last case the prose narration is clearly separated from the Jātaka proper or the verse portion and the title of the Jātaka is mentioned which however is at variance with the corresponding title in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā.

In every case the prose narration of these Jātakas is called a story of the past or ‘atītam’ with which word it begins and ends serving the purpose of some ‘dhammadesanā’ or moral instruction.¹

In the case of ‘Suva Jātaka’ No. (6) in the above, it is definitely suggested that the atthuppatti was subject to change while the Jātaka proper or the verse Jātakā and the concluding part of the ‘atthuppatti’ remained the same as in the ‘dasanipāta’ of the original. After mentioning only a single verse out of the ten constituting the Jātaka proper our author sums up the prose portion thus :—

“ Sabbam Jātakam dasanipāte āgatanayen’ eva vitthāretabbam
atthuppatti yeva hi tattha ca idha ca nānā sesam tādisam eva ”—(Vol I
P II pp. 284-85).

¹ ‘Atītam āhari’ and ‘āharitvā Jātakam Samodhānesi seems to be the characteristic of this group.

The expression of such an opinion on the part of an eminent Buddhist scholar who was apparently relying upon a Jātaka Atthakatha different from that of Fausböll's edition, renders the whole collection of such narrative parts of doubtful historical value if not altogether unacceptable. The position will be more clear upon a comparison of the narrative parts of the Jātakas in Dhammapada Atthakathā with the corresponding narratives of Fausböll's Jātaka collection. The prose portion therefore, has to be accepted with a degree of reservation. Descriptions unwarranted by the verse Jātakas should be subjected to careful scrutiny before they are accepted as pieces of historical evidence on the conditions of ancient India.

Another important feature of these Jātakas with 'atthupatti's, is that they invariably have the word 'Samodhāna' in the expression 'Jātakam samodhāneti' towards the end ; and the meaning of 'samodhāna' as will appear from 'Kurudhammad Jātaka' No. (11) in the above, is 'proper understanding in a particular light.'¹

The additional note in the form of a verse attached to this Jātaka clearly stating ' evam dhāretha Jātakam ' for ' Samodhānam ' leaves no doubt as to the fact that originally ' Samodhāna ' as a forced interpretation formed no part of a Jātaka and is to be looked upon as a later accretion.

The narrative parts of all these Jātakas except those that refer to the Bodhisatta, are perfectly free from any sort of reference to any previous birth of the Teacher and individually constitute an independent story of the past.

5. In the fifth place, we shall see that the prose part alone was not considered as Jātaka proper. The strongest proof of this is afforded by the absence of the expression ' Jātakam samodhāneti ' or the word ' Jātaka ' from such prose portions

¹ Samodhāna = sam (proper) + avadhāna (understanding).

as are given shorn of the Jātaka verses. The following are the examples :—

- (1) Duggatagahapati Jātaka—Vol. IV, p. 55.
- (2) Saṅkha Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 448.
- (3) Aggamahesi Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 297.
- (4) Udda Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 141.
- (5) Paccekabuddha Jātaka —Vol. I P II, pp. 224-25.
- (6) Tagarasikhi Jātaka —Vol. IV, pp. 77-78.
- (7) Sālika Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 33.

The titles are of our own making and could not be found in the text. They are invariably called ‘Atītas’ and in Nos. 6 and 5 of the above, the ‘atīta’ is denoted by ‘Bhutapubbam’ and ‘Pubbakammaṇi’ respectively. To this class of Jātakas, if we are to call them Jātakas at all, also belong those that have been traced in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas, all having the characteristic of ‘Bhutapubbam’ going before them but not the expression ‘Jātakam samodhāneti’ towards the end.

Thus a Jātaka, as understood by the author of the Dhammapada Commentary, consisted of a verse or verses embodying a past episode with a narrative varying according to circumstances. We shall next discuss the ideal or the functions of Jātakas.

The connotation of the term ‘Jātaka’ as retained in Hindu Astrology appears to be the astrological calculation of a nativity, probably derived from still earlier application of the word meaning simply nativity or the fact of being born, in which sense it has been found in various works such as Bhāgavat Purāna ; Br̥hat Jātaka, Kathāsaritsāgara, Rājatarangini, etc., (*vide* Sir Monier-William’s ‘A Sanskrit English Dictionary,’ p. 418). In other words, the life-story of a being as calculated at its birth, or simply, its life-story may be looked upon as its Jātaka which curiously enough, exactly fits in with the sense conveyed by each verse Jātaka if we deduct from it the portions

dealing with 'Samodhāna' and 'Veyyākarana,' i.e., its 'vītthāra' parts. The 'pacuppanna vatthu' as forming no part of a Jātaka has never been placed in our work under it as has been done in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā edited by Fausböhl.

From the popularity which the word Jātaka enjoyed and the fact, that Buddhism never coined any new word as a vehicle of its especial message but used old words with new interpretations, it may not be altogether amiss to state, that in pre-Buddhistic days 'Jātakas' were verses of various types dwelling on the lives of human beings and of animals of bygone ages preserved in memory by the people. The Buddhists took over these versified stories and from the time of the Buddha onwards have manipulated them in diverse ways making themselves solely responsible for their preservation up till now.

From 'Culla Niddesa,' a very old commentary on the 'Parāyana Vagga' of 'Sutta Nipāta,' dating as early as 1st or 2nd century B.C., we come to learn that the number of 'Jātakas' as known at the time, was five hundred only and that they were stories of the previous births of the Teacher as also of other people, utilised for giving moral instructions put into the mouth of the Teacher himself.

" Bhagavā pañca jātakasatāni bhāsanto attano ca paresam ca atītam ādisati "—(Culla Niddesa, p. 80).

But upon a close examination when it is found that these births have each a 'nāma' and a 'gotta,' we find it indeed, difficult to include the animal births of the Jataka-collection in them.

" Bhagavā attano atitam ekepi pi jātim ādisati, dve pi jātiyo, etc. Amutra āśim evam nāmo evam gotto evam vāṇṇo, etc."

" Bhagavā paresam atitam ekam pi jātim adisati dve pi jatiyo, etc., same as above"—(P. T. S. Culla Niddesa, p. 79).

The Bodhisatta idea in Jātakas maintaining that they are in a progressive order beginning from the birth of Sumedha

Brāhmaṇa to that of Gotama Buddha,¹ is completely absent. And if we accept all these five hundred births as human births only, indicated by the legends of the Buddha Vipassi, Mahā Sudassana, Mahā Govinda, and Maghādeva, cited as examples therein, we need not have any difficulty in finding out the required number as the ‘atita’ story given on page 319, Com. Vol. III alone supplies $500 \times 3 = 1500$ human births of the Teacher himself (*cf.* F. Vol. I, pp. 308-10).

With the introduction of the Bodhisatta theory along with that of the ‘pāramitā’s, perhaps borrowed from Mahāyāna doctrine, the Jātaka collection of old assumed altogether a different aspect in new Buddhism. Stories of notable animals hence-forward received recognition as previous birth stories of the Teacher and of his disciples.

We have already remarked in a previous article (Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light²) that these Jātaka stories were utilised in the Buddhavāmsa and Cariyā-piṭaka in better forms and with higher morals than their originals, to show the training period of the Bodhisatta and that they were not called Jātakas but *cariyas* though they included animal births. In the ‘Milinda’ the Jātaka stories also not called Jātakas, were similarly manipulated to show the high moral conduct of the Bodhisatta especially in relation to the opposite tendency of his antagonist Devadatta in their previous births, including animal births to a greater extent. But, at any rate, any and every story of the Jātaka collection was not regarded as a Bodhisatta Jātaka, which as a rule, was only applicable to the case of those with very high morals as befitting the career of a would-be Buddha. The forced usage of every Jātaka as a Bodhisatta Jātaka in the

¹ “Dipakarapādamūlasmin hi katābhinhārassa Mahāsattassa yāva Vessantara attabhāvā cavitva Tusitapure nibbatti tāva pavatto kathāmaggo Dūrenidānam nāma.”

“Apapnākādini purā jātakani Mabesinā
Yāni yesu ciram Satthā lokanittarāṇatthiko
anante bodhisambhāre paripācesi nāyako.”

—Nidānakathā, F. Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

² *The Calcutta Review*, August, 1928.

Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā of the 5th century A.D. in Ceylon, has to a great extent deteriorated the original simplicity and therefore the historical importance of these stories as will be evident from a comparision of the identical stories with or without the Bodhisatta as found in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā and Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā respectively.

From examples already quoted, it will be found that the Jātakas of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā group themselves into five separate classes representing different stages of development according as they illustrate (1) only morals, (2) the previous careers of people other than the Teacher, (3) the previous career of his disciples in connection with which his own past life is slightly touched, (4) the previous career of the Teacher as the hero of a story, and (5) the exalted life of the Bodhisatta.

Class (A) :—The following ' Jātakas ' having no bearing on the previous life of any one connected with the occasion, illustrate only morals :—

(1) and (2) Latukikā Jātaka and Vaṭṭaka Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 55) in which it is pointed out that ' united we stand, divided we fall.'

(3) Upasālhaka Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 98-99) showing that there is no place free from death.

(4) Vālodaka Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 155-56) inculcating that wise men are never moved by the ups and downs of life.

(5) Mandhātu Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 240) showing that there is no contentment in sensual enjoyment.

(6) Uraga Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 271) illustrating that the wise are not affected by the removal from their midst of their dearest relations through death, a condition which is inevitable.

And (7) Mātuposakanāgarājā Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 13) points out that serving parents was an ancient virtue.

Class (B) :—The Jātakas of this class, in addition to serving as moral lessons, were each spoken with reference to the past story of a character or characters other than the Teacher determining their present characters and may be looked upon as

illustrations of the doctrine of Karma affecting all creatures. They are the following :—

- (1) Piṅgala Jātaka spoken with reference to Devadatta's cruelty (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 149-50).
- (2) Ubhatobhāṭṭha Jātaka spoken with reference to Devadatta's loss of support (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 146), cf. F. Vol. I, pp. 482-83).
- (3) Kuṭidusaka Jātaka with regard to the conduct of Mahākassapa and of his two disciples in a previous birth (Vol. II, pp. 22-23).
- (4) Tundila Jātaka spoken with reference to the previous lives of a group of bhikkhus who became arahats upon hearing a sermon (Vol. II, pp. 32-33).
- (5) Alinacitta Jātaka spoken regarding the previous lives of Rādhathera and Sāriputta (Vol. II, p. 106).
- (6) Sālika Jātaka spoken with reference to the past life of a fowler in relation to a 'bhikkhu' (Vol. III, p. 33).
- (7) Kumbha Jātaka spoken regarding the conduct of drunken girls in the presence of the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 103).
- (8) Udda Jātaka spoken with reference to the previous conduct of Upananda Sākyaputta and of two monks quarrelling over the possession of a valuable blanket and two upper-robés (Vol. III, p. 141).
- (9) Parosahassa Jātaka spoken regarding the eloquence of Sāriputta in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 230).
- (10) Nataitthi Jātaka explaining the previous life of Rohini, a sister of Thera Sāriputta (Vol. III, p. 297).
- (11) Sūkara Jātaka spoken with reference to the conduct of Sāriputta towards Luḍḍayi in a previous birth (Vol. III, pp. 346-47).
- (12) Katāhaka Jātaka spoken regarding the previous life of the monk Tissadahara (Vol. III, pp. 358-59).
- (13) Kāka Jātaka spoken with reference to the conduct of several bhikkhus at the death of a female lay disciple who had served them well when alive (Vol. III, p. 423).

(14) Bahubhāni Jātaka spoken in illustration of the past life of the talkative Kokālika bhikkhu (Vol. IV, pp. 91-92).

(15) Mahilāmukha Jātaka, containing the story of an elephant illustrating the frivolous nature of a certain monk in a past existence (Vol. IV, pp. 96-97).

The principal characteristic of these jātakas is that they are perfectly free from any reference to the previous life of the Teacher or to any career of the Bodhisatta. The fact, that without a past life of the Teacher or the Bodhisatta these stories were recognised as 'Jātakas,' is sufficient to establish the contention that originally they were fables serving as moral lessons for mankind. In the second stage, i.e., in the time of the Buddha, they were used both for moral lessons and for illustrating the doctrine of Karma forming the back-bone of his religion with reference to particular people.

Class (C):—Our next class of Jātakas will be those as are given in contracted forms in verse with a view to illustrating other peoples' conduct in connection with which the past life of the Teacher is only implied and is not expressly mentioned. They are:—

(1) Lakkhana Jātaka spoken regarding Sāriputta as a son of the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 143-44)—*cf.* F. I, p. 144).

(2) Viraka Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's imitation of the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 144)—*cf.* F. II, p. 150.

(3) Garula Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 144)—*cf.* F. II, p. 163.

(4) Virocana Jātaka Do (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145)
—*cf.* F. I, p. 490.

(5) Kuruñgamiga Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's attempt to murder the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145)—*cf.* F. I, p. 173.

(6) Javasakuna Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's ungratefulness in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145).

(7) Kāñhausabha Jātaka spoken with regard to the inability of other people to bear the burden of the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 212-13).

(8) Nandivisāla Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. III, pp. 212-13).

(9) Kunḍakasindhavapotaka Jātaka spoken with reference to the Teacher's accepting from Puṇṇā a meal consisting of cakes in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 325).

(10) 'Yathā nadi ca pantho' Jātaka (*cf.* Anabhirati Jātaka of F. I, p. 301) spoken with reference to the inconsistent nature of women as explained by the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 349).

(11) Simple reference to Vessantara Jātaka in prose illustrating a particular miraculous power of the Teacher while he was born as prince Vessantara in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 164).

These Jātakas, all of which excepting No. 11, are given in verse, present the Teacher in an additional note attached to each, in a form less prominent than his associates the depicting of whose characters appears to be the main object of the author. In them the character of the Teacher as expressed in prose undoubtedly serves as the background to the forefront of which his satellites are made to appear in deeper colour than himself. The mention of 'idam' or 'imam' or 'ādi' Jātaka immediately after the verse of each having practically no reference to the previous life of the Teacher or the Bodhisatta, further corroborates the fact of the existence of Jātakas in verse embodying independent stories.

Class (D) :—In this group will be placed such Jātakas as contain in the 'vitthāra' or Samodhāna parts of each the identification of the principal hero with the Teacher in a past existence but having in the narrative part, wherever it is found, no reference to him at all neither he is called the Bodhisattva in the Samodhāna. These are :—

(1) Kappaṭa Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 123-25); (2) Rukkha-

devatā Jātaka (Vol. II, pp. 14-19) ; (3) Babbu Jātaka (Vol. II, p. 152) ; (4) Akālarāvikuṇḍa Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 143) ; (5) Nigrodha Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 148) ; (6) Varanakatthabhañja Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 409) ; (7) Saṅkha Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 445-48) ; (8) Culladhanuggha Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 66-67) ; (9) Godharājā Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 154-56) ; (10) Vātamiga Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 198-99) ; (11) Cullasetṭhi Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 250-54) ; (12) Suva Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 284-85) ; (13) Kuddalapaṇḍita Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 311-13) ; (14) Kesava Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 342-45) and (15) Somadatta Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 124-25).

The narrative parts of these Jātakas having no mention of the Teacher constitute independent stories and the identification which occurs in the Samodhāna parts, apparently seems to be the result of an after-thought.

The 'Samodhāna,' the narrative part of which is not given, of the verse Jātaka mentioned on page 319, Vol. III, contains reference to $500 \times 3 = 1500$ births of the teacher as a member of the same family standing in close relation to a certain Brahmin and his wife living in Sāketa and is in agreement with the account of the same Jātaka (Sāketa Jātaka, F. I, pp. 308-10) in Jātaka Atṭhakathā.

The separate arrangement of these Jātakas as distinguished from the list of Bodhisatta Jātakas containing the Bodhisatta in their narrative parts to be given next, will no doubt testify to the fact that even in the 5th century A. D. the Bodhisatta idea in every birth story, be it of the Teacher in a different capacity, had not commended itself to the talents of the great scholars of Ceylon. As a matter of fact, the ideal of the Bodhisatta, as will be evident from the Bodhisatta Jātakas coming next, appears to be much higher than that of an ordinary Jātaka of the Teacher. The Bodhisatta Jātakas invariably contain each a very lofty moral and their percentage in the list of the Jātakas in our work is very small being 11 % per cent. or 6 in 54. Therefore, in the opinion of the author of the

Dhammapada Atthakathā, it seemed that the Bodhisatta existence of the Teacher was of a far nobler type than his ordinary existence in a previous birth.

Class (E) :—This group includes only the Bodhisatta Jātakas with a short note on the moral contained in each :—

(1) Hatthināga Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 80-82) in which the Bodhisatta then born as the leader of a herd of elephants forgives his deadliest foe out of regard for the yellow robe which he had on.

(2) Devadhamma Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 73-77) in which the Bodhisatta then born as Mahimsāsaka kumāra saves the lives of his two younger brothers from the wrath of a mighty Yakkha by instructing him in the 'Devadhamna' or the religion of gods.

(3) Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Vol. III, pp. 181-82) in which the Bodhisatta born as a prince, rejected the immoral proposal of his step-mother, at whose instigation he was ordered by his father to be thrown down from a precipice and was rescued by a Nāga king receiving him on his broad hood.

(4) Duggatagahapati Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 54-55). In this birth the Bodhisatta born as a poor Brahmin yearned for cultivating 'jhāna' and 'abhiññā' in a forest and stepped out of his home leaving his young child and wife asleep at night.

(5) Kurudhamma Jātaka (Vol. IV, pp. 8-89). The Bodhisatta born as a righteous monarch observed in this existence, the 'Kurudhamma' or the practice of the five precepts and by his example and gifts especially of a white elephant, saved the kingdom of Kalinga from drought and famine.

(6) Khadirangāra Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 447). It is emphasised in this Jātaka that the Bodhisatta birth of the Teacher causing lotuses to rise from a heap of ashes, was equally wonderful and dignified.

Thus, in the afore-mentioned groups we have successfully traced the manipulation of Jātakas as an exponent of

Buddhism in several stages. It is now clear that the Bodhisatta idea was not an inherent feature of the original Jātakas. Moreover, the fact, that they were utilised in more developed forms when associated with the Teacher, in early Nikāyas, as 'Suttantas' or 'Bhutapubbas' or 'Apadānas,' in 'Cariyapitaka,' as 'cariya' stories, and in the 'Milinda,' as narratives without the title Jātaka,—seems to strengthen our conclusion that originally popular folklores went under the name of Jātakas which early Buddhism in its desire to avoid vulgarity in connection with the life of the Teacher, shunned as much as possible; and it was not until some time after the beginning of the Christian era, that the Jātakas came to be directly associated with his life. Even then, only the more enlightened Jātakas were regarded as the previous birth stories of the Teacher or of his Bodhisatta.

We shall now conclude, adding a short note on their nomenclature. It appears from his modes of presentation that the author is perfectly silent over the nomenclature of most of the Jātakas he has quoted. By simply stating that the Jātaka is concluded, he has left the task of selecting the title entirely to the fancy of his readers. In the case where he mentions one, as in the Bahubhāni Jātaka, it appears to be at variance with the title of the corresponding Jātaka in Jātaka Atṭhakatha having Kacchapa Jātaka instead. This omission or variation, whatever it is, can only be accounted for by the fact that the exact titles of these Jātakas were not yet settled. It becomes apparent then, that originally the verse-Jātakas existing in the form of an anthology like the verses of the Dhammapada, had no titles to distinguish them and individual authors when utilising them in their works, gave such titles to them as, in their opinion, suited best their narrative parts mostly remaining implicit rather than explicit.¹ The most

¹ "The canonical Jātaka was a verse-Jātaka, and handed down in different MSS. from those of the Jātaka-Atṭhakatha, which consists of Gāthās and prose"—Prof. M. Winternitz in his article already referred to.

correct way of designating these verse-Jātakas, would be, to call them after the first two or three words with which each begins, a suggestion having foundation in the fact that a particular pillar-Jātaka of Bhārhut ('Yam bramano avayesi' Jātaka) is exactly designated by the first three words of the verse it contains. Thus, the nomenclature, in most cases, happens to be a good indicator of the stage to which a Jātaka belongs and also of the ideal which it sets up.

GOKULDAS DE

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE DACCA UNIVERSITY

I.—The Vice-Chancellor's Address.¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND CHANCELLOR,

It gives me very great pleasure to again welcome you to preside at the Convocation of the University. Since you became Chancellor you have taken a deep personal interest in the progress of the institution and the welfare of its students. In session 1927-28 you presented a magnificent cup to be awarded annually to the *victor ludorum* in athletics, and during the past session you showed in a very helpful way your interest in the academic activities of the University by presenting a Chancellor's gold medal and prize which will be awarded annually to the successful competitor in an essay competition. All members of the University are grateful to Your Excellency for the encouragement you are thus giving to the students.

There are signs that the University is on its academic side making steady progress. Certain members of the University have achieved during the session notable academic successes. An old student, Mr. Moazzam Hossain, has recently obtained the Ph.D. degree of the University of Oxford. Mr. Hossain took his M.A. degree in Arabic in 1924 and, after working for a session as a research scholar in the University, proceeded to Oxford with a State scholarship from the Government of Bengal. In February last the University was honoured by a visit from Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, who directed the studies of Dr. Hossain in Oxford, and he spoke very highly of the work which Dr. Hossain had done. Two other students of the University

¹ Speech delivered by Professor G. H. Langley, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, held in August, 1929.

have gone to Europe for further study. Mr. Abdul Hakim, who was awarded the Lytton Muslim Scholarship in 1928, which was supplemented by the Sir Salimullah Overseas Scholarship given by the Nawab of Dacca is now in Cambridge reading for the Mathematical Tripos ; and Miss Fazilatunnessa, who obtained the M.A. degree in Mathematics in the First Class, is in London undergoing a training in Education. Further, Mr. Satyendra Nath Roy, Lecturer in the Department of English, has recently been awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the University of London ; and Mr. Kalipada Basu, Lecturer in the Department of Chemistry, has been awarded a research scholarship by the German Academy at Munich. This scholarship was open to all Indian students, and there were candidates from most of the Indian Universities as well as from Indians staying abroad. In addition to the above towards the end of the session three theses were submitted to the Academic Council for the degree of doctor : two from old students of the University and one from a member of the University staff. The opinions of the various Boards of Examiners have not yet been received, but the submission of the theses is an indication of the higher work that is being done.

Another sign of progress is the activities of the societies that have been formed by the various Departments of the University. There are now eight such societies, two of which—the Law and Mathematical Societies—came into being during the past session. Between forty and fifty meetings were arranged by these departmental societies during the session and many interesting and important papers were read and discussed.

The admissions to the various University courses also indicate progress. There has been a considerable increase in the total number of students admitted to the University this session and the number of students reading in courses for Honours and Master's degrees is greater than in any previous session. There has also been an increase in the number of women students admitted which is the highest yet reached in any session.

Further, certain members of the University staff have either published books or their work has in other ways received public recognition. Among the books published are the following :—

- (1) The *Vakroktijivita*, a treatise on Sanskrit Poetics, published in Calcutta Oriental Series, and (*Kichaka-Vadha*) a Sanskrit (*Samaka*) Kavya of the 10-11th Century A.D., published by the Dacca University by Dr. S. K. De, Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali.
- (2) *Les Chants Mystiques (de Kanha et de Saraha)*, published in Paris, by Dr. Md. Sahidullah of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali.
- (3) A History of Mogul North-East Frontier Policy, by Mr. S. N. Bhattacharyya of the Department of History.

In addition to these, a book by Mr. P. K. Guha of the Department of English on "Tragic Relief" has been accepted for publication by the Oxford University Press, and Mr. Khirod Chandra Mukherjee of the Department of Philosophy has been awarded the Mouat Gold Medal for 1929 by the University of Calcutta for his research work on the "Instincts."

As in previous years also, a large number of papers have been published from the various departments in recognised journals, and particulars of these are given in the Annual Report. It may also be mentioned that Prof. S. N. Bose was invited to preside over the Physics and Mathematics Section of the Indian Science Congress held at Madras in January. His address is published in the Proceedings of the Congress.

But the University has not only made progress on its academic side. Very considerable progress has also been made in the development of corporate life among its students. In each of the three Halls there is a Students' Union which is controlled by a Council of students. The Provosts of the respective Halls are the Presidents of these Councils but there are student Vice-Presidents and they are entrusted with very large

powers and responsibilities. The Common Rooms, the Literary and Debating Societies, Social Service Leagues, Dramatic Associations, and the Athletic Clubs, are placed under the control of the Councils and of the Athletic Committees which are also composed mainly of students. Thus the students of the Halls are taught that they possess a common life, which is interesting, enjoyable and valuable, and that the extent to which they derive advantage from this depends largely upon themselves. All the Provosts testify to the enthusiasm and zeal with which the students as a whole have entered into this common life. They write that all the usual activities have continued to evoke genuine sympathy and response from the students, and they testify to the growing power of organizing and of a sense of responsibility which is becoming manifest in their leaders. It is not possible to describe the activities of the students in their Halls in any detail, but one or two points may be mentioned that indicate the vigour, reality, and usefulness of these. The elections of the Vice-Presidents and members of the Students' Councils which take place annually cause very great excitement and are carried on almost with the keenness of political contests. All who have any experience of these elections know how much the students appreciate the privilege and the prestige which membership of their Councils confers. Then the Social Service Leagues are now carrying on excellent night schools, especially those of the Jagannath and Muslim Halls. Further the League of the Jagannath Hall has done much for the improvement of the village of Kazirbagh in which they have worked for several years, and the Leagues of the three Halls have now formed a Committee to elaborate a plan for the study of three other villages and for organizing social work in them. During the past year also the Social Service League of the Dacca Hall organized a Social Service Exhibition in connection with which a number of lectures on social subjects were delivered. The arrangements for this exhibition were made almost entirely by the students.

A very striking illustration of the sense of corporate responsibility and loyalty was given by the students of the Dacca Hall on the occasion of the second annual gathering of the Dacca College and Dacca Hall Old Boys' Association. These meetings were held in March last under the presidency of Mr. Kumud Bandhu Bose, and they included a general meeting in the afternoon addressed by the President, a dramatic performance, and a dinner in the Hall quadrangle at which about 600 old boys and others were present. This very successful re-union could not have been organized and carried through but for the willing and unselfish co-operation of the present students of the Hall. They provided the entertainment in the afternoon and made arrangements for and served the dinner in the evening, doing this in the most spontaneous and joyous manner. It is evident that they are proud of the bond which unites them with students of past generations and value the traditions which they inherit.

Another sign of the growing sense of a common life is the breaking down of caste in the Halls. In the Muslim Hall there has always been a common table where the students dine together, and, since the foundation of the University they have arranged an annual dinner to which they have generously invited many Hindu and European guests. Until recently such a gathering was not possible in either of the Hindu Halls. Now, however, caste-distinction in such matters as the taking of food and the performing of worship in common has practically disappeared in the Hindu Halls, despite the fact that students of the depressed classes—the so-called untouchables—are admitted. During the past session dinners were arranged in both the Dacca and Jagannath Halls at which I had the privilege of being present. These were attended by practically all the students and members of the staff of the respective Halls and many Muhammadan guests were present.

But, as one of the Provosts points out, this growing corporate sense is best realized, not from specific concrete instances,

but by coming into contact with the normal life of the students and experiencing their changed outlook in respect to their relations to one another and to the Hall. Hall and Inter-Hall problems are considered and discussed by them with a zeal and earnestness that is very marked.

The development of a similar feeling for the University as a whole is more difficult, but something has been done in this direction. Naturally the genuine sense of membership of the University as distinct from the Hall will come later, for the fact that students are living together in the Halls promotes their sense of fellowship and common responsibility. Nevertheless a beginning has been made and I am convinced that in time loyalty to the University will be as genuine as loyalty to the Hall. For four sessions now there has been a University Students' Union, which has maintained a Common Room, arranged debates and literary meetings, held speech competitions, and published a University Journal. During the past session the Union extended its activities in two directions. It staged a drama in which actors from the three Halls took part and organized a speech competition open to competitors from all the colleges of Bengal and Assam. Both these functions elicited great enthusiasm and were carried through very successfully. Further, the record for the University Athletic Club was better last session than in previous sessions, the University team winning two trophies : the Ronaldsay Shield for football and the Sen and Sen Cup for cricket. Undoubtedly Your Excellency's keen interest in this side of their activities has made an appeal to the students. The University Training Corps also has been a means of bringing together students from the different Halls. The two platoons which were formed in July last met regularly for parade during the session under the command of Captain Michael West with the assistance of Captain Groom, Adjutant of the Eastern Bengal Rifles. A very successful University Training Corps Camp was held in January and here members of the three Halls who belong to the

Corps lived and worked together for about a fortnight. Major Keene who inspected the Corps during Camp was very satisfied with the work done, and the thanks of the University are due to Captain West and Captain Groom for their effective service.

While indicating the striking advance in the development of corporate life among University students, I would like to point to two possible dangers. The first springs from the real enthusiasm which students possess for their Halls. A student's feeling for his Hall and his concern for its prestige sometimes obscures his sense of membership of the University. He finds it difficult to place the University before his Hall, and to see that, the best interest of his Hall is only served when he seeks the welfare of the University as a whole. Secondly, students are at the present time sometimes inclined to look upon those in authority, either in the University or in the Hall, with a certain suspicion and distrust. Happily this is not frequently the case in Dacca where the prevailing feeling is one of trust and confidence. I would like to remind the students, however, that the University authorities, in creating and fostering the self-governing student institutions to which I have referred, have placed in them a large measure of trust. They have adopted this policy in the assurance that by granting to students freedom and in trusting them with responsibility, they are enabling them to develop their powers and to become useful members of society. Now having placed confidence in the students they look for confidence in return and expect that students will use the freedom they have been given for the best interests of the University. Nothing can help the University more than the enthusiasm, attachment, and loyalty of its students, and their faith, in what it is at present accomplishing and in its future.

Towards the end of last session, two statements on the financial position of the University were submitted to Your Excellency's Government by the Executive Council. The first shows the capital expenditure which, in the opinion of the

Council, should be incurred in the next two sessions, and the second, the recurring expenditure which is necessary for the next five years. The statements demonstrate that additional financial provision for the University is necessary, but they also indicate that the total amount required is not greater than that contemplated by the expert bodies of educationists who have, from time to time, advised your Excellency's Government on the problem of establishing a University in Dacca. We are confident that these statements will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of Your Excellency and of your Government.

I wish also to mention that the University authorities have been very disappointed at the delay in putting into operation the scheme for establishing a Department of Botany and Bacteriology with a view to co-operating with the Department of Agriculture for the purpose of organizing higher education in Agriculture in Dacca. The importance of this scheme has been urged in the last three Convocation addresses, and it has been given administrative approval by your Government. The Executive Council sincerely hope that it will be possible for Government to finance the scheme in the next financial year.

The question of the control of Intermediate education in the Dacca area and of Secondary Education throughout the Province is still engaging the attention of educational authorities in Dacca. The views of the University on this question were expressed in my last address and these have been communicated to Government. I only wish here again to express the hope that the University will be taken into consultation when final decisions are arrived at by Government on these problems.

During the past session the Executive Council has been strengthened by the addition of two members elected under section 3 (i), (iv) and (v) of the Statutes by the Court. The Council are confident that the increase in the number of representatives of public opinion who possess an intimate knowledge of the problems with which the University is faced and

who are willing to give time to its administration will be to the benefit of the University, and they cordially welcome the additional members.

We regret to announce that during the past session the University has lost the services of three valuable members of the staff : Professor A. Siddiqi, the Head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, has been obliged to take leave for two years and for this period has, with the permission of the University, accepted the Professorship of Arabic in the University of Allahabad. Mr. P. C. Mukherjee, a senior Lecturer in History, has reverted to Government service and is now a District Inspector of Schools ; and Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmad, University Librarian and House Tutor of the Muslim Hall, has been appointed Registrar of the University of Aligarh. On behalf of the University I would like to express warm appreciation of the loyal service rendered by these gentlemen.

Professor Guseppe Tucci of the University of Rome, who was residing in Dacca for more than two sessions, left at the end of April. During the session he delivered three public lectures on his journey to Leh and he continued to direct the studies of two research students. The association of this distinguished Italian scholar with the University has been a unique privilege and our sincere thanks are due to him. The University is also indebted to two other distinguished scholars who visited Dacca for the purpose of delivering public lectures : Sir P. C. Ray of Calcutta delivered two lectures at the end of January and the beginning of February, and Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford lectured on the general characteristics of Arabic Historical Literature in February. Further a number of public lectures were again delivered by members of the staff.

Professor R. C. Majumdar, Head of the Department of History and Provost of the Jagannath Hall, and Dr. J. C. Sinha, Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, have now returned from leave abroad. While in Europe Professor Majumdar represented the University as a delegate at

the seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, and Dr. Sinha was invited to lecture at Cambridge and Dundee. Since returning Dr. Sinha has been appointed by the Government of Bengal as a member of the Provincial Committee for the Government of India Banking Enquiry. We congratulate Dr. Sinha upon his appointment to this Committee but regret that it will be necessary for him to be away from the University for another prolonged period.

The Treasurer, Rai Sasanka Comar Ghose Bahadur, C.I.E., accepted re-appointment by the Chancellor to his office for another year from the 1st of January. On behalf of the University I wish again to thank him for his loyal and valued service and to congratulate him most warmly on the honour which he has received from His Majesty the King Emperor. The appreciation by Government of his public spirit and ability has given every member of the University great satisfaction.

I wish also to acknowledge a very generous donation of books to the University which has been received from Khan Bahadur Maulvi Chowdhuri Kazimuddin Ahmad Siddiqui, Zemindar of Baliadi. When it was known that His Excellency the Viceroy intended to visit the University, the Khan Bahadur intimated that he wished to present 800 valuable books and manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Turkish to commemorate the occasion. He subsequently gave these to the University unconditionally. The thanks of the University are due to the Khan Bahadur for his valuable gift.

I have referred to some features of the past session which on looking back strike me as indicating progress. If I am right in this assumption I am convinced that this progress has been attained only by the loyal co-operation of the staff and students, as well as of the members of the Executive Council who have given to the University ungrudgingly so much of their time and thought.

In conclusion, on behalf of the University, I sincerely congratulate all those who have to-day received from the Chancellor their degrees. Some of you have now finished your course in the University and are entering upon duties and responsibilities in a wider sphere. I hope you will carry with you pleasant and precious memories of the time you have spent here, and that the training and experience you have received will help you to make your way successfully in life.

II.—His Excellency The Chancellor's Address.¹

VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the third occasion on which it has been my privilege, as Chancellor, to preside over the annual Convocation of this University. I look forward to this opportunity of meeting the staff and the members of the University and of hearing from the Vice-Chancellor something of the life of the past year and of the progress which has been made. I also welcome the opportunity of handing the certificates to those students who have graduated and been awarded their degrees. I offer them my sincere congratulations on their success and I hope the time they have spent at this University has been beneficial and pleasant and that their recollection of their life here will keep alive their interest in the University.

I wish them success in their future life and trust that the knowledge they have gained at Dacca will enable them to render useful service to their country.

You were good enough, Vice-Chancellor, to refer to the encouragement I have been privileged to offer by way of a prize for proficiency in two sides of University life—study and recreation. I can bestow my congratulations upon the winner of the Chancellor's medal for an English Essay and the *Victor ludorum* with equal satisfaction. There is no reason why both the prizes should not be obtained by the same person. I hope some day this may happen and I shall await such an occasion with much interest.

The *Victor ludorum* is I believe the selection of the students, so I suppose there can be no doubt as to the title. I

¹ Delivered by His Excellency at the Dacca University Convocation on 23rd August, 1923.

would just ask him so to use his prowess in athletics as to be an example and encouragement to others.

I have read the essay which won the Medal, with interest and pleasure and I congratulate Mr. Monmotha Nath Ghose upon his success. The essay would appear to indicate considerable literary gifts, which I hope he will make good use of and that they will bring him a just reward.

I am glad to hear of the satisfactory records of the Athletic Club and their success both in Football and in Cricket competitions. Recreation must play an important part in the successful corporate life of a University.

It is your custom, Vice-Chancellor, on this occasion to give a record of the progress which has been made in connection with the various activities of this University, during the past year. We have listened to your account with interest and satisfaction. You refer to the success of old students which has been attained at the English Universities, and which must be a source of gratification and pride to their mother University. You also refer to the successful development of Societies which have been formed in connection with the various departments of the University and which are well supported and appreciated by the students. You also reminded us that Professor S. N. Bose had been honoured by being invited to preside over the Physics and Mathematics section of the Indian Science Congress at Madras—an honour which was well deserved and was equally well carried. Distinction for the staff of such a kind should be a matter of special satisfaction to all connected with this University.

I should like also at this stage to congratulate Dr. Sinha, who has been appointed a member of the important Provincial Committee for the Government of India Banking Enquiry; and I must again express our appreciation to Rai Sasanka Coomar Ghose Bahadur, for his continued valuable services as Treasurer of the University. I take this opportunity of offering him my sincere congratulations upon the well-earned honour which has lately been bestowed upon him.

I should also like to add my expressions of gratitude to Khan Bahadur Maulvi Chowdhuri Kazimuddin Ahmed Siddiqui, for his very handsome and valuable gift of books and manuscripts. I understand this gift was in the first instance proposed in honour of the Viceroy's visit : I feel sure that His Excellency Lord Irwin would like me to express his personal thanks for this generous consideration.

Vice-Chancellor, you naturally dwell at some length on the development of corporate life amongst the students, the progress in this direction appears to give you just cause for satisfaction. It is gratifying to note that corporate life at Dacca has made such rapid strides in the short history of the University and that many prejudices are melting away before common fellowship in the University as a whole.

All the Halls appear to live together harmoniously, in a spirit of fellowship and under a sense of common responsibility. I like to hear of this enthusiasm for the various Halls. This is as it should be; but I appreciate your fear lest through excessive enthusiasm for the Hall, the University might be forgotten or its interests relegated to second place. The success of individual Hall will not assure the success of the University as a whole. The University should be able to depend upon the support and the interest of all its members, if it is satisfactorily to perform the functions for which it exists. I note with interest that you have thought well to encourage the students to carry the responsibility of managing their own institutions. It is whilst at the University that a young man has the first real chance of appreciating what responsibility means. A chance is offered for the expression of character and personality and the development of self-control and judgment, which should enable him to discern with some accuracy the truth from plausible absurdity.

Such responsibility as is here imposed upon the student is a sure test, and the success and wisdom with which these institutions are conducted should indicate that capacity for organi-

sation and wise direction which will be found of value in any calling which those concerned may take up in later life. By reposing this responsibility in the students you express a confidence and trust which I hope will not prove to be misplaced, and that the confidence will be reciprocated.

The general progress of the University which you are able to report no doubt justifies your desire to expand your activities. For this purpose you have submitted to Government proposals which would involve a considerable increase in capital and recurring expenditure. Government is the source to which you must turn so long as the interest of individuals well-disposed towards the University has not been aroused. Perhaps, you will be able to demonstrate that the ordinary progress of the University demands additional financial provision and that the amount required is not greater than was contemplated by those who advised Government on the problem of establishing this University. The financial position of this Presidency must be known to all who depend upon Government assistance. Government appreciate their duty of providing to the fullest possible extent out of provincial revenues, for education of all kinds throughout this Presidency, but they are always faced with the fact that the revenues cannot expand under the present financial settlement to the extent that would justify them in meeting, in a way they wish, even the legitimate demands of progressive and satisfactory institutions.

This is Government's position at present. What is in store for us in the near future, I cannot predict, but in the revision of the financial position of the Provinces which I presume must be amongst the earliest and most important questions to be considered in connection with any new constitutional proposals, the position of Bengal must stand out as requiring immediate and drastic readjustment. Meanwhile you may be assured that the statements you have submitted are receiving careful and sympathetic examination.

I can understand your disappointment at the delay in the

establishment of a Department of Botany and Bacteriology. I can assure you that Government fully appreciate the importance of your proposals which would encourage students to turn their eyes towards the greatest and most important industry in India, and they are anxious to foster any scheme which through co-operation, with the Department, would lead to higher education in Agriculture. Administrative approval has already been given to the scheme and the desirability of finding some way of financing it will not be lost sight of by Government. The chance of success of such a Department, in view of the proximity of the University to the Government Farm, impresses me personally very much, and you may be assured of my personal interest in your proposals.

I feel this University enjoys many advantages.

Dacca is a teaching University, compactly concentrated in one area. You are strong in the opportunities of intimate social fellowship with close contact between teachers and students, and you enjoy opportunities close at hand of games and healthy physical activities. You are not hampered by the sentiment and vested interests that attach themselves to old institutions. You are free to mould your own future. Mould conditions aright and men will grow to fit them. It is not by accident or by chance but by set purpose after much deliberation and with high hopes, that Dacca University was created and fashioned in its present form. Those who created it were filled with the hope that a University, starting under such fair auspices would be able to make some distinctive contribution to the higher education of this Province. Such a contribution would have a double value. It would benefit the students who gather each year within your walls and in the end would have a powerful influence on the character of the whole educational system of Bengal and on the tone of its public life. The success of this University will be judged not by its academic achievement alone, but by the measure in which it is able to create new traditions of University life. A small residential University is a

comparatively new type in India. There are no precedents for you to follow, no examples to emulate. Whilst studying and examining the best methods and ideas which exist, you must endeavour to evolve new methods and create new ideas.

A University must endeavour to give an education which strengthens mind and character and creates in a student a clear consciousness of what he knows and what he does not know. It is well to remember that education is something which begins and never ends and that you are constantly in a stage of learning and that it takes a long time before you can regard yourself as fit to sit in the seat of judgment.

The University is making good progress. The encouragement you have received in the past must continue in the future. The progress in the University depends upon the efforts of all its members and I trust that all, especially the students, for whose benefit it primarily exists, will do their best to uphold its honour and safeguard its good name.

ALONE TO ALONE :

I.

I am in Thy debt, O Lord
 For this gift of life.
 But for this would I be aught
 Joined in this love strife?
 Help me now this debt to pay
 —The debt that am I :
 Shall I be ready to pay myself?
 —This my *heart's* one cry—
 List ! there comes reply :—
 “ When thy life for right is laid
 Then Thy debt is truly paid.”

II.

What I call mine and I myself
 Are but trusts from thee.
 May I in joy what 's Thine restore
 At slightest sign to me !
 O Love reclaim Thy dirt-foul child,
 That wanders lost in darkness wild !

III.

Love and hate, life and death—Thy twins
 By Thee's unfurl'd
 This glorious world
 By Thee reduced to loathsome ruins.
 Who Thou art and who I am—
 I wander in a maze.

My heart in sweetness numb,
My tongue in wonder dumb
 In silence-livened praise.
My heart hears all Thy glory sing,
Thou the same midst thought and thing.

IV.

Whenever, Love, I look for Thee
 In darkness hidest Thou,
O, blow me out that I may live
 As Love for ever and now.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE.

CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-
AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

From Herder to Sorokin (1776-1928).

(c) *East and West.*

1905. Discovery of the Kautilyan *Arthasastra* by **Shama-sastry** (Mysore) : invites the attention of the academic world to the secular, political and militaristic attainments of the ancient and medieval Hindus.¹

1906. **Okakure**, Japanese. *Ideals of the East* : He preaches the unity of Asia on the strength of Buddhism. In his judgment, spiritually East is different from the West in outlook of life.

1907. **Huntington**, (1876-), American. *Pulse of Asia. Civilisation and Climate* (1918). *World-Power and Evolution* (1919) : He offers a climatological interpretation of history. The problems of Turkey, Persia, Japan, etc., are discussed. Some of his postulates are as follows : "Mohammedanism favours immorality." "Persians are prone to lying." He has popularised such chauvinistic and unscientific assumptions in regard to the East unsupported by objective and historical data.

1908. **Formichi**, *Salus Populi* (welfare of the People) : Comparative study of Kamandaka, Hobbes and Machiavelli

¹ Ref. Meyer : Das altindische Buch von Welt und Statzblien : *Arthasastra*, Leipzig, 1926. Cf. Sarkar. "German Translation of the Kautilyan *Arthasastra* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1928.

is presented here. The common political psychology of the Hindu, English and Italian philosophers is his theme.¹

1926. **Sylvain Levi**, *L'Inde et le Monde* (India and the world) : Indian civilization like all other ancient civilizations was greatly a "collective work" of the entire world. He lays stress in India's intercourse with the peoples from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. Modern India should not attempt to isolate herself from the "movements of universal civilization. He considers it impossible for the Orient to borrow of the Occident its technical processes in order to imitate it, be its equal and finally to compete with it." The "white race must, to speak in the manner of Kipling, accept the burden in a virile manner." The book is altogether a chip of the traditional *Orientalisme*, i.e., study of things Oriental (ancient or modern) with the object of supporting colonialism and imperialism.

1927. **Katherine Mayo**, American. *Mother India*. Her thesis reads as follows :—"There are perhaps certain points on which—south, north, east and west—you can generalize about India. Still more: that you can generalize about the only matters in which we of the busy west will; to a man, see our own concern." And she ventures her "main generality" thus: "The British administration of India, be it good, bad or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions above indicated. Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality,

¹ Ref. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (1914) supplemented by *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (1918), *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (1922), *Die Lebens-anschaung des Inders* (1923), establishes the fundamental identities or similarities in ideology and institutional life between the East and the West in pre-industrial epochs—during well-marked period.

See the bibliographies on allied works printed in these books. Cf. also Bottazzi : *Precursori di Niccolò Machiavelli in India ed in Grecia* Kautilya, Thucydide (Precursors of Machiavelli in India and Greece : Kautilya and Thucydide) 1. 1914. Hillebrandt : *Altindische Politik*, Gena, 1923 ; Sarkar : "Hindu Politics in Italian" and "Methods and Problem in Hindu Political Philosophy" in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, 1925-27.

lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigor itself—all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of to-day, but of long-past history."

She describes the vices and defects of the Indian people from the standpoint of the "white man's burden" and commits the fallacies of all those previous anthropologists, culture-historians, orientalists, sociologists and philosophers who have developed the social philosophy of imperialism and colonialism during the epoch of Eur-American aggression in the East.

These fallacies have been classified and examined in *The Futurism of Young Asia* (1922) by the present author.

They fall generally within three classes : (1) they do not take the same *class* of facts, (2) they do not apply the same *method* of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident, and (3) they compare the old conditions of the Orient with the latest achievements of the Occident. A reform of comparative sociology on the lines indicated would lead to a revolution in our ideas about the relations between Asia and Eur-America. On the strength of positive achievements in ideology and in institutions (item by item) the leading historical forces, processes and stages are found to have been more or less uniform (no matter whether unilinear or multilinear, divergent or convergent) in the East and the West. Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the past half a century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and of course in India during the next generation or so. (*Economic Development*, 1926.)

1928. **General Wali**, the Afghan Envoy, lectures at Cairo to the Egyptian Ministers and various other notables :

The general awakening in the whole Orient, the unanimous feeling of relationship and inter-alliance is not the outcome of mere chance. It is prevailing all over the Orient

from mountains of Taurus to the cedars of the Lebanons, from the heights of the Pamir, to the plains of Afghanistan, to the wilderness of Arabia to Mesopotamia, Persia, India, China, Siberia and Japan.

The kingdoms of the Orient, in their new alliance and liberty, have no object but to get closer and nearer to the nations of Occident, in order that both sides might work and toil for the welfare, peace, and happiness of mankind.

It is with a real feeling of pain and regret that I discovered, that the members of the League of Nations are altogether disconcerted and undecided as to the best means and methods to employ for the consolidation of world-wide peace. Unfortunately they have not as yet achieved any part of their great human mission, and I might be so optimistic as to state that the presumptive Asiatic League of Nations will greatly help the European League of Nations, and will influence them in the accomplishment of the said task. I trust that before long, I shall make my voice heard from the said League of Asiatic Nations, proclaiming that this task must and will be accomplished.

I feel great satisfaction in saying that, as a result of the recent visits of H. M. the King of Afghanistan, we have concluded friendship and relationship with the Belgian Government, Polish Government and the Republic of Switzerland. We had already treaties of friendship with the British Government, the Soviet Government, Italian Government, French Republic, German Government, Turkish Republic and Persian Government.

In Africa, we had no friends, or connections, but I have been charged with the mission of making a treaty of friendship with the Egyptian Government, which is now finally concluded and signed.

Likewise, I hope that a similar treaty might afterwards be made with the Republic of the United States of America also. I might also mention a fact that will not be out of place,

namely, that one of the objects of our treaty with the Egyptian Government is nothing but to create and establish relation of friendship and co-operation between the nations of Africa and Asia.

My friends : No Oriental who respects and honours his fatherland could help rejoicing or could keep back the sentiment of innocent pride and satisfaction, once mention is made of Japan's progress, the "leap" of Turkey, the awakening and rising of Afghanistan, the resurrection of Persia, the development and wealth of Egypt and revolution of Syria.

Why should an Oriental rejoice and feel proud in this manner when the above narration is made ? Is it because the time is not far off when Oriental nations shall stand face to face with the nations of the Occident, and say to them, "Our intention is not to compete with you, but to copy all that is good in your civilization and leave anything that may not be useful, no doubt this being good to both countries.

It is neither for the one nor for the other. Such pleasure and rejoicing is because oriental nations have torn up the veils of ignorance and fanaticism, have stopped slaughtering each other, because they have taken full conception of their duties towards their homeland and towards the rest of humanity, because they have in them the sentiments of sympathetic and fraternal feelings towards their fellowmen, regardless of the differences of language and the variety of religion.

Afghanistan is trying to make connection of friendship with all the nations of the world so that as much as she can she will try to work for the peace and unity of the human race.

I have great pleasure and satisfaction in saying that our beloved King H. E. Amanullah Khan, all my countrymen and myself are not prejudiced in favour of or against any religion or sect. We have friendly relations and sentiments towards all nations and persons. We are friends to any power or nation that extends its hand of sincere friendship to us.

(d) *Mental and Moral Personality.*

Ideology : (i) objective approach to the realities of life, (ii) analysis of the current movements, (iii) revolution, freedom and democracy championed by philosophers.

1908. **Croce**, the "Neo-Hegelian" or "Neo-Idealist." *Philosophy of the Practical* (Ethical or Moral and Utilitarian or Economic) : Disinterested actions do not exist. Even the ascetic and the mystic are utilitarian. Even moral action is useful, *i. e.*, utilitarian or economic. But not all utilitarian actions are moral. There is no such thing as compulsion in the whole circle of willing and doing. The only laws that really exist are individual laws. It is not possible to conceive social and individual laws as distinct entities. Monarchs who believed themselves to be most powerful have realized at certain moments that the power did not at all reside in their persons or title but in a universal consensus of opinion, failing which their power vanished. The state is inseparably connected with the society. It is not a being but a mobile complex of varied relations between individuals. It is possible to limit this complex and to make it oppose other complexes. Every individual is different at every moment of his life ; he wills always in a new and different way, not comparable with the other modes of his or of others willing.

1915. **Dewey** (1859—) : *The Schools of To-morrow, Democracy and Education, German Philosophy and Politics, Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920), *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922) : Neglect of specific situations is a defect in the current logic of social thought. Notions of fixed self or individual as well as organic conception of society lead to unrealities. He is an exponent of international humanism. Society is composed of diverse associations ; the state is one such and has but several minor functions to discharge. Relations between groups and persons constitute the most important items in political life. Freedom includes (a) efficiency in action, ability to carry out

plans, absence of cramping and thwarting obstacles, (b) capacity to vary plans to change the course of action, to experience novelties, (c) power of desire and choice to be factors in events. Natural science has rendered nature wholly fixed and mind wholly open and empty. "A world that is at times and points indeterminate enough to call out deliberation and to give play to choice to shape its future is a world in which will is free, not because it is inherently vacillating and unstable but because deliberation and choice are determining and stabilizing factors. Family life, property, legal forms, churches and schools, academies of art and science did not originate to serve conscious ends nor was their generation regulated by consciousness of principles of reason and right. Yet each institution has brought with its development demands, expectations, rules, standards. What authority have standards and ideals which have originated in this way? The authority is that of life. The choice is not between a moral authority outside custom and one within it. It is between adopting more or less intelligent and significant custom.

His futuristic pragmatism is thus worded: "In an experimental philosophy of life the question of the past, of precedents, of origins is quite subordinate to prevision, to guidance and control amid future possibilities. Consequences rather than antecedents measure the worth of theories. Any scheme or project may have a fair hearing provided it promises amelioration in the future; and no theory or standard is so sacred that it may be accepted simply on the basis of past performance."

1918. **Hobhouse.** *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*: The will of any individual is his own and cannot be identical with the "general will." The state cannot be the embodiment of a unified general will, but is the summation of all sorts of individual impulses and accidents. Idealism "idealizes the real" and considers injustices to be parts of the "rational whole" and is therefore fatal to progress, is

the philosophy of the conservatives. Idealization of the state kills individuality and promotes authoritarianism.

1919. **Watson.** *The State in Peace and War.* He follows Kant, Green, rather than Hegel-Bosanquet, in his "idealism" and does not consider to be a necessity and believes in the possibility of a world-state. Undeveloped peoples are to be treated as wards ; the state is the totality of institutions by which common weal is secured. Sovereignty is not absolute but relative. "In truth no institution is sovereign. The relation between church and state, for example, is not one of subordination but of co-ordination. His ideas are monistic although tempered with pluralism.¹

1923. **Bertrand Rusell :** *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (1923) : *Principles of Social Reconstructions*, 1916 : (i) The abolition of private ownership of land and capital is a necessary step towards any world in which the nations are to live at peace with one another, (ii) what stands in the way of the freedom of the Asiatic peoples is not their lack of intelligence but only their lack of military prowess which makes the man easy prey to any lust for dominion. (iii) A world full of happiness is not beyond human power to create : the obstacles imposed by inanimate nature are not insuperable. The real obstacles lie in the heart of man, and the cure for these is a firm hope informed and fortified by thoughts.

Industrialism is practically inevitable and has to be accepted, but mechanistic conception of society requires to be opposed. Socialistic industry could be the servant, not the master of the community,—hence socialism is to be preferred to capitalism. From the point of view of any man not possessed of large capital there is an inherent reasonableness in socialism and it is likely to spread even in the U.S.A. Justice and freedom have different spheres : the sphere of justice is the external conditions of a good life, the sphere

¹Ref. Rockow : *Contemporary Political Thought in England*, London, 1925.

of freedom is the personal pursuit of happiness. There must be as much self-government in industry as possible. The state must determine prices. It must also determine how much of the commodity is required. But the internal organization of an industry must not be interfered with by the state except on rare occasions.

He endorses the co-operative movement and syndicalism. Home-rule in industry is syndicalism. He argues for the abolition of land-owners and restriction of capitalists. But he does not propose equality of earnings. It is only by some such method that the free growth of the individual can be reconciled with the huge technical organization which have been rendered necessary by industrialism. The existence of strong organizations within the state, such as trade unions is not undesirable except from the point of view of the official who wishes to wield unlimited power or of the rival organizations such as federations of employers which would prefer a disorganized adversary. He would increase the powers of voluntary organizations. "Give every man a sphere of political activity small enough for his interest and his capacity." The state is to confine its functions to the maintenance of peace among rival interests. Liberation of creativeness ought to be the principle of reform both in politics and economics.

1924. **Gentile**, philosopher of Fascism, Lecture at Palermo on *Il fascismo nel governo della scuola* (Fascism in school administration), *Che Cosa e il fascismo* (What is Fascism?).

The true doctrine is that which does not express itself in typed words but in the actions and personalities of its exponents. What counts is the man and the line he will take. Fascism and Liberalism are not identical. There are two liberalisms, one British and the other German-Italian. British Liberalism looks for freedom in the individual and sets the individual against the state. **Mazzini** stood up against it, damning it with a force which has earned him immortality. The other Liberalism derides this alleged antagonism between individualism

and the state. "The art of government is the art of making the aims of each a common aim so that the maximum of liberty may exist side by side with the maximum not only of public orderliness but with the fullest acceptance of the sovereignty of law and the necessary agencies of law. The maximum of liberty and the maximum of state control can thus be co-existent and inter-dependent. It is with this second Liberalism that Fascism coincides. There is no liberty but the liberty inherent in the state. The state is an authorised body for the repression of arbitrary will and a guarantee to the society and individual that his safety is guarded by the mailed fist of law. Fascist state is an ethical and moral state.

1926. **Freyer:** *Der Staat* (the State) poses the problems of political existence in the *milieu* of faith, language, science, law, etc. The concepts of leader, statesman and politician are analyzed psychologically. Both the topics as well as the treatment are unconventional and there is a dynamic message of the most energistic character pervading these philosophical discussions. According to Freyer, those who want the state must know at least one thing, namely, that the "state will have to be willed" in order that "it may become." The state "does not happen" (*i.e.*, is not born naturally) but "has to be made." Those works that strictly speaking require to be made or constructed "lay hold of the creative soul with a powerful force." They do not appeal to the activity of man "but to his strength for passion." They fulfil themselves and require only to be "carried forward until fruition" as in a womb by men who moreover have to suffer along with them. It is only the masculine will "that can furnish the realization to the acts. In the absence of this will the actions may fail to realize themselves. And the will must have to function "until the last moment;" because most of the battles are lost or won in the last half an hour. To have understood the necessity of an action implies thus to harness the will to it. To have understood the necessity of a state implies likewise "a call to the will of the

generation to its realization." It would but betray a weakness and insincerity of this appeal if one were to cry and wait piteously for the rise of the "great man." This sort of anxiety as to whether he comes or not is the political attitude of "old maids." The history of the spirit is not a web of pious wishes and unattainable means. The forces are always ready when the aims and objects are set forth. The aims and objects can be carried out by free will and surrounded as they are with dangers they require for their realization a generation of men that is conscious enough and strives for the discharge of the responsibility.

(Concluded)

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews

Women in Modern India—Edited by Evelyn C. Gedge and Mithan Choksi, M.A. Price Rs. 4. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.

The present work is a valuable publication, consisting of fifteen papers all written by representative women of India and covers a varied field of activity. The Foreword has been written by Srimati Sarojini Naidu and is characteristic of the idealism of the poetess. The prefatory notes by the two editors state the history of the origin of the work and give an account of the individual writers and the field of activity they are engaged in. The papers are "the fruits of the personal experience of each" of the writers and breathe lofty idealism and patriotic feelings, which make the papers an inspiring reading. The first paper deals with the status of women in India from Vedic times up to the present date and proves by facts and figures that women in India have all along held an honourable position both within and outside their homes and their cultural and educational needs were fully attended to. The past of Indian women was one of glory and brilliance and talented women, noted for their academic and administrative greatness, were not scarce. Although with the loss of political independence restrictions had to be imposed on the women-folk in mediaeval India, the fact should not be ignored that "intellectually and psychologically woman in India has never lost her honourable position of old. The attacks of external influences affected but her external position." The writer shows her insight into the psychological peculiarity of India by calling attention to the basic difference of women's movement from the sister-movement in Europe. "Man has not questioned the woman's right to enter any field of activity" in India when the time was ripe. This testimony of an educated daughter of India should disabuse the minds of foreign critics who have had no access to the inner life of Indian women and who judging by appearances have not hesitated to indulge in cheap attacks on Indian civilization and culture. In fact, the whole history of women's and modern renaissance shows that the pioneers of women's education were all men and unless there was any extremist move, women have been actively encouraged by the men-folk. Srimati Kamala Devi has rightly emphasised this side of Indian character by drawing a distinction between

the attitude of the authors of Montague Reforms and the Indian leaders, who ungrudgingly gave suffrage to their women though there was no provision for the same in the Reforms. The suffragette leaders of England and all those who are not blinded by prejudice should take note of this innate charity of Indians, who have never failed to do justice to their women-folk when the occasion arose. The writer then takes a bird's eye-view of the various land-marks in the women's progressive movement and dilates on the achievements and future possibilities of Indian womanhood. The writer is an advocate of free-choice marriage and divorce, but this may be a doubtful blessing and the disruption of the home-life of Europe and America should serve as a warning post to the blind admirers of Western institutions. Indeed this is contrasted with the views expressed by the senior girl students of a Bombay College in a debate on the subject 'marriage by choice and marriage by arrangement.' They were severe on the women of western countries who "took life-long vows of marriage, met men they liked better than their husbands, waved good bye and went" (p. 71). It is a happy sign of the intellectual growth of our girls that they are adopting a critical attitude towards the western ideals and institutions. Indeed unthinking criticism and unreflecting admiration have to be abandoned as equally positively harmful. The lives of Pandita Ramabai and Mrs. Ramabai Ranade contain thought-provoking words and sentiments. Mrs. Nikambe utters a thoughtful sentence, which would have passed for a platitude if the speaker was not a woman, "public bodies however do not need educated women on their Committees as much as those are needed on the Committees of homes and families. It is in the Home that the prime duty of the mother and wife lies" (p. 24). It is indeed refreshing to note that all the papers bear the stamp of personal experience and original thought and the writers are all inspired by the highest ideals of patriotism to improve the status of women and of the country as a whole. There is not the faintest trace of rabid sex-differentiation and sex-antagonism and the Indian ideal of harmonious and well-ordered social organisation has been put in the forefront in all the various fields of women's activity. The basic ideal of women's movement in India has been very ably put forth by Lady Ramanbai Nilmanth, B.A., in the following words "woman was made to be a helpmate to man, but she can only be so if she possesses true freedom and education." The remaining papers fully elucidate the rightful share that women are to fulfil in the various spheres of life, social, medical, educational, literary, law and æsthetic cultures. The various institutions that are catering for married women's education and maternity and child

welfare movement cannot be too highly praised. The ladies who are in charge of these various institutions are all inspired by the highest and purest motives to ameliorate the present condition of the women-folk and they have done their best to bring a ray of sun-shine into the desolate life of the poor and the destitute. The self-sacrifice and patriotism of these worthy daughters of South India will be a source of inspiration to the country as a whole and they will not fail to infuse courage into the drooping hearts of disappointed workers. The salvation of the country, which can boast of such highly intellectual daughters devoted to the service of the motherland, will be an event of the near future. Who can predict the wonderful future of a country whose men and women are inspired by such lofty idealism and have already achieved such distinctive success in the various fields of enterprise though the political, economic and educational conditions are not even a tithe of what they can be? We only wish that the activities of these daughters of Bombay should be followed by their sisters in Bengal and other provinces and this being done, Swaraj will only knock at the doors.

The intrinsic merits of the book cannot be overrated and the get-up, printing and finish are commensurate with its intrinsic worth. The typographical mistakes are few and far between and are really negligible. The book should be in the hands of every social and political worker of the country, both men and women and we only congratulate the enterprising firm of Messrs. D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. on the publication of such a valuable book, which the country needs most at the present day.

S. M.

The Fifteenth Annual Report (1927-28) of the Patna College Chanakya Society.

The Society was established by late Captain Charles Russel to infuse a spirit of research and scientific enquiry among its members. The founder named the Society after Chanakya, the most eminent economist of ancient India, whose seat of activities was the historic city of Pataliputra. The object of the Society is to form an accurate idea of the economic position of the suffering masses in the province of Bihar and Orissa, by a number of systematic enquiries into the conditions of provincial industries, of representative families, of typical villages, and of various Co-operative Societies, and to ameliorate their condition if possible. Captain Charles Russel did not intend it to be merely a College

Society, but hoped that it would be a nucleus of a more elaborate and wider organization for advanced scientific study of the economic problems of India. The conception of the Society is grand indeed, but the Society has hardly done much to realise the dream of its founder. The Report admits that "The studies of the members had so far been fragmentary and detached." The number of ordinary members of the Society is 110. The average attendance of members per meeting in the year under report is 56. Two family budgets, two village surveys, three reports on the co-operative societies, and a number of industrial reports were read and discussed in the Society. A special feature of the year has been the formation of a permanent Scrutiny Committee which meets every four months, examines the record of attendance and work of every member, and advises removal of those members who do not take sustained interest in the work of the Society. We think that such a Committee is a necessity not only for the Patna College Chanakya Society but for every Society that holds its sittings in India. We notice that the Chanakya Society is doing some work and is fostering a habit of research and scientific enquiry among the students of the Patna College.

A. GUHA

The Outlines of Vedanta based on Sri Sankara's Dakshina Moorthy Stotra—By M. Srinivasa Rao, M.A. (Madras), M.D., C.M. and B.Sc. (Edinburgh), D.P.H. (Cambridge), printed at the Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 1-8.

The get-up of the book is good. The Dakshinamoorthy Stotra is a hymn of ten stanzas attributed to Sankara, in praise of the Lord who sits facing the south. In this hymn, Iswara in the form of Dakshinamoorthy, assumes the form of a Guru and instructs the pupils to turn to Him for guidance. The aim of the Vedanta, according to Sankara, is to establish the identity of the Jiva with Brahma. This universe looking like a city reflected in a mirror is really one's own self and is seen within the self, though appearing through illusion, as if it were outside one's self. Or the universe may be viewed like a plant in an undifferentiated form in the seed before creation and after creation, is full of varied and picturesque differentiation, due to the operation of Maya in the form of space, time and causality. We notice the power of Maya when people take his body or pranas or the sense-organs or the fickle buddhi for Atman. The author says: "Every object in the universe

partakes of the nature of Atman and Maya. We speak of an object as existing, as being known and as being loved. These three characters are dependent on the Existence, Consciousness and Bliss of Atman. The name and form which distinguish one object from another, are due to Maya. When Maya disappears, as in dreamless sleep, name and form also vanish and Atman alone of the nature of Existence, Consciousness and Bliss remains." As we are Brahman during dreamless sleep, Brahman or Moksha cannot be obtained. Our efforts should be directed to get rid of the notion of the reality of name and form which are superimposed on Atman. So long as desire for anything lasts, the idea of "I" remains, and there can be no realization of Moksha. The Jiva deluded by Maya takes him to be separate from Brahman and is drowned in the sorrows and pleasures of mundane existence. This is samsara. Samsara is simply attachment to what is not Atman. When Brahman is realized, the samsara disappears. But how to get rid of samsara? There are three prescribed means for obtaining release from samsara. The first is श्रवण which consists in listening to the teachings of a *guru*, on various difficult points. The next step is मनन which consists in thinking over the teachings of the *guru*. The final stage is निदिध्यासन which consists in withdrawing the mind and sense-organs from the external objects and keeping the internal organ fixed in the contemplation of the nondual Brahman. Mere talking of Brahman or intellectual adherence to the Vedantic truths does not enable one to attain मोक्ष. He must undergo severe discipline in the shape of controlling the mind and getting rid of his attachment to external objects, especially to his bodies. This is, in short, the gist of the book. But the author at times cites European authorities to elucidate his stand-point. In most cases, these authorities, for instance Croce and Gentile, hardly help him in any way. Methods of the East and West are different. Thinkers of the East, generally speaking, take their stand upon the spiritual experiences of the seers, but thinkers of the West, generally speaking, take their stand upon their reasoning. We agree with Prof. James in thinking: "In all sad sincerity, I think we must conclude that the attempt to demonstrate by purely intellectual processes the truth of the deliverances of direct religious experience is absolutely hopeless." However we are of opinion that the author possesses the gift of presenting things in a clear way. His translation of the stotra is also accurate. He presents the Advaitic doctrine of the school of Sankara in an understandable manner.

Excavation in Baluchistan, 1925, By H. Hargreaveas, pp. iv + 90 + XXIV (plates). Price Rs. 9-14 or 16s. 3d. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 35.

This is the first instalment of the official report on the excavation work done by the Archaeological Department in Sampur mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nâl in Baluchistan. The finds of Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro of the Indus valley are suspected to be of as early antiquity as the earliest finds in the Mesopotamian valley and Baluchistan geographically placed between these two zones of culture is now being explored so that some "connecting link between the two cultures" might be recovered. Amongst important relics of prehistoric coins, pottery and implements, have been found numerous skulls and bones which have been examined for the first time by Lt.-Col. R. B. Sewell and B. S. Guha, M.A., Ph.D., of the Zoological Survey of India whose work is as thorough as thought provoking and will remain for years an invaluable guide to students of Indian anthropology. The plates on the ceramics and pottery designs will be appreciated by all students of Indian art and decorative motifs.

K. N.

The Story of Indian Music and its Instruments, By Ethel Rosenthal, A.R.C.M. William Reeves, London, 1928.

The author is a keen student of Indian music and has devoted much of her time and energy towards explaining to occidental music lovers the special characteristics of the music, vocal as well as instrumental of India. The difficulties encountered by her were enormous yet her sympathy has triumphed over them and she has really succeeded in forging a fresh link to reinforce the chain which unites music-lovers of East and West. The informations contained in the book are not new to Indian readers, still she has rendered a service to the cause by publishing in a handy volume, notes on old masters like Tan-sen, Tyaga-raja and others (we only wish that she had given us more!). She has also earned the gratitude of Indian and European musicians alike by reprinting the pioneer study on the subject by that wonderful genius in the domain of Indology—Sir William Jones—whose "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus" written in 1784 may even to-day be read with profit.

Privileged to move in the aristocratic circle of the Native States, the author has managed to gather many *tit bits* of the modern musical world

of India that are highly interesting. The real spirit of a *musician* is in her; that is why she could see in our "Tyagaraja the Beethoven of Indian Music." Her sympathy lends her a rare insight and that is how she could write such performed lines:—"Probably Indian audiences are the most appreciative and emotional in the world. They are more concerned with the song than the singer and concentrate so completely on the work interpreted that they establish a wondrous bond of sympathy between themselves and the performer. In Indian music the art of the listener equals in importance the skill of the interpretative artist."

We recommend the book to all lovers of Indian music.

K. N.

Our selves

THE LATE MR. LALITKUMAR BANERJEE

It is with sincere grief that we refer to the sudden death on the 29th of November last of Mr. Lalitkumar Banerjee, M.A., Professor of English, Bangabasi College, Calcutta, who was a brilliant graduate of this University, a distinguished educationist for over forty years and a well-known and highly appreciated Bengali writer. He was held in high esteem for his sturdy independence and loved and respected alike by his colleagues and students. We offer our cordial sympathy to his only surviving son.

* * *

DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1929

Applications are invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1929 which must reach the Controller of Examinations by the 4th of January, 1930.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.L., M.E., M.O. and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

* * *

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION DATES FOR THE YEAR, 1930

The next Matriculation Examination will be held on Thursday, the 6th March, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examination should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Monday, the 6th of January, 1930.

The next I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations will be held on Monday, the 17th March, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examinations should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Monday, the 13th January, 1930.

The next B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations will be held on Monday, the 7th April, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examinations should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Tuesday, the 11th of February, 1930.

The Preliminary Examination in Law in January, 1930, will be held on Wednesday, the 8th of January, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examinations should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Friday, the 6th December, 1929.

The Intermediate Examination in Law in January, 1930, will be held on Thursday, the 16th January, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examination should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Friday, the 13th December, 1929.

Final Examination in Law in January, 1930, will be held on Wednesday, the 22nd January, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examination should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Friday, the 20th December, 1929.

The L.T. and B.T. Examinations, 1930, will be held on Saturday, the 12th April, 1930, and following days.

ANNUAL REPORT ON STUDENTS' WELFARE SCHEME FOR THE YEAR 1928.

We visited the following Colleges and Hostels during the year 1928 :—

1. C. M. S. College
2. Sanskrit „,
3. Serampore „,
4. Presidency „,
5. Islamia „,
6. Scottish Churches College Hostels
7. City College.

The number of students examined during the year was 2,054, thereby bringing up the total number of students examined so far to 16,920.

One of the special features of the report is the arrangement of our findings in triennial epochs with a view to reveal changes in the state of health and physical development of the student population of Bengal during the last nine years.

From a comparison of the triennial figures it seems that there has been an improvement in posture, chest measurement, also slightly in height, so far as physical development is concerned, while weight, ponderal index and strength of grips have remained stationary. As far as incidence of general defects is concerned there has been a rise in the number of students with fully corrected vision as well as in the number of students with normal teeth, skin and heart.

Another feature of the report is that it embodies the results of an enquiry into the systems of exercises and games in which College students regularly or irregularly participate. Roughly speaking about 32% of the students take exercise and 25.3% take part in organised games regularly in Calcutta. The figures for the suburban Colleges we have visited so far are slightly higher. As expected, football seems to be the most popular of the games and the use of dumb-bells the most prevalent system of exercise followed.

Last year we could not incorporate in our report the correlation table of height and weight. This table will be found on page 26 of this report. For convenience of reference we have converted in this report the tables of correlation of height and weight and chest measurements from the metric to English measures, with the hope that these tables will be more widely used than before.

The practice of issuing defect cards to students and their guardians, drawing their attention to the disease or defect they or their wards were suffering from, was continued. 700 such defect cards were issued from the office during the year. The system of submitting separate reports to the Colleges was also continued during the year. For the guidance of College authorities cases of special defects were pointed out in these reports and general recommendations for treatment and exercise were also given. The After-Care Officer selected the more important cases out of these for following up. In all, the After-Care Officer followed up about a hundred cases during the year. The Honorary Secretary attended to the cases who applied to the department of their own accord for medical advice. Arrangements were made during the year to treat two cases of Tuberculosis, one of Goitre and two of Venereal diseases.

Mr. Sudhabindu Biswas, M.Sc., of the Sun Optical Co., of 24-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, kindly offered to supply

spectacles for one year at present to students recommended by our Committee at the following rates :—

Class A—A discount of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the usual price of the firm will be allowed to all students recommended by our Committee.

Class B—36 pairs of spectacles will be supplied at a nominal price to cover cost of materials, making, etc., to students recommended by us as deserving this class of concession.

Class C—6 pairs of spectacles will be supplied absolutely free of cost on special recommendations by the Committee.

We take this opportunity to thank the Sun Optical Company for their kind offer, and also Dr. N. C. Mitter for conducting special examinations at concession rates on several occasions.

During the year the Committee considered a scheme for further expansion of the work of the Committee and recommended to the University :—

(1) That the scope of the Students' Welfare Committee be enlarged so as to include the activities of a Director of Physical Instruction.

(2) That the Medical Officers under the Students' Welfare Committee should conduct an obligatory medical examination of all students entering the University. The results of the examination should be forwarded to the Director of Physical Instruction, who shall arrange for suitable exercises.

(3) That suitable provision should be made by the University for a Gymnasium and Playgrounds, which shall be under the supervision of the Director of Physical Instruction.

(4) That provisions should be made for classes and demonstrations in hygiene and dietetics.

(5) That the Students' Welfare Committee should control Inter-Collegiate athletics and sports.

(6) That provisions should be made for the medical attendance of needy students by establishing a central clinic.

The Committee for the year was constituted as follows :—

The Vice-Chancellor,—*President.*

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Prof. Heramba Chandra Maitra, M.A.

Kedarnath Das, Esq., M.D.

Rai Bahadur U. N. Brahmachari, M.A., M.D., Ph.D.,
F.A.S.B.

Prof. J. R. Banerjea, M.A., B.L.

Brajmohan Majumdar, Esq., M.A., B.L.

M. N. Banerjee, Esq., C.I.E., B.A., M.R.C.S.

Aga Mohd. Kazim Shirazi

Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D.
F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S.

Rev. Father E. Roeland, S.J.

Rev. G. Ewan, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, M.B., D.Sc.

Anathnath Chatterjee, Esq., M.B.B.S.,—*Hony. Secretary.*

During the year Mr. Haripada Maiti, M.A., was in charge of the office and supervised the preparation of the statistical data. He also acted as the Supervisor of the Rowing Club.

Health Examination Section.

General.

A comparison of the figures of our last two reports will show that the results of our examinations have reached more or less stable figures and addition of further data is not likely to affect materially the averages and percentages already arrived at. This does not mean that there has been no change in the physical development or the state of health of the student community during the last nine years. Such changes, if present at all, would be very slight from year to year, and would very easily be swallowed up in the general averaging.

es. To study these variations, therefore, we have this year calculated the averages in trienniums. The total number of cases in each triennium is between 5,000 and 6,000. The tables showing variations of the averages and percentages under the more important heads in the trienniums are given below :

TABLE No. 1 (Posture) Percentages.

No. of students.	Erect.	Stooping.	Triennium.
5,948	64·501	35·5	1926-1928
5,198	58·74	41·01	1923-1925
5,774	51·31	47·10	1920-1922

TABLE No. 2 (Height, Weight and Ponderal Index).

No. of students.	Height in cm.	Weight in kilo.	Ponderal Index.	Triennium.
5,948	166·21	51·25	2·231	1926-1928
5,198	167·83	50·64	2·212	1923-1925
5,774	164·1	50·98	2·24	1920-1922

TABLE No. 3 (Chest Measurement)

No. of students.	Inspiration cm.	Expiration cm.	Expansion. cm.	Triennium.
5,948	88·18	78·69	4·49	1926-1928
5,198	88·21	78·77	4·44	1923-1925
5,774	82·35	78·57	3·78	1920-1922

TABLE No. 4 (Grip Strength).

No. of students.	Right hand.	Left hand.	Years.
5,889	39·4	36·28	1926-28
5,107	39·44	36·49	1920-25

TABLE No. 5 (Vision).

Total number of students examined.	Total number of students with defective vision.	Uncorrected vision.	Percentages with partially corrected vision.	Fully corrected vision.	Triennium
5,948	1,995 33·54 %.	56·9 %. 62·4 %. 31·63 %.	18·6 %. 17 %. 25·9 %.	24·5 %. 20·6 %. 18·1 %.	1926-1928 1923-1925 1923-1922
5,197	1,644				
5,775	1,953 39·81 %.	60·8 %. 61·6			

TABLE No. 6 (Teeth) Percentages.

No. of students.	Normal.	Caries.	Defective.	Triennium.
5,948	79·83	8·85	11·5	1926-1928
5,197	66·8	9·31	24·44	1923-25
5,775	61·6	6·7	31·1	1920-22

TABLE No. 7 (Gum) Percentages.

No. of students.	Pyorrhoea	Triennium.
5,948	1·44	1926-28
5,197	5·61	1923-25
5,775	4·5	1920-22

TABLE No. 8 (Skin) Percentages.

No. of students	Normal.	Defective.	Triennium.
5,948	76·78	23·21	1926-1928
10,972	71·64	28·29	1920-25

TABLE No. 9 (General Defects) Percentages.

No. of stu- dents.	Heart.	Lungs.	Liver.	Spleen.	Tonsil.	Hydrocele.	Orchitis.	Hernia.	Triennium.
5,948	2·54	·64	1·78	2·13	10·66	·81	1·37	·36	1926-1928
5,197	4·75	·88	·43	1·05	16·48	·61	1·38	·07	1923-1925
5,775	5·20	·60	·9	3·0	7·77	1·1	1·0	·2	1920-1922

From Table No. 1—Posture, it is evident that there has been a progressive increase of students with erect posture from 51·31% in 1920-22 to 64·5% in 1926-28, and a corresponding decrease of students with stooping posture. From Table No. 2, it will be seen that there is a tendency to increase both in Height and Weight within the last nine years.

The figures for chest measurement given in Table No. 3 show an increase both in the size of the chest and for expansion. Grip strength, however, remains steady for the period. (Table No. 4.)

The total number of students suffering from defective vision has remained constant more or less and forms about 33% of the students examined. There has, however, been a fall in the number of students with uncorrected vision and the percentage of students with adequate glasses has steadily increased from 13% to 25%. The percentage of students with partially corrected vision has also fallen from 25% to 18% (Table No. 5).

The percentage of students suffering from caries however has risen from 6·7% to 8·8%; but students suffering from slight dental troubles, has fallen from 31·1% to 11·5% (Table No. 6). Incidence of Pyorrhœa shows a similar decrease from 4·5% to 1·44% (Table No. 7). The percentage of students with defective skin also shows a slight reduction from 28% to 23% (Table No. 8).

In Table No. 9 we have shown the incidence of the major affections of the different systems. From an examination of the figures it will be seen that incidence of the circulatory diseases has fallen from 5·2% in 1920-22 to 2·5% in 1926-28. The number of students with diseases of the respiratory system has remained constant. The percentage of students with enlarged liver and spleen shows a progressive increase. This is partly due to the inclusion of a large number of Muffasil students examined during the triennium 1926-28. The percentage of the students suffering from enlarged Tonsils in the triennium 1926-28 is less than the figure for the second triennium 1923-25. The incidence of minor troubles has risen however and accounts for the increase in the number of total and general defectives in recent years.

Calcutta Colleges.

Last year we gave the average measurements of Bengali students as follows :—

Height	... 66·4 inches.
Weight	... 112·2 lbs.
Chest Inspiration	... 33·1 inches.
„ Expiration	... 31·4 inches.
„ Expansion	... 1·7 inches.

Strength of grip :

Right hand	... 39·19 kilos.
Left	... 36·33 „

Taking the above figures as norms of development for College students in Bengal, we have determined (a) the averages and (b) the percentages of students who are above or below these figures in the different Colleges examined during the year 1928 :

COLLEGES.

TABLE No. 10.

Height—General average for all students—165·99.

Name of the College.	Average of the College.	Percentage above General Average.	Percentage below General Average.
Presidency College	166·92 cm.	54·49 %.	27·78 %.
City College ...	166·21 "	32·6%.	48·4%.
Scottish Churches College.	166·45 "	51·63%.	30·46%.
Islamia College ...	164·59 "	38·16%.	42·01%.

TABLE No. 11.

Weight—General average for all students—50·96.

Name of the College.	Average of the College.	Percentage above General Average.	Percentage below General Average.
Presidency College ...	53·19 kg.	44·96%.	40·67%.
City College ...	51·30 kg.	44·94%.	40·7%.
Scottish Churches College.	51·38 kg.	45·11%.	37·21%.
Islamia College ...	49·84 kg.	26·92%.	59·43%.

TABLE No. 12.

Chest Expansion—General average for all students—4·34.

Name of the College.	Average of the College.	Percentage above General Average.	Percentage below General Average.
Presidency College ...	4·86 cm.	58·87%.	28·25%.
City College ...	5·06 "	17·4%.	63·7%.
Scottish Churches College.	4·67 "	46·74%.	* 40·41%.
Islamia College ...	4·26 "	42·603%.	37·57%.

These figures seem to indicate that if we leave out the Islamia College, the differences noted between the different Colleges in Calcutta are not sufficiently large to be significant as far as height and weight are concerned. The figures for chest expansion show a wide variability; the percentage of students who are above the average in the City College being only 17·4 % as compared with 59·87 % in the Presidency College and 46·74 % in the Scottish Churches College. The figures for the Islamia College indicate that the Muhammadan student is of a slighter build and less robust than his fellow students.

Calcutta Colleges and Colleges near Calcutta.

We have during the year been able to visit most of the Colleges within easy reach of Calcutta, viz., Narasinha Dutt College, Howrah, Serampore College, Hooghly College and Burdwan Raj College, and the combined number of students examined in these Colleges is nearly the same as in the Presidency College. The results of the comparison between the Presidency and the Suburban Colleges are given in the following tables :—

TABLE No. 13.

	Presidency College.	Combined Colleges.	Average for all students.
No. of students	745	768	16,920
Height in cms.	166·92	165·62	165·95
Weight in kilos.	53·19	50·05	50·9
Chest Inspiration in cms.	84·37	82·77	82·8
Chest Expansion in cms.	4·9	4·89	4·13
Grip (right) in kilos.	40·98	40·84	39·19
Grip (left) in kilos.	37·79	37·75	36·33

The above figures indicate that for all practical purposes the physical development of students of Colleges within easy reach of Calcutta is of the same standard as that of the average Calcutta student.

TABLE No. 14.

Percentages.

	Presidency College.	Combined Colleges.	Average for all students.
Total defectives ...	77·4	74·21	70·97
General defectives ...	46·30	43·22	34·7
Defects of vision ...	38·77	26·08	32·64
Correction :			
Uncorrected ...	42·66	74·62	62·91
Partially corrected...	19·03	14·42	19·12
Fully corrected ...	38·40	10·9	17·52
Teeth :			
Caries ...	11·14	8·59	8·1
Gum :			
Pyorrhoea ...	1·87	1·69	4·09

It is evident from the above table that the incidence of General Defectives and Total Defectives amongst the Muffasil students is nearly the same as for the Calcutta students. They however seem to suffer less from Pyorrhoea and have better vision. But the percentage of students having uncorrected vision is very large. The percentage of students with proper glasses is also low. On analysing the incidence of General Defects under different heads (see Table No. 15) we find that the number of students in the Muffasil Colleges suffering from enlarged spleen and liver is greater than that in Calcutta, and that the Muffasil students suffer less from respiratory and digestive troubles than their Calcutta friends.

Contrary to expectations, the percentage of students affected with throat troubles is the same in both the groups :—

TABLE No. 15 (Percentages).

Item.	Presidency College.	Combined Colleges.	Average for all students.
Circulatory system	1·34	3·9	4·12
Respiratory systems	·40	·26	·56
Liver	·40	1·82	1·07
Spleen	·40	3·64	2·1
Bad Throat	18·69	18·8	18·91
Digestive Troubles	28·95	15·36	...

Effect of Exercise.

To study the effect of exercise on the general growth and health of the College students, we arranged for a thorough enquiry last year in connection with our regular examination work as regards the form of exercise taken by the students. The records of those who took exercise regularly have been separately analysed. The averages and percentages obtained have been compared with (a) the averages and percentages for the students of the same College who do not take exercise, and (b) the general averages and percentages for all students.

TABLE No. 16.

E = Exercisers.
R = The Rest.

N.	Scottish Churches Col- leges Hostels.			Presidency College.			City College.			Islamia College.			Total.
	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.	
Height	6'1 cm.	167'45 cm.	167'45 cm.	167'81 cm.	166'01 cm.	166'30 cm.	163'95 cm.	164'84 cm	165'79 cm.	165'79 cm.	165'79 cm.	165'79 cm.	6'38 cm.
Weight	52'57 k.	50'32 k.	55'54 k.	52'74 k.	51'87 k.	51'02 k.	49'58 k.	49'09 k.	52'54 k.	52'54 k.	52'54 k.	51'45 k.	
Chest Ex.	4'73 cm.	4'80 cm.	5'06 cm.	4'82 cm.	5'08 cm.	5'04 cm.	4'07 cm.	4'33 cm.	4'78 cm.	4'78 cm.	4'78 cm.	4'76 cm.	
Grip (right)	41'14 k.	38'2 k.	42'64 k.	40'73 k.	41'73 k.	37'38 k.	38'38 k.	38'60 k.	41'11 k.	41'11 k.	41'11 k.	39'81 k.	
Grip (left)	38'05 k.	35'61 k.	39'25 k.	37'54 k.	37'93 k.	36'55 k.	35'0 k.	35'19 k.	37'67 k.	37'67 k.	37'67 k.	36'70 k.	

If we compare the different College students we find that in the Presidency College Regular Exercisers show a definite superiority over the rest in all the items, whereas in the Islamia College it seems the other way. Contrary to expectations the average for chest expansion is practically the same for both the groups—exercisers and the rest.

So far as incidence of disease is concerned, the Regular Exercisers suffer less than the rest as will be apparent from the following table. But it may be noted here that even in the regular exercisers digestive troubles are fairly common, the percentage being as high as 26%.

TABLE No. 17.

Incidence of disease in Regular Exercisers group and the Rest (Percentages).

Disease.	E	R
Heart	1·4	2·4
Lungs	·2	·8
Bad Throat	7·7	12·4
Digestive troubles	26·8	38·1
Hernia	0	·3
Hydrocele	·4	1·1
Varicocele	0	·4

Physical Education.

We pointed out in our last report that the University had recommended that some form of physical exercise or participation in organised games should be made compulsory for all College students of the first-year class at least. To encourage the Colleges to fit up suitable gymnasiums and build playgrounds the University had also proposed to give financial aid

to Colleges applying for the same. The following statement shows the distribution of money grants by the University of Calcutta for physical education in non-Government Colleges affiliated to the University during the triennium 1926-28 :—

Serial No.	Name of College.	Amount of grant in			Purpose for which the grant was recommended.
		1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	
1.	Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh.	Rs. 6,000	Rs. 3,00	Rs. 1,400	Gymnasium
2.	Bagerhat College ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	Do.
3.	Brojomohan College, Barisal	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>	1,500	Do.
4.	Carmichael College, Rungpur	2,000	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>	Do.
5.	Daulatpur Hindu Academy ...	<i>nil</i>	2,500	2,500	Do.
6.	Feni College ...	3,000	3,000	3,000	Gymnasium and playground.
7.	Prabhat Kumar College, Contai.	1,000	1,500	1,000	Do.
8.	Rajendra College, Faridpur ...	4,000	500	<i>nil</i>	Do.
9.	Ripon College, Calcutta ...	1,500	1,00	<i>nil</i>	Do.
10.	Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.	<i>nil</i>	1,00	1,500	Athletics
11.	Serampore College ...	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>	2,000	Gymnasium
12.	Victoria College, Comilla ...	1,000	2,500	2,500	Gymnasium and playground.
13.	Wesleyan College, Bankura ...	1,000	1,000	1,500	Gymnasium
	Total ...	20,500	17,000	17,900	

To form an idea of the number of students who take part in organised games or take exercise regularly and to estimate the popularity of different games and systems of exercise we instituted a specific enquiry last year, as a part of our regular routine work. Of the total number of students 31.32% take exercise and 25.3% take part in organised games regularly in Calcutta. In the Colleges within easy reach of Calcutta, the percentages rise to 41% and 34.8% respectively. The percentage of students who take exercise irregularly are 28.4% for the Calcutta Colleges and 20.2% for the Colleges near Calcutta. In the following table we have shown the popularity of the different games among those who take part in games regularly among all College students :

			% of those who are regular in games.
Footbal	...	...	76.79
Cricket	...	...	31.8
Tennis	...	...	25.21
Hockey	...	...	24.64
Volley-ball	...	...	22.92
Basket-ball	...	...	17.76
Badminton	...	...	11.17

Frequency of the different systems of exercise among those who take regular exercise is shown below :—

1. Dumb-bells	...	...	22.37%
2. Parallel Bar, Rings, &c.	...	...	15.31%
3. Bar-bell & weight-lifting	...	...	14.21%
4. Walking	...	...	11.65%
5. Dand	...	...	10.25%
6. Ground exercises	...	...	10.10%
7. Freehand exercises	...	...	7.89%

(including Naidu's system 0.93)

8. Baithak	...	...	6·52%
9. Swimming	...	...	5·59%
10. Indian Clubs	...	...	4·42%
11. Chest Expander	...	...	2·33%
12. Developer	...	...	1·63%
13. Riding Wrestling } Running }	...	...	.93%
14. Skipping } Boxing } Lathi }	...	...	.46%

We have already pointed out the effect of regular exercise on physical growth and health. We hope that the above tables will prove useful to the authorities of the different Colleges in organising games and fitting up gymnasias. In this connection we may state that the University has recently appointed a sub-committee to consider different schemes of physical education and to recommend one which may be adopted by the University.

Rowing Club Section.

During the year there were nine jolly-boats, two Tub-fours and two clinkers under the direct management of the Committee. Three jolly-boats were placed at the disposal of private Colleges. The number of members on the 31st December, 1928, was 51 and four boats went out daily on the average. Mr. B. N. Mukherjee, a student of the Calcutta Medical College, acted as the Assistant Supervisor during the year.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1930

MATHEMATICS AND EDUCATION

I.—SCIENCE TEACHING EFFICIENCY

Some weeks ago an extract from a lecture by Mr. Stanley Baldwin was printed in these columns. It was mainly an apology for the seeming failure of present-day politicians as contrasted with the triumphing of scientists. What seemed to alarm Mr. Baldwin most, however, was not any alleged failure of him or his fellows, but the possibility that material forces had been revealed by Science, to deal wisely with which ordinary human nature was unprepared. This may be primarily a question of morals, and as such have an educational significance which will be seen to have some connection with what we consider here. But what is really relevant to our purpose is the lament Mr. Baldwin makes over another educational problem, *viz.*, that the popular mind lags deplorably behind discovery. To-day, he says, the mental food of the people as provided by scientists is largely "a debris of discredited theories;" there is no finality in scientists' discoveries.

"*Finished?*?"—Whether such a finality be desirable or not, the fact of change imposes on us an educational duty often neglected: we should ever be scrutinising our curricula and our educational practice with this intellectual need which Mr. Baldwin emphasised in view. Do we really do all that is

possible to lessen the lag to which he points as specially unfortunate ; or do we even make it our aim to keep the mind alert to the real nature of knowledge ? Do we not too readily rest content with the idea that we can turn out from school and college "finished" scholars—stamped with the examination seal ?

A certain type of conservative will warn us against this over-ambition of trying to be quite up to date. The greatest need in education, he will say, is to make things definite and clear for students—look at the way in which we are threatened by the loose and crude thinking done by our students ! One might stop to argue that crude thinking may be a reaction from overmuch schooling : and, in truth, the decisive consideration here is more the kind of action and reaction between student and teacher than what is taught. It is very easy to attempt too much in these days of exacting demands; suffice it to point out the great loss and danger of not attempting enough. To think of the deadening effect of the very influential textbooks which give not even a peep beyond the confines of the syllabus makes one shudder. This tendency to be self-contained in education is not restricted to India. In *Nature* recently an unrealised aim of scientific education was set forth as "some preparation of the human mind for the new world which science is creating : not so much a concrete knowledge of science as a scientific outlook, a scientific habit of thought." We do not often hear teachers claim that they have come anywhere near attaining this goal.

Rather more than a year ago a series of articles entitled "Mathematics and Life" was published in *The Times of India*. These were directed towards clearing away some of the lumber in the mathematics curriculum imposed on the First-year student in the Bombay University, and towards substituting what would be of positive quickening value to the students in their later studies. The time has now come to supplement these articles with the results of a year of further enquiry and

of experiment. The articles have been reprinted as a pamphlet, and so it may suffice here merely to allude to the leading ideas worked out in them.

Misplaced Specialisation.

There was little need to labour the point that what is now being taught as mathematics in the First-year college classes is especially obnoxious to the great majority of students. If there were any grim old time educationist who regards with indifference the existence of this distaste, he could not but allow that the actual result of this effort to discipline students is simply evasion—students, and sometimes teachers, come to regard the purpose of study as achieved, if the students learn by heart enough to enable them to score pass-marks. The keen mathematical enthusiast could also object that the mathematics taught gives quite a wrong idea of the nature of modern mathematics; it is largely what was devised for study by mature men in bygone ages, and it would be well if it were reserved in these days too for specialists who really could appreciate it. Probably the majority of reformers favour making mathematics optional with subjects of quite another calibre and genius, and this is the solution that has been adopted with more or less completeness in other Indian universities. In Bombay this relief by running away from the difficulty has been rejected for obvious reasons.

What the articles of a year ago sought to do was to outline a scheme for dealing with the difficulty in a more positive way than had hitherto been attempted. Without giving up the disciplinary value of a course of mathematics, it was held that it could be so altered as to be brought within the comprehension of F. Y. students, and at the same time could be made to serve an end of real value as a preparation for a freer and more effective study of some one of many branches of learning. With later studies the present course signally fails to make contact; instead of awaking students to the possibilities of help from

mathematical devices, it fills them with a nausea or a fear, or even a not very creditable contempt, at the suggestion of mathematics. The result has been that they have been left unnecessarily handicapped should they encounter even trifling difficulties of a mathematical nature, and can only gaze with unappreciative admiration at a mathematical short cut through perplexities.

Links with Life.

The immediate purpose of the articles was to appeal to non-specialists in mathematics, who may have found it useful, or who may have mourned their lack of its aid. These can give unique help in elucidating the situations in which mathematical aid may be found in practice to avail most. That appeal for criticism and help met with a very generous response. Both educationists and non-educationists have freely given guidance in difficulties, and provided interesting material for study and apparatus for the classroom. It is still necessary to make this special appeal; for the solution of this problem is not in the first instance a matter for mathematical specialists—their idea of what is useful and feasible in practice inevitably differs from that of people who are engaged in the work-a-day world, or in other special lines of investigation. However, the time *has come* to change the emphasis.

The experience of the past year has revealed the practicability of the proposal for the students, and we can now think more definitely of how the scheme may be fitted in with the rest of their activities, present and future. The search for what is most desirable to teach must indeed be continued actively and prominently for several years yet, before a result is achieved that can be regarded with full satisfaction : and it is hoped that there will be increasing co-operation in this search. But alongside this can now proceed a more definite investigation of the educational implications of the project, and so we make our main theme now “ Mathematics and Education.”

II.—MATHEMATICAL AUTHORITY.

“ The only Indian University I know in which a reasonably good course in Applied Mathematics is taught is Madras.” This from a Government official who was once an educationist and who is now doing outstanding work in a department where he requires the help of many science graduates, is rather startling. It is quite a typical comment on what we are advocating here, but strictly such an opinion is irrelevant to our proposal ; for we are not to discuss the training of the mathematician. (Nor, it may be added, are we concerned immediately with any of the many specialists who are very keen to see mathematics applied more freely to their own particular subject at the higher stages.) What we well might ask in passing is how the Bombay University, if the above opinion cannot be refuted, loses its initial advantage ; for in it in the first year is taught the mathematics which in most other Indian Universities, including Madras, is taught in the second.

But the main purpose in making the quotation is simply to encourage a friendly rebellion by non-mathematicians against the way in which the mathematical educationist exclusively has determined what he shall teach within the time at his disposal. A scientist who a few years ago was noted for his vigorous work in the Bombay University, writes of his having provoked a horror (which made even him, he says, retire into his shell !) by suggesting that mathematics should be taught as a tool. This was perhaps an unfortunate phrase (though it is used as a catch-word in the first of the “ Mathematics and Life ” articles) to employ as comprehending the essential idea ; for genuine mathematics would have more effect on the sciences than a dead instrument : it may serve the sciences, but it has insight that compares with theirs; and it will not be blinded.

Rigour Again!

But the suggestion seems to have carried another import : for the horror referred to was "at the idea of using a result without knowing how to prove it." Perry has poured scorn on this attitude by asking if a boy should not be allowed to wear a watch before he knows how to make one. This, however, is going to the opposite extreme ; and in this matter many seem to find no position tenable unless it is extreme. It is unlikely, however, that mathematical teachers will ever be capable, however else they err, of becoming mere exhibitors in a museum of special mathematical devices. And it may suffice here simply to counter a tendency to think that theirs is the century-old ideal of a senior Wrangler,—merely to unfold the "logical accuracy which is the soul of mathematics, and to elicit and cultivate which is the great benefit such studies confer as a branch of education." It was Hilbert, the distinguished author of "Foundations of Geometry" with its famed five groups of axioms, who remarked : "My plan in teaching is to work with as many 'axioms' as my pupils will accept." After all, the main purpose must be to open out the possibility of a mathematical habit of thought by presenting such mathematical ideas as the pupils can assimilate : and this involves more than mere logic.

There are other general considerations, chief of these being the need for reckoning with the Time Spirit. There is evidence that this is being recognised in England, for a lengthy review of Spengler's philosophy of history, *The Decline of the West*, was published recently in the *Mathematical Gazette*. The leading thought therein was that the Greeks were revolted by ideas of the infinite and the infinitesimal, which are fundamental in modern mathematics ; they would have been stopped by the paradox in "greater than the greatest" or "less than the least" : for them "a line of indefinite length" was a contradiction in terms. What a difference it would have made to those

of us old enough and hardy enough to have been brought up on Euclid's treatment of proportion in his Book V, had we been told that the Greek number-idea was confined to the positive integers !

Pythagoras or Descartes ?

The reviewer in the *Gazette* asks trenchantly : " Is it not time for the farce to be given up? Let Euclid be left to boys in the Classical Sixth, who should study Greek mathematics along with Greek philosophy, Greek politics and Greek art. The ordinary school course in geometry should be designed with the definite object of providing an introduction to the mathematics of our own culture. Loci, limits, and variable, instead of being admitted on sufferance, should be made prominent, the whole thing centring round graph work and leading on to the Calculus. Such facts about lengths, angles, triangles and circles as must be known for everyday purposes or for use in later work *can be taught rapidly*, starting from an experimental standpoint, with logical connections appearing gradually and naturally ; but let us not exalt this work into a solemn ritual, a religious game to be played under strict arbitrary rules."

That might suffice ; but the truth and the vigour of this writing demand that it be rescued from obscurity. " Let us get on," the reviewer cries, " to the real business of teaching the mathematics of our own Western culture. It is astonishing to find how many boys are under the impression that Geometry, if not Mathematics as a whole, has practically stood still since the time of Euclid. Why are we content that the majority should leave school in complete ignorance of the mathematics that is theirs, stuffed instead with a hotch-potch, some of which is, and must be, dull and dead to their Western minds? Is it not a fact that the modern boy is interested in loci, graph-work, rates of change, infinity, but hopelessly bored by triangles and Euclidean constructions ? Any form will vote solid for

Dynamics against Statics, for the parabola of the cricket ball against that of the suspension bridge, for a cycloid against a conic section as such. And that is all as it should be and must be....

Misdirected Effort.

“The educated man of the future will have to know about mathematics, not because he is going to be an engineer or an actuary, but because the subject represents one aspect of human thought and has to be studied *in conjunction with* art, religion, philosophy. This is what many mathematicians do not realise.”

It is directly to our purpose to point out one evidence of misdirected effort in the training of our mathematicians. At the beginning of his standard four-volume treatise on “Principles of Geometry” Dr. H. F. Baker says, “It is believed that the system here suggested is logically complete, and does not require that long preliminary study of elementary geometry to which at present so much time is devoted” in, for example, our Bombay First Year classes. If the training of the mathematical student is wasteful, what must be the case with the non-mathematician who is subjected to the same course!

This formalism and this traditionalism are generalities. In subsequent articles we shall turn to some specific applications of elementary mathematical ideas to the Arts and Sciences, and then deal briefly with the actual teaching of these ideas.¹

JOHN MACLEAN.

INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

'Frequent allusions to the inhabitants of the western zone of the Iran plateau are found in Assyrian documents from about the 8th century B. C. They belonged to the Aryan family and were closely related to the Indo-Aryan. The kinship existing between the two branches was unsuspected by antiquity, and is clear beyond doubt to modern science which bases its conclusions on the striking resemblance observable in the languages, the religious ideas, and even the original rites, and physical characteristics of the Indo-Aryans and Persians.'

These linguistic, religious and physical resemblances seem to have induced several scholars and historians including archæologists to seek further resemblance between the Persian and the Indian architecture. The procedure of investigation appears to have been based on a larger assumption that in all matters of refinement and culture the West must have been the creditors and the East the borrowers. The possibility of indigenous growth was never taken into consideration except in case of the Veda.

The admission made in this connection by Kennedy is free and frank. "The pre-historic age in India is distinguished, not by periods of stone and copper and bronze, but by the spread of the Aryans, the consolidation of societies, and the elaboration of a cult. With the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. we reach the commencement of personal and dated history, and a great creative era—the age of Mahāvīra and of Buddha. But the material preceded the spiritual. The first stir of that new life arose from the contact with Western civilization ; the breath of inspiration came from Babylon, and then from Persia. When the Greeks arrived, they found great and civilized peoples whose learning and whose capitals aroused their admiration. The records of that civilization were written on palm-leaves, and on

bark, or exhibited in brick and wood—things perishable, which have perished ; and we are perforce reduced to search painfully among the flotsam and jetsam of time for any vestiges of the grandeur of antiquity.”

Then follows an interesting note : “The progress of the Indians was necessarily of the slowest, for Persia could supply them with scarcely any models, and they had to discover everything themselves.”¹

“ Of the decoration of the earlier Buddhist monasteries we know practically nothing, but the decoration of the later Vihara caves, of Nalanda, and of the Sangharamas of Gandhara was Persian, and that not so much after the fashion of the Sassanians as of the Achaemenids. There is the same lavish employment of colour, the use of enamelled or metallic tiles upon the roof, the gilded rafters and elaborately painted ceilings, the rich capitals of the pillars, the application of inlaying. The two schemes of decoration are substantially the same.”²

“ To the general question, then, concerning the direct influence of Babylon on Indian art, we must answer ‘ no.’ ” But Kennedy thinks that “ a direct influence may be traced in one particular class of buildings and one particular locality—the Buddhist Vihara caves of Western India.....The four or five-storied Viharas ...undoubtedly recall the impression of a Babylonian Zigurat or temple, but are hollow throughout and built of wood.” In a note Kennedy adds ; “ Fergusson has attempted³ to connect certain Burmese and Sinhalese dagobas with the Babylonian type, and has suggested that connecting links once existed in brick and plaster in the valley of the Ganges. But there are two objections : (1) Had massive buildings of solid brick, either temples or viharas, ever existed in the valley of the Ganges, they could not fail to have left their traces, as the stupas have done. (2) The Indian buildings, so

¹ J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

³ *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 202, 618 ; and *Cave Temples of India*, p. 34,

far as we know (apart from the stupas, which are not buildings at all) were not solid, but hollow."¹

"The Babylonian Zigurats represented exactly on a large scale the same idea of a mountain.....the storied Viharas of India, with their retreating stages, are also imitation mountains. The artificial mountain of the Indians was necessarily a hollow shell, because all their constructions was of brick and wood.....But the towering Vihara became a very different structure from the solid stories of the Zigurat, for India has rarely borrowed any thing which she has not altered in adopting it." This is a very convenient assumption ; Kennedy himself admits that when he says "but we may conjecture that Zigurat and Vihara had a common origin," but he is generous to confess that "these speculation may be fanciful;" and he "will not deny it."²

Thus Grunwedel and Burgess hold that "the Persian style, which the Achaemenides employed in their buildings at Susa and Persepolis, has inherited West Asian forms in its constructive as well as in its decorative features. This Persian style, which shows many peculiarities, is unfortunately represented only by a few monuments upon which it is almost impossible to pronounce judgment. But undoubtedly its elements may again be recognised in the buildings of Asoka's day and of the older Indian style, dependent on that of Asoka, as grafted upon the native wooden style."

"As chief elements, the following forms may be indicated :—The Persian pillar with bell-shaped capital was adopted directly; it was set up by itself as an inscription-pillar ; the famous iron pillar of Delhi is a later example. In sculptures it is seen not only in representation of palace-halls, but also decoratively,—often to divide spaces, and with many interesting variants. The bell-capital frequently serves as a basis for one or more lions or elephants, or for a religious symbol (*e.g.*, the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286, 287.

wheel) when the pillar is considered as standing alone. If the pillar is used as a support in a building, the bell-capital serves as base for an abacus on which turned towards the sides, winged figures of animals (winged horses, gazelles, goats, lions, or sitting elephants) are placed. This last form resembles the Persian "unicorn-pillar." The appearance of the whole pillar in India however, is rough and clumsy compared with Persian forms."¹

Fergusson detects Persian influence on pillars in front of the Bedsa cave south of Karle: "The two pillars in front, however, are so much too large in proportion to the rest, that they are evidently stambhas, and ought to stand free instead of supporting a verandah. Their capitals are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any other in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution." In a note he, further, adds that "in the Pitalkhora vihara, we find the Persepolitan capital repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon repeated the bicephalous bull and ram of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes."²

Of the more recent advocates of the Persian theory Sir John Marshall is stated by Dr. Spooner to have inferred from the Sarnath Capital "that Mauryan stonework had been wrought by foreign masons."³ Dr. Spooner himself has gone much further and the idea which was almost within the grasp of Fergusson but 'missed,' altogether possessed him (Spooner), and he could not think of anything but Persian in the Mauryan period of Indian history.⁴ He imagined to have explored

¹ *Buddhi's Art in India*, pp. 17-18. For illustrations see Cunningham Arch. Surv. Ind. Report. Vol. V, plates XLV, XLVI, pp. 187, 188; Burgess Archaeological Surv. W. Ind. Vol. IV, pp. 5, 12; and Cave Temples, plates XVI, XXIII, XCVI.

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 198.

³ J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 66.

⁴ See pp. 38-39.

everything as the result of his excavation at Kumrahar, Patna, which, however, did not proceed further than its initial stage and could not unearth any thing but a portion of a badly damaged pillar and the footmark of what he imagined to be a hall. Starting with a preconceived idea that "the style of Asoka's sculptured capitals originated in Persepolis" he began to see at the very outset "the peculiar Persian polish in the columns" some twenty-three hundred years after their erection and (from this polish) it seemed to him "not impossible that even in its design the building (*i.e.*, the hall of which only the footmarks remain) might have been under Persian influence." The Hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis, which is discussed later on, was a square hall with ten rows of ten columns evenly spaced in square bays. "At Pataliputra," Spooner himself emphatically declares, "to be sure, we had only eight rows," but he consoles himself with an equally emphatic assumption that "there was every reason to suppose that others would be found, and possibly evidence for a porch as well, to correspond with the porch in Persepolis." He, further, admits that "the intercolumniation at Kumrahar was found to be five diameters; an intercolumniation not identical, perhaps, with that of the Persian throne-room, but still," holds Dr. Spooner, "one which is essentially Persepolitan, and never found in any other country of antiquity." So far as the capitals are concerned of which there appears to be striking similarity as has even pointed by all authorities, Spooner admits that "No capitals had been recovered in Patna to help us in comparing the two buildings, nor had any pedestals been met with." Spooner acknowledged the importance of the existence of capitals when he says that "It may be true that, so far as Indian architecture is concerned, the only substantial point showing Persian influence is the capital." He further admits that "it may be true that no architectural plan in India, nor any type of building, as a whole, has hitherto been known which one could say was based directly on a Persian model," but yet undeterred even by this consideration

Dr. Spooner goes on to build his castle of assumption and declares that "a careful study of the stratification suggested that pedestals had, *in all probability*, existed, and the *indicated* dimensions and proportions justified the thought that these pedestals must have been themselves of Persepolitan type, round in plan, some 3 feet high, and inferentially, bell-shaped, though as regards this latter point," he is forced to admit that "no evidence exists."¹

Here it is necessary to observe that not a single monument of recognisable condition is available in Persia; everything has been in ruins which were seen by historians and of which many objects have been cleverly restored by several archaeologists from scanty material but fertile imagination. But the restorers do not agree amongst themselves. The actual condition of the ruins and the manner of their restoration are pointed out later on.

As more tangible similarity between the Persian and the Indian architecture is apparent in the capitals of columns it will be perhaps better to take into consideration this object to begin with. Columns in all countries can be classified into two broad classes in regard to their utility, namely, the free pillars and those which are employed in buildings as support to the whole structure and as the regulator of the whole composition in ancient architecture in any case. And as regards this regulating column alone the question of proportion and intercolumniation can arise. But so far as this column is concerned the capital is of minor importance, because in many places of its employment it becomes mixed up with the entablature and loses its prominence if not its identity also. Of the free pillar, on the other hand, the capital is the most prominent part, because no other part draws the attention of the visitor so much, the free pillar having no other purpose to serve except being showy. Therefore, apart from the consideration of stability, the proportion between its length and width and

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 66, 67.

between its component parts, namely, the pedestal, base, shaft, and capital, has no significance. But these are the factors which count much in case of the regulating pillar, because apart from aesthetic consideration any error in the proportion and in the composition of several parts often prove injurious not only to the pillar itself but also destructive to the whole building. Consequently the regulating pillar can hardly be considered without taking into consideration the building which it regulates.

These common characteristic features of columns in all countries may help us in distinguishing the really essential elements from the unessential ones. Before proceeding further it is necessary to take stock of what we find in India and what in Persia, and when.

The archæological remains in India could not be dated much earlier than the fifth century B.C., the Piprahwa Stupa building of 450 B.C. being about the earliest, until the discoveries made at Mahenjodaro and Harappa which may take back by centuries the Indian architecture and other matters of the cultural progress of the country to a time which would make it impossible to further speculate on the Persian influence in India in any case. But before the artistic treasures unearthed in Sindh and the Punjab have been properly studied and made available they can be hardly utilised in an article like this. We are, therefore, perforce to limit our observation to the old materials which are fortunately plentiful for the present purpose.

The extant Buddhist pillars, with which alone a Persian connection has been sought to be established, and which probably at one time could be counted by hundreds, do not number more than a dozen. The best known Asokan pillar is that removed from Topra to Delhi by Firoz Sha Tughlak in 1356. A fragment of a second was re-erected also in Delhi in 1867. Three others exist in Champaran district : the first of these is known as the Lauriya-Araraj, the second as the Lauriya Navandgarh pillar, and fragment of the other was "recognised—utilised as a roller for the station roads by an utilitarian member of the

Civil Service." The most complete shaft, bereft however, of its capital, is the Allahabad pillar to which a pedestal was added by Captain Smith, but which was again thrown down and re-erected by Jahangir (in 1605) to commemorate his accession. Four others of Asokan pillars are in much damaged condition at Rampurwa, Nigliva, Rammindei, and Sarnath. " It is more than probable that each of these Asokan pillars stood in front of or in connection with some Stupa, or building of some sort. At least we know that six or seven can be traced at Sanchi, and nearly an equal number at Amarabati, and in the representation of topes at the latter place, these *lats* are frequently represented both outside and inside the rails. At Karle one still stands in front of the great cave." The pillar at Eran and the iron pillar at Meharauli near Delhi belong to the Gupta period, and the pillar at Pathari in Bhopal is ascribed to Rastrakuta King Parabala (861 A.D.).

The crowning ornament of these pillars have been lost, but the capitals of some pillars still exist. The capital of the pillar at Lauriya Navandgarh is surmounted by a lion of bold and good design. The pillar at Sankisa situated between Mathura and Kanouj, of which the greater part of the shaft has been lost is surmounted " by an elephant, but so mutilated that even in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mistook it for a lion." The pillar at Karle is surmounted by four lions, " which, judging from analogy, once bore a *chakra* or wheel, probably in metal." The pillars at Bedsa, a dozen miles south of Karle, partly stand free and partly supporting a verandah : these pillars are surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution. These capitals are stated to be " more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others." In a note, on the authority of Dr. Le Bon, Fergusson, further, asserts that in the Pitalkhora vihara " the Persepolitan capital is repeated with a variety of animals over it ; for the Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalous bull and ram

of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes.”¹

It is needless to point out that this ‘great variety of animals’ on the capitals of Indian columns has caused great inconvenience and discomfort to the advocate of the Persian theory because on Persepolitan capitals the animals comprise only bull, and unicorn, possibly lion too.

Another important factor which Fergusson himself admits is that the Persepolitan “features are only found on the *lats* of Asoka, and are never seen afterwards in India, though common in Gandhara and on the Indus long afterwards.....Persian form of capital long retained its position in Indian art.”² It is, however, not stated how, and why the Persian form did not influence the other Indian types, but the fundamental differences in the Indian types are explained: “whatever the Hindus copied, however, was changed in course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own taste.” With such an assumption any slight similarity in the most ordinary things of any two countries or peoples may establish relation of indebtedness of any one of the two to the other.

The great variety, and the undeniable differences from the Persian model, of the Indian columns can be verified by a reference to the capitals of pillars at cave No. 26 at Ajanta (Fergusson I, p. 154), at the Chaitya Cave of Kenheri (p. 164), at Bhaja (p. 178), at caves of Nahapana and of Gautamputra in Nasik (p. 185), at Sri Yajna Cave (p. 188), at Vihara No. 16 (p. 190), No. 17 (p. 191), No. 24 (p. 194), No. 1 (p. 195), at Ajanta, at Patna (p. 207), at Jamalgarh (p. 214), at Srinagar and at Shadipur (p. 257), in Bhima Rath at Mamallapuram (p. 332), Dhvaja-stambha at Elura (p. 346), Dipa-stambha in Dharwar (p. 347), in Tirumalai Nayyaka’s chaultri at Madura (p. 387), at Vellor and at Pelur (p. 399), of the Hall in

¹ Ind. and East. Arch. I, 138.

² Ibid p. 59.

Palace at Madura (p. 414), of Court in palace in Tanjor (p.415), at Ananta Gumptha in Orissa (Vol. II, p. 16), of a Indra Sabha cave at Elura (pp. 20, 21), of Bimala temple at Mount Abu (pp. 39, 42), at Chandravali, Mount Abu (p.43), at Ranpur (pp. 46, 47), at Khajuraho (p.53), at Gyaraspur (p.54), at Amwa (p. 56), at Sravana Belgola (p. 75), at Mudabidri (pp. 76, 77, 78), at Guruvayankeri (p. 81), at Jajpur (p. 111), at Kailasa and Elura (p. 126), at Elephanta (p. 129), Kirtistambha at Vadnagar (p. 136), at Udayapur in Gwalior (p. 146), and at Brindaban (pp. 157, 158).

This long list of existing pillars when compared with the shorter one comprising less than a dozen examples where certain similarity with the Persian type is possible makes it all the more difficult to believe in the Persian theory so far as the Indian pillars are concerned. Moreover, there is another consideration and that is, in a matter like the present one, perhaps more significant. Only the general principles and practicable rules and regulations for the guidance of artists are codified in standard treatises dealing with a subject like architecture. If any similarity can be clearly detected in the standard treatises of different countries deficiency due to the lack of sufficient archaeological remains can be rectified. But so far as Persia is concerned there appears to have been no such treatise ever written. All that has been recorded in Persia are from the reports of foreign visitors entirely based on their observation of the scanty remains. In India fortunately we possess in manuscripts many hundreds of *Śilpasāstras* dealing with architecture and the cognate arts in great detail. But the standard work, *Mānasāra*, was not accessible to scholars in any form until the publication of the writer's *Indian Architecture and Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* in 1927. It is needless to repeat what has been stated in these books. It is possible that from the details gathered together in these books, the readers may expect with greater reasons a similarity between the Indian and the Greco-Roman orders rather than the Persian

columns. Merely the conclusion may be quoted here : "The striking similarities in the names of the mouldings, like *padma* or *cyma*, *hara* or bead, or in the names of orders like the *Misrita* or Composite, may sometimes be attributed to inexplicable coincidence. But in view of other striking similarities between Vitruvius and the *Mānasāra*, such as the classification of orders into exactly five, and the divisions of subservient parts called mouldings, common to all the orders, into eight, and also the proportionate measurement varying equally from six to ten diameters, and tapering almost in the same way, there seem to have been something more substantial than mere coincidence. An influence, direct or indirect, of the one upon the other, seems highly probable."¹

In the absence of direct influence, and indirect influence through the Persian source should have been quite feasible if there were really anything common save and except a few capitals.

So far as the antiquity and the variety are concerned the Indian columns are so very remote and different from even the doubtfully restored columns of Persia, that no connection seems to be probable. Synonyms of pillars are met with in the Rig-veda² and the Atharva-veda,³ the former of which, in any case, must be dated before the Zend-Avesta of the Parsis. As regards the variety they are far too many to be referred to ; they are given in detail in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.⁴

¹ Indian Architecture by the writer, p. 153.

² Rigveda, I, 59, 1 ; IV, 5, 1.

³ Altrava-veda IX, 3, 1; Bloomfield, Hymns of the A. V. 343 et seq.

⁴ Āñghri (pp. 13-14), Āyaka (p. 67), Ayikapāda (p. 69), Ucchhraya (p. 78), Kirti-stambha (p. 132), Ganda-verenda, bearing sun-eagle (pp. 161, 674), Garuḍa-stambha (pp. 163, 652, 655, 666, 667, 674, 675, 677), Grīha-stambha (p. 172), Charaṇa (p. 196), Chitra-stambha (p. 196), Chitra-karṇa (p. 196), Janghā (p. 203), Jayanti (p. 208), Jayastambha, pillar of victory (p. 208), Dandaka with 16 sides (p. 256), Dvi-vajraka (p. 281), Dhāraṇa (p. 282), Dhvaja-stambha, bearing a flag or banner (p. 282), Dharma-stambha (p. 282), Dhānya-stambha (p. 282), Padmakānta (p. 339), Pāda (p. 346), Pālikā-stambha (p. 348), Kulikāngṛika (p. 143), Brahma-kānta (p. 449), Mānastambha, (pp. 654-656, 671),

The proportion and the intercolumnnations of the Persian type are also essentially different from the Indian ones. The proportionate measures of the pedestal, base, shaft, capital and entablature as well as the plan and intercolumnnation have been discussed in great detail in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* and need not be repeated here. Only the conclusions again may be briefly referred to. The measures of the mouldings of twelve pedestals¹ classified under three heads, and of some sixty-four basis² under nineteen heads have been given. Shafts are primarily divided into five orders, but there is a great variety described under the technical names of which a long list has been given above. The capitals too, which have drawn the attention of the archaeologists rather disproportionately, have been described under several types, none of which appears to have much resemblance with the Persian ones.

Mūla-danda (p. 511), Yūjpa-stambha (517), Ruchaka (p. 526), Rudra-kānta (527), Lakshmi-stambha (p. 527), Vajra-pada (p. 533), Vajra (p. 532), Viskawbha (p. 557), Vishṇu-kānta (p. 557), Vṛitta (p. 563), Śītā-stambha (p. 593), Śiva-kānta (p. 594), Subhañkari (p. 595), Sukhāñghri (p. 595), Śrikara (p. 597), Saumukhya (p. 642), Skanda-kānta (p. 643), Sthāna (p. 731). Sthāna (p. 731), of the Jains, Buddhists, Vaishnavas, Saivas (p. 677-678), -Basava pillar (p. 673), Benefaction pillar (p. 667), Beauty pillar (p. 597), Boundary pillar (p. 661), Brahma-deva pillar (p. 676), Crocodile pillar (p. 677), Devotion pillar (p. 670), Diamond pillar (p. 533), Dwarf pillar (pp. 13-14, 86), Elephant pillar (p. 675), Fan-palm pillar (p. 677), Fortune pillar (pp. 652-653, 668), Foundation pillar (pp. 511, 655, 664, 667), Four-faced pillar (pp. 653, 654, 658), Gate pillar (p. 672), Gold pillar, (p. 648), Granite pillar ((p. 654, 655, 656), Honour pillar (pp. 664-665, 666, 670-671), Lamp pillar (pp. 258, 661, 672, 673, 677), Lion pillar (pp. 655, 675, 676), Main pillar (p. 143), Memorial pillar (pp. 538, 674), Monkey pillar (p. 677), Monumental pillar (pp. 132, 282, 675), Octagonal pillar (p. 656), Phallus pillar (p. 667), Piety pillar (p. 659), Projecting pillar (p. 657), Quadrangular pillar (p. 653, 656, 657), Religious pillar (p. 282), Sacrificial pillar (pp. 663, 666, 669-670, 677), Sati pillar (pp. 660, 677), Sixteen-sided pillar (669), Stone pillar (pp. 593, 645, 652, 653, 657, 658, 659, 671, 673), Thieves pillar (p. 677), Thirty-two sided pillar (p. 648), Town pillar (p. 665), Trident pillar (p. 652), Umbrella pillar (p. 676), Unshaken pillar (p. 673), Upper pillar (p. 143), Victory pillar (pp. 659, 664, 666, 670, 671, 677), Wall pillar (p. 139), War pillar (pp. 661-662), and Welfare pillar (p. 669).

Like the *Romaka siddhānta* the name of an astronomical treatise based on Roman sources one might expect to find in this huge list pillars named after the Greeks, Romans, or the Parsis, but no such names are available.

¹ The Writer's Dictionary, pp. 88-91.

² The Writer's Dictionary, pp. 20-41.

Lastly the entablature have been described under eight classes.¹

The height of the pedestal is generally from one-quarter to six times of the height of the base. Pedestals are actually given nine heights which are worked out by nine proportions. In the case where a pedestal is joined to the base, the height of the pedestal may be either equal to that of the base, or twice, or three times as much. Again the bases are given twelve heights varying from 30 *angulas* (of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch each) to 4 cubits. The height of the shaft being divided into four parts, one is given to the base which may or may not be accompanied by a pedestal. The height of the entablature as compared with that of the base may be equal to the latter, or less by $\frac{1}{4}$, or greater by $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, or twice in cubit measure these six heights may vary from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 cubits. The heights of the entablature when compared with that of the shaft may be $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, of, or equal to, or greater by, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the latter.

Similarly the capitals are varied at pleasure, though not without regard to the diameter and length of the shaft, and the forms of the plainest of them are found at a distant view to bear some resemblance to the Doric and Ionic capitals ; but those of a more elaborate kind are sometimes so overloaded with a short of filligree ornaments, as to destroy the effect of the beautiful proportions of the whole.²

The capital given to the first design is from a model found at Tiruvottiyur near Madras and is called Taranga (Wave)—bodhika ; it is one diameter high and projects equal to its heights (*Dictionary*, p. 680). The other form is from a temple at Mayalapura ; it is called suru-bodhika or roll capital (p. 680). The height of the third capital called Phalaka is three-quarters of the lower diameter of the column and is divided into thirteen parts : its projection is one diameter (p. 683). The capital in the fourth variety takes three-quarters of the diameter (pp. 687-698). The fifth capital, called Pushpa-

¹ The Writer's Dictionary, pp. 378-381.

² The Writer's Dictionary, p. 704.

bandha, or Band of flower, is equal to the upper diameter of the column : its projection is equal to its height, but its altitude may be equal to the higher, lower, or the middle diameter of the column ; and its breadth may be equal to its height, or four or five diameters (p. 691). There are many other varieties which are hardly necessary for the present purpose (pp. 699-702). We may conclude with a more general direction : "a capital the height of which is from one to two diameters, and the breadth twice its height, is of the superior sort ; and that which in height is half the diameter, and in breadth from one to three diameters is of the inferior sort." (p. 691).

The plan of the Hindu columns admits of every shape, and is frequently found in the round, quadrangular, and octangular forms, although sixteen-sided and thirty-two-sided ones are also met with : they are richly adorned with sculptured ornaments (p. 703).

'The intercolumniation may be two, three, four, or five diameters : it is measured in three ways—first, from the inner extremity of the base of one pillar to that of another ; secondly, from the centres of the two pillars ; and thirdly, from the outer extremities of the pillars including the two bases. There seems to be no fixed intercolumniation. This has been left to the discretion of architects, who are, however, required to be particularly careful with regard to beauty and utility.'¹

Similar details of columns may be briefly quoted from Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Persia* :

'A glance at the proportions of the Persian column, its thin and airy aspect would, almost by itself, make it clear that it would have been a poor support for a stone entablative.' (p. 48). We have seen above that the Indian column is generally bulky. 'The shaft of the Persian column is always tall and slender. In the Palace of the thirty-six columns at Persepolis, the total height of the order, with base and crown, is in the proportion

¹ Indian Architecture by the writer, p. 45.

of twelve to one diameter of the shaft ; whilst in the Pasargadæ specimen, whose capital has disappeared, the proportions are more airy and light.' (p. 53). 'The Susian column, whose head is now in the Lanvre, best characterises the architecture of the Achaemenide sovereigns.' (pp. 86, 87).

'The shaft in all the orders of the edifices is slender and slightly tapering towards the top. It is fluted in all instances save in the facades of the necropoles at Persepolis, and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of the Polvar.' (p. 87).

'In the oldest stone column standing among the ruins of the Palace of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, we have a faithful representation of the primitive post, save that its material is stone and not wood. There is no fluting, the shaft being quite smooth. But what was its capital like ? No body knows. As to the base, it is a simple round form interposed between the shaft and the ground, even more rudimentary than the cube which does duty not as a plinth in the rustic house.' (pp. 98-99).

'The complex column, with double capital and volutes, rose between the four enormous pillars of the monumental propylæa on the Persepolitan platform ; it upheld the ceiling of the central hall of the great Palace of Zerzes, and formed the supports, both internally and externally, in the main porch of the Hall of a hundred columns, as well as those of the hypostyle hall of Artaxerxes at Susa.' In a note it is further stated that 'until recently only slight fragments of the capitals had been recovered ; nevertheless the number seen by Coste was sufficiently large to enable to write as follows " the flutes of the shaft are cut to a fine edge, and the capitals consist of four distinct sections." Scores of shafts and chips of capitals were disengaged some ten years ago. In Plates (LXVII-LXIX) of the atlas published by the German Mission, entitled *Details of Columns*, will be found fragments of the bull-group, along with pillars adorned by volutes and the cylindrical form which intervenes between these and the pillar. Altogether they furnish all

the elements requisite for a restoration of the column' (p. 95), but not for a comparison with the Indian column.

' All the columns have a base, which differs from one building to another.' (p. 88). 'The type that prevailed all over the country in the golden age of Persian art is represented' in the great palace at Susa. It constitutes the true Persian base. 'The base is not infrequently carved into the lower drum of the shaft, and is singled with it; hence with it must stand or inevitably fall. Elsewhere, in the hypostyle hall of Xerxes, for instance, the base is cut into two; in it the torus belongs to the first drum of the shaft, whilst the principal member is a separate block—resting directly on the ground. Despite the elegance of its contour and the care displayed in its make, the base lacks independence, and does not sufficiently contrast with the column so as to allow of those charming effects which greet us' (pp. 89-90) in the Grecian and Indian support.

As regards the shape of the base, it is limited to a few types only. 'In the Palace of Cyrus it is a disc, or a reversed quarter round. A more complicated shape, composed of a rectangular plinth and a torus seamed by horizontal channelings is seen in one of the porticoes of the Gabre, in the central colonnade of the great Palace of Xerxes at Susa, as also in the Hall of a hundred column.' (p. 88).

The plinth is hardly seen or can be distinguished. The proportion between the component parts of the column is also lacking.

The Persian capitals of which much has been made out by the early Indologists may be referred to in all available details.

In every case the lower portion of the capital detaches itself very abruptly from the column, forms a horizontal line on each side, parallel to the architrave and at right angles with the axis of the shaft. There is no junction or intermediary moulding between the tapering column and the rectangular member at the beginning of the capital, (p. 92) akin to the achinus of the Doric and Indian capital.

If, neglecting minor details; we only regard the shape as a whole, it does not seem unlikely that the first notion of it was suggested by the crowning tuft of a palm. The lower members of the capital would represent the dead twigs as they droop and fall about the stern of the tree ; the upper members, whose forms look upwards, would stand for the young shoots, which dart forward past the sere foliage with a slight outward curve ; the vertical strioe that scar the surface throughout would be reminiscent of the intervals or fillets which, in nature, separate the leaves of the terminal bunch.' (p. 92).

In India, on the other hand, it should be noted, the analogy lies with the human body : the capital stands for the head, the shaft for the body, the base for the leg, and the pedestal for the foot.

' Stolze (Persepolis, Bemerkungen) seems to think that in the capitals of the columns¹ the animals figured resemble the horse rather than the bull.....the ornamentist hit upon a kind of compromise between the two quadrupeds, so as to add another conventional type to his repertory, which is not a whit more strange than that of the unicorn, found at support to many of the architraves.'

The animals that figured on Indian capitals, we have seen, are neither bull, nor even the compromised unicorn but mostly lion, elephant and man.

Nothing like the Indian cave temples have been disclosed from the Persian ruins. No discussion on the subject is, therefore, possible.

(To be continued.)

P. K. Acharya

¹ Hypostyle hall of Xerxes at Persepolis No. 31 (Perrot and Chipiez. p. 91), No (p. 93), No. 38 (p. 97), No. 43 (p. 112) No. 44 (p. 115).

HOW DID JESUS INTERPRET HIMSELF?

From age to age and from clime to clime men have interpreted the life, teaching, death and continued influence of Jesus of Nazareth in a variety of ways, and to-day all over the world we see a flourishing crop of personal and communal interpretations of this amazing man. What does he mean for the world? Wisdom urges that before we go very far in our interpretation of Jesus we pause to consider how he interpreted himself. Just what was Jesus' conception of his mission? What life purpose did he follow? What was his aim, his message, his method?

To answer these questions, let us first glance at the dominant hope of his race and religion, namely, the hope in the coming of the Kingdom of God, and then trace the probable development of his convictions from his youth, his meeting with John the Baptist, and his Galilean ministry until Peter's Confession and the Cross.

I. The Kingdom and the Messiah.

The hope of the Kingdom of God may be traced back through the writings of the Jewish scripture to the very beginning of the religion of Israel, a people that had always considered itself under the kingship of God. Although He had so far revealed himself to Israel alone, the time would come when He would assert his sovereignty over all nations. In the prophetic teaching the idea of God's sovereignty almost succeeds in liberating itself from national limitations. Yet His universal kingdom would have its seat at Jerusalem, and its blessings would be mediated to all nations through Israel. The disasters of the exile seemed for a moment to shatter the national cause, but with the insistence on the righteousness of God, which must punish the sin of the nation, the belief emerged with renewed vigour. Gradually, Israel saw the might of heathenism no longer as something dispersed and fragmentary, but a single power opposing itself to the

cause of God; hence the idea was rendered possible of a higher spiritual Kingdom over against the world. On the one hand, God is already potentially supreme, though he permits wickedness for a time; but on the other hand, His Kingdom is conceived as lying in the future. The nations have not yet submitted to him, and Israel itself has not yet yielded an entire allegiance. But the actual nation, so runs the hope, with its sin and disobedience, contains within it the germ of what will ultimately be the true people of Israel. All history is leading up to the great transition, or 'Day of the Lord.' National disasters will culminate in acute distress; then the day will be ushered in. The Lord must regenerate his own people by a fiery discipline before he can bring in the promised age of peace and righteousness; the world will share in the happiness of Israel, and even nature will share in the glorious bloom. Now the new world is the existing world, with its joys and interests and activities all purified and heightened.

With the great patriotic struggles against overbearing heathen powers, a new form of hope entered—the 'apocalyptic'—as in the book of Daniel. It was a substitute for prophecy not creative, but derivative, elaborate and secret. It was wholly concerned with the future, divided by a great gulf from the present. The new order will break in suddenly, and by an act of miracle. The change is expected almost at once. The apocalyptic writers pointed to signs and warnings, and computed the seasons according to obscure hints of ancient prophecy. The expression Kingdom of God was scarcely mentioned, but the Coming Age was still the time of God's sovereignty. National interest assumed a more central place than ever, but it did not exclude a heightening of the ethical interest. God will assure the triumph of his oppressed servants who have remained true to his Law.

In the early prophetic hope of a *political* kingdom, the king was visualized as a descendant of the house of David; the hope, however, was centered not on him, but on the kingdom. After the exile, Israel alone became the object of prophetic thought, and God himself was concerned as King. But in the later apo-

calyptic hope. the angelic 'Man' or 'son of Man,' who represents Israel (*Daniel*, 7. 13) as against the 'beasts' of other nations, is transformed, by *The Similitudes of Enoch* into a Messiah who is a real, active person, and carries out the thundering decrees of God. From this time on, we find the idea of a Davidic king merging with that of this supernatural man who will descend from heaven to enact his part in the final scenes. The 'Son of David' fuses with the 'Son of Man.' The 17th *Psalm of Solomon*, contains the fullest and finest exposition in Jewish writings of the conception of the Messiah which we may assume to have been most current at the time of Jesus. Although inheriting the throne of David, the Messiah will be chosen by God and will rule in His name and authority. His peculiar vocation is to destroy the dominion of the Gentiles, and set up in its stead the Kingdom of Israel, which he will govern in perfect accord with the will of God, in holiness, justice and wisdom.

II. *The Youth of Jesus.*

T. R. Glover has portrayed with charming penetration the probable early life of Jesus. Born a Galilean, Jesus inherited pure Jewish characteristics, and the sturdy and joyous independence of his people. C. F. Kent pictures him as tall, strong, deeply browned, with thin nostrils and lustrous eyes. He seems to have been alive to the workings of the small home, keen in play and observation about the town with its visiting pilgrims and travellers from far and near, a diligent and thoughtful student of Scripture, and a lover of nature. Very likely he early learned to help his father about the shop, and took up his trade when he was able. In the developed man, Glover notices a searching look, a charm and brilliancy of speech, a love of imagery, deep emotions, quick realization of a situation, an unusual sense of fact, and a strong demand for truth. These qualities do not spring up suddenly; no doubt they grew out of a pensive and active youth.

It is the tendency of children when they hear a story, to identify themselves with the hero for the time being; anyone, child or

not, takes sides in every situation whether it be real, remembered or imaginary. Judgments are being constantly made on the material presented by every-day life, by tales and ideals; and in a thoughtful person these judgments become more and more integrated in a philosophy of life. Luke tells us, and we have no reason to doubt, that Jesus was in the temple at the age of twelve about his father's business, seriously asking and answering questions. Till the beginning of his ministry at the age of thirty-three, a period of twenty-one years including adolescence, we may imagine a normal solid development of ideals in the mind of Jesus. He pondered over the hope of the Kingdom with its Messiah, a hope running through Scripture and the apocalyptic literature, he studied the real and ideal characters set forth so vividly, he formed his opinion about them, and identifying himself with the highest in each with a progressive selection, he began to form an ideal character peculiar to himself. And this character, based on the lives of forceful men, would be dynamic, seeking outlet, ready to be touched off by the proper spark. He looked out upon the varied life about him, noticed its viciousness and its nobility, its squalor and its beauty. The needs of the people touched the divine sense of pity in his soul, and he yearned to help them. He felt the hopes of the masses panting after deliverance, and mentally tested the various remedies proposed and defined in the images of the Kingdom with its representative, whether king, angel, ideal teacher or suffering servant. Upon some lofty ridge under the clear expansive sky, with waving grain, soft green trees and sparkling water stretched out beneath him, he would brood over the situation, wonder what he could do, think what he ought to do, and draw upon his store of scriptural ideals. These noble characters of the Old Testament (few, it may be) *lived* to him, they lived *in* him, they sought to do the will of God for his people *now*. And yet, they did not live as individuals, but in a peculiar unity in the mind of Jesus. Great conceptions draw their materials from times of stress and crisis, but they are worked up and moulded not in turmoil but apart, where the thinker is not blocked and brought

down to earth by too frequent and familiar public contacts. The ideal may range to the end of the earth, and to the height of heaven, if it does not seek expression in the real world, and expose itself to the blows of hard fact. The ideal was strong in Jesus. Would the coming events of public life confirm or destroy it?

III. *John the Baptist.*

" John came, who was baptizing in the wilderness, and proclaiming the baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins.—And he proclaimed, saying, After me comes one who is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I have baptized you with water, but he shall baptize you with Holy Spirit. (*Mark*, 1. 4, 7, 8)...Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" (*Matthew*, 3.2.) His message was that of the old pre-exilic prophets placed in an apocalyptic setting.

As Scott says, the baptism preached by John was closely related to his message, and has doubtless to be explained in the light of apocalyptic tradition. It had been assumed from the time of the prophets onward that the Kingdom was reserved for the righteous, and that a cleansing from sin was the necessary condition for entering it. John offered his baptism to those who sought to undergo this cleansing. It was administered after a profession of repentance and to this extent was a purely symbolic rite betokening an inward, moral change. It conveyed a guarantee to the baptized that God had accepted them, and had forgiven their sins. They could look forward to the coming judgment with hope instead of fear, since they had been washed in 'that fountain for sin and uncleanness which God had promised to open for his people in the latter days.' Josephus states that John refused to grant his baptism to all comers, but only to those who desired to live righteously. This confirms the Gospel narrative that John's teaching declared the Kingdom open to all only if they repented. Moral righteousness was the one guarantee for entrance into the Kingdom, and there is no reason to doubt that his baptism was an

indication of ethical repentance, and not mere ceremonial purity. It is true, he did not originate the practice; it was used in the ceremonial rites of the Essenes, and in the Jewish proselyte bath; but John gave it a new and ethical significance.

But John did more than preach repentance, and baptize with water. He announced the coming of One who 'baptizes in Holy Spirit and in fire' (*Matthew*, 3.11), some mighty man or angel. In accord with the common conception of the Kingdom, we may believe that John preached both a coming time of trial and cleansing (fire), and the outpouring of the Spirit of righteousness and power (Holy Spirit).

To the fiery preaching of this new prophet, Jesus was no doubt attracted. He left his Galilean home, and came to the banks of the Jordan. It was natural that the vigorous, fundamental message of this follower of the stern Amos and Micah should stir Jesus, and strike a chord in his own forceful soul. He came to take part in the movement. Renan believes that Jesus was a young Rabbi with a loosely organized band of disciples before he came to John. However this may be, we do know that Jesus was independent of John, and his message distinctly different. On the other hand, whether or no Jesus was intimate with John, we know that he admired him greatly. That John powerfully stimulated Jesus is certain.

The attempt of the First and the Fourth Gospel to make Jesus appear too good to be baptized like the rest of the people is based upon fact. If our impression of Jesus is correct, he did not need to repent. But baptism was essentially a seal upon the purpose to live righteously, repentance being necessary only if the life had been sinful. Hence Jesus' very righteousness made him want baptism. His true motive, very likely, was that suggested in the record of Matthew. "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." In a solemn and emphatic manner, he identified himself with the hopes of his countrymen, and acknowledge the divine commission of John. He sympathized with the movement, and acted. He never assumed perfection (*Luke*, 18.19), and even

if he regarded himself *then* as the Messiah, he would have desired to be all the more typical of those in the new Kingdom.

But the Evangelists go further, and say that Jesus came to know, at the moment of Baptism, that he was 'God's Beloved Son.' *Mark*, the earliest Gospel, is here the most trustworthy; he describes it only as an experience of Jesus himself. The imagery of the heavens Spirit and dove are graphic representations of the mental activity of God.

What means the phrase, 'Thou art my Son, the Beloved; in thee I delight?' There is little doubt that *Mark* (as well as *Matthew* and *Luke*) holds that at the moment of baptism Jesus hears God declare him His Messiah. The words are based upon two *Old Testament* passages. In the seventh verse of the second Psalm, (which is Messianic) stand the words 'Thou art my beloved Son; I this day have begotten thee.' According to Wellhausen, this would mean to a Semitic writer, 'My best loved Son,' that is, 'My Messiah.' 'Messiah' or 'Christ' equals 'Son of God' to *Mark* and the Christians. (*Mark*, 1. 1, 24; 3.11; 5.7; 14-61) In *Isaiah*, 42.1, we read, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, my Chosen, in whom my soul delights." Here, as we see, the idea of 'delight' connotes choice; God has chosen his servant for a special mission. *Mark*, then, seems to hold that at baptism, Jesus realized that he was God's Messiah who had a mission similar to that of the servant mentioned in *Isaiah*, 42. The word 'pais' (servant) is often interchanged with 'uios' (son).

Our problem, of course, is to find what Jesus himself thought. We note a gradual exaltation of Jesus in the later Gospels, with a parallel pushing back of the beginning of his divinity. In Peter's speech in *Acts*, the divinity of Jesus comes at death. then (possibly according to *Mark*) it comes at baptism. then (according to *Mt.* and *Luke*) at birth, and in *John*, even before the world began. Did Jesus ever think himself Messiah? If so, when? The position here taken, is that Jesus *did* regard himself as Messiah, but never in the sense of any traditional literary or popular conception alone.

And it seems that baptism was the time when Jesus first became definitely aware of his Messianic calling. In spite of the fact that *Mark's* report must have been colored by the whole personality of Jesus and his acts *subsequent* to baptism, his account is probably true in the main, for the following reasons.

1. The story is found in the *early* Gospel of *Mark*, in spite of the fact that it is inconsistent with his possible view of Jesus as God's Messiah from birth. This makes its truth doubly sure. *Mark* makes it an experience of Jesus, not known by the crowd. Is it because this Gospel writer is a psychologist? Rather, because he is simply reporting a *fact* told to the disciples by Jesus in the language of imagery.

2. Jesus was about thirty-three years old at the time. He was in his maturity. He had observed life, worked and pondered much. His ideals, through serious, selective and arduous thought, must have been clear and set. His highest, or ideal self, that pure conception which every spiritual man holds before him, was a unified creation of the best in the Scriptures and popular thought. With this ideal character in his mind, Jesus is attracted to John. He is quickened by his preaching. John announces a coming One. Jesus compares him with the ideal in his mind—he must have done this consciously or unconsciously in the very process of thought. The images blend, and the coming One is in the mind of Jesus. It is peculiarly his ideal, yet it is being preached about by John. At the solemn moment of baptism, among the excited crowd, Jesus feels keenly. His mind works in pictures. Here he is being willingly baptized by John, and yet he knows that he is greater than John. And if greater than John, who can he be? John is the greatest religious man in Isreal, the reviver of prophecy. Jesus can be none other than the One announced. The ideal coming One in the mind of Jesus becomes identified with himself. John supplies the objective, social stimulus, Jesus supplies the ideal, and the conception is definitely formed in his mind. Jesus is not, however, any of the various popular 'Messiahs'—he is himself, under God the Father, he does not

see clearly what the end will be—as God's Chosen, he will simply follow God. As yet the ideal is quite subjective : it has not been realized in social acceptance. He is keenly conscious of his Father's love, but this love is not a mere fondness : it is stern and dynamic; it was developed in response to severe situations, and it will be expressed in the same way. It is rather the Father's love *through Jesus than of Jesus*. Few will doubt that at baptism Jesus was set apart by the ' power of the Spirit ' to do God's will and service; and the determination to establish God's Sovereignty, rather than efface Jesus' self-consciousness, would enhance it. A man who is the most deeply lost in a cause finds himself the most truly, as Jesus himself said (*Mark*, 8.36). The Father is the God of the Jews, but Jesus knows him with a peculiar intimacy. No one in Israel, he feels, is more fitted to do God's will than he. Now this, it seems is a Messianic consciousness and conception, though Jesus probably does not as yet differentiate between his various Messianic functions. He does not speculate on individual privilege, but is outward looking, supremely interested in following God *now*, and bringing Israel to acknowledge his Will.

3. If the Messianic temptation recorded in *Mark* is historical at least as to its basis, it would confirm the view that Jesus experienced Messiahship at baptism. The temptation will soon be discussed.

4. The remarkable poise, self-confidence, and ready reply of Jesus during the whole very short ministry of a little over two years is favourable to the idea. The highest sense of mission brings the highest poise, and the short ministry prevents much development of ideas, especially when compared to the previous long, thoughtful period of about twenty-one years.

5. Further confirmation is added by Jesus' confident and enthusiastic reply to John's inquiry as to his Messiahship (*Matthew*, 11.4). Could Jesus have returned this satisfactory answer and not have believed in his Messiahship? In *Matthew*, 11.14 even before his decisive avowal at Caesarea Philippi, Jesus calls John ' Elijah ' or, the forerunner, and adds the cryptic phrase, ' He

that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' In verses 16-19 also he connects himself with John. The impression is that he had been conscious of his Messiahship, had been for some time, and was now and then dropping little hints and making little tests. Jesus, then, early in his ministry, thought of himself as *the man*, the Man of God, one who on earth can forgive sins, and this thought probably goes back to the striking baptismal experience. To be sure, some revelations had come before : in the humble home of Nazareth, he had grown up as a true son of God though the expansion of his pure soul under the eye of the Heavenly Father. The appropriate meeting with John gave him the supreme intuition of his divine mission; the future would gradually teach him how to accomplish this mission. But it was as *Messiah*, the agent and founder of the Heavenly Kingdom, that he determined to preach the gospel.

"And straightway the Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness. And he was in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan, and he was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him." (*Mark*, 1.12, 13). *Matthew* and *Luke* supplement this account by a record of three definite temptations. This imagery in *Mark* is similar to that of the Baptism and the Transfiguration. How far is it a picture of the experience of Jesus? One view has it that he construed a temptation scene, because all great men, Abraham, Buddha and others were supposed to be tempted after the divine commission; another says that *Mark* lumps together the progressive experience of Jesus during his whole ministry and throws them back to the inception. Both views may well be right. Furthermore, the Marcan account looks like a synopsis of the lost source 'Q,' and not an original. Caution is needed. But the story is there, and it looks very natural. The idea of the temptation of great men must have arisen from some kind of fact; hence there is all the more reason why Jesus also should have been tempted at this time. Of course, we may, if we choose, discard the imagery and numbers. But it is very likely that Jesus, like Paul after him, *did* withdraw in solitude for a while before begin-

ning his ministry. And the trials recorded in 'Q,' though possibly colored by the later reflection of Jesus or the Gospel writers or both, are just the kind he is likely to have had. The call at baptism demanded a rigorous self-searching as to meaning, obligation, and methods. The temptations are too deep and original to be a fiction. Yet Jesus' ideas do become more clearly defined as he goes forward through the year.

The incident of the bread was a temptation to use his Messianic prerogative to satisfy his own hunger. Resisting in the spirit of *Deuteronomy*, he identifies himself with common man, and declares that man should seek first and wholly the will of God. Even as Messiah, he will not merely feed the people's stomachs. The incident of the pinnacle was a temptation to doubt his Messiahship and test God's power. But he refuses; if he should make the trial, he would by this very act disprove his true, obedient Messiahship. The incident of the kingdoms was a temptation to gratify the personal desire for power, and to use the methods of the world, of Caesar. He answers again: not private self, but God. Serve God in God's ways, through the orderly spiritual process of love, use no physical force or political influence and let God do the rest.

From the temptations, we imagine that Jesus went forth in the spirit of the pre-exilic prophets, bound to make the spiritual appeal in his preaching of the Kingdom. He would conceal his Messiahship so that it would not be an obstacle to the true moral progress of the people. He would deny himself, and follow God's will though the path of righteousness be thorny and exposed. He would await future progressive revelations from God and look for the Heavenly Kingdom to come—vague now, yet sure and imminent. The arrest of John could only deepen the suggestion of suffering, and produce in Jesus a greater resolution and independence.

THE TRUE ARTIST AND HIS ART¹

What is art and who is the true artist? It is idle to expect any unanimity of opinions on such an intricate issue. Each thinker has found his own manner of approaching the problem and of presenting views in his unique, individual way. It is beyond my power, I confess, to introduce here a full collection of such utterances and present them in a setting so as to make a beautiful symphony. Such a task, if any were to undertake it, would be not only profoundly illuminating, but afford at once ample materials for an interesting study of the mental curiosities of different people. Leaving such a study to worthier minds, I will confine myself this evening, to a very simple aspect of the problem which, though quite common to us has not, I am afraid, received its due share of attention.

In the class-room one of the knotty questions that exasperate the juvenile mind is when he is asked to ascertain the basis of art, more particularly in connection with the issue: whether the study of Logic should be called a science or art. This, as we all know, has been a much debated problem, though a decisive answer seems to be as remote to-day as it was in the days of yore. But whatever that be, the controversy has afforded some indication as to how we should proceed if we are ever to understand the significance of art. Whoever asks: Is Logic a science or art? does by the very manner of his stating the problem, give us a clue to the meaning of art. Even if we know nothing more, this much at least is certain that art is not what is meant by science. Students of Logic will frown upon me saying: this is after all a negative definition! But let me add, to assuage their aggrieved spirits, that in the absence of a positive definition, even a negative one should be hospitable to us.

From this one solid point gained, it is not very difficult to pursue our line of thinking further. And though we hardly ex-

¹ Read before the Rajshahi College Union.

pect to obtain any positive *significance* of art by questioning even the acknowledged masters of art, our friends on the science side are ever ready with clear-cut pronouncement of their views about what is meant by science. Indeed, it is so very clear to them that I have not heard of any scientist ever considering it needful to enter upon a special dissertation as to the aim and significance of science. Every scientist knows what science stands for. It is so very definite and precise, and there is so much agreement on this point that the mere idea of any one offering a course of lectures on the meaning of science is sure to make him resent. Such however cannot be said of art. For even those who have the best claim to rank as artists seem to be ever in doubt as to what is meant by art. Socrates, it is said, made an experimental investigation whether the greatest poets of his days, to whom rightly belonged the roll of an artist's honour, knew anything about the meaning of their art. And his experience was that they were poets and artists simply by a sort of natural inspiration and not by reason of any knowledge of their art. Even to-day the situation has not improved much. Those of our modern representatives of art who have spoken out on the subject have shown so much disagreement that it is hopeless to get any intelligible meaning out of what they say.

In one way, however, we seem to be nearer the goal than ever before. When it is said that art is opposed to science, it is clear at once that where science stands for definiteness and precision, art is symbolic of everything that continues to be vague and indefinite. Whenever you know definitely what you mean and can easily make others understand your meaning without the least apprehension of any misconstruction and misinterpretation your attitude is decidedly that of a scientist. When on the contrary, you know not what you mean and yet vainly wrestle with words to convey to others what to you remains unutterable and inscrutable, you may reasonably expect to be acclaimed as an artist. This is an important point. And this explains to us why you may go through volumes of scientific treatises without the help of a

single commentator, whereas in studying a single work of any poet or philosopher you are sure to be assailed by a host of annotators. And the help which they all together offer to you tends to make you less understand what very few can really understand. This is why the element of mystery which makes the scientist furious becomes an object of love and adoration to the artist. For, it is of the very nature of art not to deal with understandable things ; but to delight in vague mysteries. But even such a characterisation will be condemned by many, because it seems to have a measure of definiteness. It is desirable therefore that we open a different mode of enquiry. Art is considered by some to be that which stands opposed to nature. This seems allowable. But is it not much more definite than the foregoing one?

I venture to think otherwise. Anybody who reflects for a while will bear with me that hardly any utterance could be made vaguer than this. To draw any line of demarcation between nature and art is by far the most difficult task. Nobody can say with precision where nature ends and art begins. Perhaps it will be said that art covers within it every form of existence that is evolved and contrived by human skill and endeavour, and bears the impress of his designing intelligence. Whatever on the contrary, stands in its primal purity by itself, without any touch of human element, belongs to or rather constitutes the vast domain of nature. In proportion therefore as we come across human habitation, and notice him in the midst of his daily round of duties, we find him in the realm of art. When again we move far away from human habitation, leaving behind all his crafts and implements, everything that his creative genius prompted him to shape and model, we enter into the domain of nature. To contemplate nature in this aspect of its nakedness and purity, stripped bare of all human association, and to commune with her in her silent, secret mood have been the cherished dream of many. And so by this very attempt they have invariably caused disturbance to the very silent repose of nature which they sought to contemplate. Man ever seeks fellowship with nature and comes in this en-

deavour to cast a veil of his own artistic garb all around her. That nature which he seeks to discover outside of him, he finds within himself, and that art which in his supposition is grounded in himself is realised in nature. As a matter of fact, nature without art is a mere sound without any sense.

Nor can we dissociate art wholly from nature. The impulse to create and the ability to create which make man an artist, he has learnt from nature alone. Man's creative function is not thrust upon him abruptly from without, but it grows in a natural and spontaneous way. The higher he ascends in his artistic activity the more he finds himself in harmony with the hidden principle of nature's operations. Even though art were to aim at an extension of nature by adding to her its own contributions, this can mean no more than a mere enrichment of nature. And in this work of enrichment art thrives best not by going against nature, but always by working in alliance with nature. The utmost that we can do is first to accept nature's gifts and then to follow her behests in working upon these gifts, moulding and shaping them according to our choice. This is what we mean by the freedom of the artist. But the highest order of freedom which ennobles and consecrates the life of an artist is really won through hard obedience to what nature herself secretly breathes within his soul.

As art and nature appear in such an indissoluble union, it is futile to draw any line between them. Our expression that art stands opposed to nature, inspite of its simplicity, has really thrown us into a maze of confusion. In our effort to understand art we begin by saying that it is different from nature and again in the very process of comprehending it we are led to declare that art is not dissociated from nature. In one and the same breath we have to say, art is not nature, and again, art is nature.

Let us pause for a while and calmly reflect how we are affected by these thoughts. We shall all agree, it is quite a unique experience. We are puzzled, and yet not wholly disappointed. We have the hope, we shall know and enjoy, but every attempt to

know leads to confusion, wonder and amazement. Does art then stand for such an inexplicable wave of feeling which sways our mind owing to the very tangle of confusion into which we are driven in the mere attempt of understanding art?

It is difficult to *accord* to such a view. Yet there is no escape from this so long as we are bent upon having an intellectually manageable conception of art. True enough, art signifies something which like nature, is *given* to us and at once stimulates our intellectual faculties towards its comprehension, but the moment these intellectual processes are set up we find it no longer given to us as an art. We are eager to understand art and even have the promise that we shall understand it if we do but make the attempt, but every time we make the attempt, what we find is not a work of art, but the same dissolved into an ordinary event of nature. It were better if I could amplify the point by an illustration. There is hung up a picture in an art studio. To the painter who gave it being it was never a finished natural event. He felt it in the depth of his soul as an undefinable dream, a sort of vague ideal awaiting realisation, and not as an existent event discoverable anywhere in nature. To the last of his days he continued cherishing the hope if only his ideal could find embodiment in his executed design. No doubt, the picture when it passes out of his hands, takes its place along with other things of the world, with a history that has a certain beginning and end. It is also possible to analyse it into its constituent elements and by suitable arrangement of these elements we may reproduce its likeness over and over again. The original picture as well as its various likenesses may also be treated as so many exchangeable commodities, each reckoned at a certain capacity to fetch something in return. These are the features which the picture opens unto us when we seek to apprehend it intellectually. But to view it in this light is to reduce it to the level of a mere physical occurrence from which the inner spirit of art is already gone. To the painter himself, if he were a genuine artist, the picture never appears in this fashion. He paints it and would paint it for ever without inter-

ruption, for, the very rhythm of beauty which vibrates within the framework of his being stands in need of fuller realisation. As a joy it is an interminable process. Whoever has the will to look at it in its inwardness as a continuously growing experience of joy and beauty and makes himself ever ready to fulfil this function of the spirit, helps to impart to it the character of art. From the physical side the painting operation is begun in time and so it has a termination, but as a work of art it is without beginning or end. Even when the painter sends out his picture to the world, he is ever solicitous if he could make it convey the deep stirring of his soul. He longs to abide for ever in the work of his creation, for, his creative function always falls short of the ideal value which he is anxious to achieve. And so whatever else it might be to others, to the artist the picture is never a finished marketable commodity, but purely a realisable value not exchangeable for anything.

The great problem in the life of the artist, which stirs up his slumbering self, is the need felt by him as to how he should raise this supreme order of value and escape the conflicts and discords of the usual manner of life. The experiences which life ordinarily brings raise expectations, sometimes fulfilled, sometimes not. This gives rise to a baffling sense of defeat and disappointment. On such occasions we hear people say : ‘ all is not well with our life.’ To repeat such a phrase does not cost much, because it does not go to the root of the matter. It invites people to make themselves ready for the “inevitable” and so exhorts them to put up with discords as matter-of-fact events. But the ease with which such an expression is accepted and the cheap satisfaction which it brings to the ordinary disappointed soul, are simply offensive to the spirit more deeply touched. To such a spirit alone occurs the problem, whether there may not be any other way of overcoming this sense of disappointment. Obviously to him, our natural mode of judging and evaluating things appears inaccurate. Is there no better way of evaluating things which shall rid life of every element of defeat and disappointment? If in our natural waking

moments we can't realise this supreme order of value that renders life in harmony with itself and with everything else, and makes it a never-ending source of joy, we might at any rate have a dream of it. Such a dream, if we have the good fortune to have it, will show us the way and transform our being from a coarse careworn life to an ever enjoying spirit.

But in characterising art as embodying an element of 'dream we expose ourselves to some danger. In one way it might lead one to think that art is the expression of a mere morbid temperament, that is always afraid of the storm and stress of actual life. Unable to stand manfully these complexities, better known as the inharmonious and ugly aspects of life, it runs effiminate away and seeks refuge in a dreamy ethereal world of its own creation. When art degenerates into this we have a sort of vain sentimentalism. At the initial stage sentimentalism is connected with a peculiar habit of living on abstractions. When the dust and tumult of the world begin to afflict the peace-loving soul, naturally it relies on the hope that the only things immune from the filth and dirt of the actualities of life are the abstract counterpart of the concrete realities. More frequently however this impulse is overrun by a deeper current from an opposite direction. The desire to be in touch with the concrete cannot be suppressed. In the realm of pure abstraction one is bound to feel as if he has been lifted into a vacuum where nobody can breathe. And so the yearning for the concrete again reasserts itself. But once the touch is lost it is not easy to get it back. In this situation there is a renewed attempt made to evolve the concrete out of the abstract, to clothe the abstract with form and colour. Such a creation, though quite common to-day, has no claim to be ranked as art.

But the other danger is not less serious. If the dream element does not inspire the artist, if he is anxious to keep close to the actualities of life and to knit them together just as they are found, in the hope that the creation of such a mosaic would represent all sides of life, we have no real art but a travesty of it.

Real art strives after the creation of forms in which nature

is not sacrificed, yet which does not imply a bare repetition of nature. It springs from the realisation of the truth that the sores and wounds which the realities of life inflict derive their healing strength from the same source. To be able to view life and nature in this aspect of its inward harmony and beauty is the basic foundation of art. Without flying away from the horrors and inequities of life, art embraces them within itself and imposes such a form on them that they appear in perfect rhythm and beauty.

Art's distinctive feature lies in forms. But in the execution of forms the artist finds no satisfaction in a mere rigid structure. The form is elastic and at the same time it is so finely realised that it seems to be fuller and richer than any piece of concrete individuality we find in nature. Nature no doubt moves towards the creation of individualities, but the process is completed in art.

Every artist thus strives after the creation of values for which we can find no parallel. It is unique in every way. We may acknowledge it as a work of art and thereby enrich its value to any extent we like (for the value which art sets up admits of augmentation to an infinite extent); but we can never find a substitute for this in any other thing. Art stands absolute by itself.

Whenever this is not the case, we have no art but mere scattered and fragmentary views of nature. It is easy for us to substitute one such object for another, but real art defies all imitation or substitution.

To people whose habits of thoughts are cast in the mould of objectivity, whose conception of value is derived solely from the fact of exchangeability, the view of art as possessing infinite potentiality of value is *irreconcilable*. They go on with their clear-cut methods of understanding things and so in their scheme of reality art has no place. Even when they talk of art, they can mean nothing but nature.

Art demands that this stable mould which, under the pressure of the instinctive sense of practicality we are forced to construct, should burst. In ordinary situations we view things in the light of their capacity to satisfy some local interests of the hour.

Fully dominated by these purely local concerns of life our intellect proceeds to draw up a well-defined scheme in which everything has its value assigned to it in relation to another and to our prevailing mode of interest. Whoever can, by his thoughts and actions, conform to this commonly accepted standard of values achieves success as a man of affairs in the world. But this very success in one direction blocks the prospects of success in another. To remain content with setting a fixed value upon a thing for which one would safely part with it, takes off all the incentive for realising a higher value. Where commercialism prevails, real art cannot prosper.

The real artist therefore refuses to be any party to the spirit of commercialism. What he values he values simply for itself and finds nothing for which this may be exchanged. And so of all men the artist alone stands for creating values in the absolute sense. But this obliges him to set himself ever in opposition to the spirit of practicalism which guides and controls the busy men of affairs of the world. To the artist life's real zest lies in emancipating himself from the smothering influences of the petty interests of the hour. He lives not for one moment, nor for himself alone. With wide extended vision and depth of sympathies he surveys life in its entirety. It is the whole life, and nothing short of the whole life that is real to him and that alone can satisfy him. And so in place of the detached, isolated interests of different moments, he craves to realise that one supreme interest which is co-terminous with the whole of life. Ordinary mortals fail to extend their sense of reality beyond the sphere of the "now" and "here" because they lack imagination and with that lack of imagination is connected the absence of fulness of sympathy which would enable them to feel the same fervour of enthusiasm for the invisible as for the visible. This is why we find their life reduced to a low level and their interests confined to a very narrow range. But when with the stirring of imagination, sympathy is born, the outlook on life gets completely changed. It assumes a new ultra-practical character. For such a life, the immediate has no more

value than the remote, the "here," has no greater compelling interest than the "hereafter." That which abides everywhere and always alone delights his mind. This is the supreme interest of which we spoke, and the striving of the spirit towards realising this supreme value of life constitutes the secret of the artist's personality. It is in this sense that the artist's life means a transvaluation of all values and the artist becomes the very embodiment of humanity.

Behind every work of art there stands a spirit to whom nothing appeals but the fulness of life. The realisation of this fulness of life cannot however be achieved in the ordinary course. It presupposes, as we have seen, a capacity for sympathy and imagination on one side, and a disposition to break loose from all tightening bonds of the flesh on the other. In all art there is therefore an element of sacrifice. The artist must prepare himself to give up everything which contributes to the passing enjoyment of the hour. This explains why the type of coarse sensualism that wins its way to popularity with the multitude can find no place in art. These reflections now give us a clue to the only foundation on which every form of art rests and from which it derives all the beauty and perfection of which it is capable. That foundation lies in will. Every artist is an incarnation of the will. There is an endeavour to free himself first from every grade of interest that presents itself with a local complexion. Rather he would forego everything than find himself enmeshed in these grovelling concerns of life. This is the "everlasting nay" of which Carlyle speaks. He would press it to the last, so that he may have a taste of the "everlasting yea." Yet we must not confuse the life of an artist with the life of an ascetic. For while the ascetic lives by negation, the artist's life is a continual striving after affirmation. While the former makes a virtue of complete renunciation, the latter rises above renunciation, and with full enthusiasm looks forward to the realisation of a life deeper and richer than any that can be conceived. This is due to the fact that the artist is a man of sympathy and imagination. Whoever has sympathy is in touch

with every aspect of life. It is that virtue in him whereby his very being is enlarged so much so that within the limited range of his individual frame he feels the throbbing animation of the whole world. Such a man belongs to no sect or community, nor can we fix him down to any age or clime. He is truly the man to whom humanity utters its wisdom.

Yet this sympathy which brings about such a revolution in the man is not a fixed readymade gift transplanted from afar. It presupposes imagination, but at the back of it there must be the will—a will that scorns to rest content with limited points of contact. It spurs the self to broaden its surface and extend its range of vision. Out of this inward surge is born the faith that the things with which it has no contact now and which escapes its vision at present are also as real, perhaps more, than the things of its immediate environment.

Every true artist is therefore the triumph of the will of the spirit towards its self-liberation. As art is an outcome of the will there is art wherever there is an exercise of the will-function. But the will-function constitutive of art must not be confused with that type which spends itself in the mere act of eating and drinking. Rather it is of the over-individual type, in which the individual in self-forgetfulness of all personal concerns, makes himself at one with the entire race of humanity. It is in living in the whole and for the whole that the beauty on the artist lies.

And so we shall acknowledge every striving of the soul as an artistic endeavour if only it embraces within it the broader interests of humanity as a whole. The endeavour of the scientist in the quest of truth, of the social worker struggling for man's emancipation are as much to be viewed as artistic creation as the achievement of poets or musicians. In every case we have what is distinctive of art, *viz.*, selfless devotion towards realisation of the highest forms of values of which humanity is capable. They all continue to give us, each in his own way, what is best in them and thereby make it possible to move onward for progress and perfection.

To every artist humanity owes a debt. But how can this debt be repaid? Should we raise statues, endow scholarships, group ourselves in parties named after him, or should we write out his biography? Society, no doubt, has adopted these and similar other methods. But we do not stop here only. In our schools and colleges we introduce his works for free discussion and study. Yet to me it seems, this is not the right method of showing our appreciation for an artist. For, in these cases we start on the supposition as if the artist has already finished with his work and left it to others for analysis and dissection. We consider the artist as already dead and gone so that the only thing remaining for us is to assemble together and pass a resolution of our appreciation of his struggles and achievements. Sometimes we also feel tempted to estimate his work commercially, or begin to intellectually contemplate the beauty and excellence of his creations. In short, what we do is mainly to stir up our intellect and view the artist as one accomplished historical event, fully dissociated from his work which constituted another accomplished event. But the pity is, when the artist gets separated from his work there is neither the artist nor any art but both metamorphosed into solid, lifeless entities. It is easy for the intellect to operate on such stable entities. But such objectification, though congenial to the intellectual apprehension, is killing the very soul of art. Art is the expression of the will-function in which the artist passes from an individual to an over-individual character. Every work of art is therefore a never-ending system of will-functions. It is never wholly finished, but demands realisation through a perpetual process. Whoever views art in this manner, acknowledges it as art. But the moment it is divested of the will-functions of the artist, there is neither the artist nor any art before us. Both are changed into brute facts of history.

The only way to fulfil our obligation to the artist, if we can talk of fulfilment at all,—lies in acknowledging the artist as organically related to his art. It is the realisation of the truth that the artist is in living union with his art that makes for our recog-

nition of art in its true perspective as art. Our homage to the artist is paid best if we can but keep the artist alive in the midst of his art. This is not only paying tribute to the artist, but is the only basis on which real artistic enjoyment rests.

But how should we keep him alive? Have we any magic wand by the touch of which we should infuse life into that frame which is already smitten with death? We know we have not. By the inexorable laws of fate we are, the high and low, all doomed to perish; and so we find ourselves heavy laden with grief that even the best of us have no chance to life eternal.

Life however demands that anyhow this grief be overcome. The easiest way that comes to our mind and gives us a sort of soft consolation is the thought that though the artist perishes, art remains. But soon it becomes plain that this is no consolation at all. For with the death of the artist escapes the inwardness of art. What remains is no longer any work of art, but the shrunken memory of a past historical event. Art does not lie in the bare fact that there *is* or *was* something, but always in the realisation of a value. It is akin, in a sense, to what we call a spiritual function demanding the continuous endeavour of a willing and sympathetic spirit. And so again the necessity is felt if we could somehow perpetuate the artist.

Our social ceremonies, historical researches, biographical studies and all those tombs, statues and monuments which we set up to commemorate the dead are nothing but the outpourings of this need. But even these fail of their effect. For once we accept the fact that the artist is mortal, there is no chance left of reviving him to life again. A dead man can never be recalled to life by piling upon him inert slabs of marble, nor showering heaps of glowing epithets.

To make him immortal the only effective way is not to let him die at all. As the artist by his over-individual will-attitudes makes himself a chosen representative of humanity, in fact, is identified with entire humanity, so in our way we should assume the will-attitudes whereby we might find our being engrafted in his.

That sympathy and imagination which brings the artist in touch with the fulness of life we should realise ourselves, so that we may be ever in contact with him. To live a life of artists ourselves is to immortalise the artist, and therewith his art. The true artist is really one who in willing himself into an artist, obliges others as well to move in the same line.

Unless we could so fashion our will as to change it from an individual to an over-individual character ; unless we could impregnate it with the breadth of vision and depth of sympathies, characteristic of the artist ; unless, in short, we could "will with the artist," and be imbued with his spirit, all our study of art is vain and our talk of paying tribute to the memory of the artist hollow.

Let us not then vaunt of our researches into the biographical obscurities of a Shakespeare or of a Socrates, let us not make a parade of our learning into the mysteries of the style and composition of a "Hamlet," let us not have the easy conscience that we have done our part by starting an Aristotelian society, or setting up a Homeric statue.

So long as our spirit is not in tune with the spirit of the artist all these are mere trivialities, more befitting an entomologist than any passionate lover of art. Real enjoyment of art demands that we make artists of ourselves first.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

FUTILITY

My golden dreams are turned to dust :
 My lotus flowers are fading fast :
 I only feel futility,
 For all my high, brave hopes are past,
 I would not live from day to day,
 Could I not gain a star at last.

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

THE FLUTE OF KRISHNA

Hark to the flute notes
Of Krishna, the Lover,
He, the Beloved,
Around whom we hover.

We be herdsmaidens
Who dance in his sunshine :
At his sweet embrace,
Deep we drink of Love's Wine.

We be but seven,
That mystical number :
Attend our dancing :
Ah ! yield not to slumber.

Spirit of Quiet
Like breath of the roses
Distills in his presence
An essence uncloses.

Hear his wild fluting,
Then harken and follow :
Dance at his bidding,
On Flowers in the Hollow.

Blooms the blue Lotus
Under the Chenar Trees:
Red poppies glimmer
Like wide, lone, scarlet seas.

Wild roses clamber
Like garlands of beauty
Over cypress as
With cones, dark and fruity.

The Jasmine's scented
 His Breath is its fragrance :
 Oleanders gleam
 With white star-like semblance.

Hark to his music
 Crystal sweet and so clear !
 Drawing to ecstasy
 And casting out fear.

Cool as a rain-drop,
 Yet luring your heart-strings,
 Krishna is fluting
 With sweet Music that stings.

Krishna, the Lover,
 Is sending a message
 Dreams of the universe
 That Peace doth presage.

Past confines of thought
 Lies the Reality :
 Pierce all deceptions
 Of materiality.

Follow his flute notes,
 Give thy body and soul :
 Attain steadfast calm,
 And stint not thy heart's dole.

Hark to the music
 Of Krishna, the Lover,
 He, the Beloved,
 Around whom we hover.

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

THE BENGAL LAND-HOLDER—SUB-DIVISION, FRAGMENTATION AND SUB-INFEUDATION

III

From the point of view of production, we are concerned, not with the unit of ownership, but with the unit of cultivation. We have seen that according to the Census of 1921, there is only 2·21 acres of land for every actual worker in cultivation. It is a question of grave importance, whether the small unit of cultivation gives the best possible scope for the most economic way of production from the social point of view.

It is obvious that very small holdings stand on the way not only of progressive agriculture as it is understood in the modern world, but also of the full utilisation of the methods used in India. He cannot, for instance, maintain and fully utilise reasonably good working cattle and suitable implements. In Jessore 10·4 gross acres of land is available for each plough and 8·2 acres for a pair of plough cattle. Taking into consideration the proportion of the total cultivated area under the various crops and the number of times land under the different crops need ploughing, it has been estimated that there is only 5 months 6 days' work for the cattle and the plough during the whole year including 1 month and 6 days for harrowing, though the ploughing season is from October to May—8 months. Things are very much the same in other districts as will be found from the following table¹ :—

District	Quantity of cultivated land per plough.	Quantity of cultivated land per pair of plough cattle.
Jessore	10·4	8·2
Faridpur	10·8	9·4
Midnapur	8·3	12·4
Mymensing	8·1	8·8
Bakerganj	11·5	7·4

¹ Jessore Settlement Report, p. 22.

It is also apparent that it is not possible for the small cultivator to carry on necessary improvements such as general (surface) drainage and properly aligned irrigation channels. But what is most injurious is that with his small means and limited land he is bound to carry on cultivation according to the primitive methods which have been employed for centuries. This simple technique might have been suitable under primitive conditions for extensive cultivation, coupled with pastoral pursuits when land was plenty. But it certainly stands in the way of the adoption of modern methods by which alone land may be made to yield up to its full productive capacity. It is sometimes erroneously supposed that small holdings are beneficial in so far as they mean intensive cultivation. But the intensity of cultivation which has resulted from small holdings, in Bengal, is not due to the greater utilisation of labour and capital, according as the margin of their profitable application is determined by the general conditions of the industry ; but rather, the interplay of economic forces has been hampered and circumscribed by the peculiar conditions of the individual cultivator. In Bengal, with the growth of population there has been a greater application of labour than in proportion to capital which can be applied to small holdings ; because having no other alternative employment for his labour the cultivator was faced with the alternative of putting it in land or wasting it. Thus there has been not only diminishing return from the application of capital and labour, but the marginal return from labour which is used in undue proportion is low and insufficient. The cultivator continues in doing so because, under his present circumstances, he cannot afford to appraise his labour on a proper scale. This also gives the explanation why bargadars cultivate on a half-produce basis though the profits from cultivation is so low compared to expenses. They have no alternate means of livelihood ; and are prepared to work for whatever they get over and above the prime costs (seed, manure, upkeep of cattle etc.). Their initial disadvantage has been perpetuated

by circumstances into permanent degradation. To describe such a result as beneficial to the community is a grave mistake. It only shows that the great industry of agriculture in Bengal is not conducted on economic lines ; people do not adopt it as a real profession or business concern, but stick to it as the only available hereditary occupation.

Comparison with conditions in Western countries brings in the situation in striking contrast. The following are comparative figures (in acres) about the size of holding in some of the European countries¹ :—

	Including holdings of less than one acre.	Excluding holdings of less than one acre.
Belgium	5·7	14·5
France	15·05	24
Germany.	19·25	33·5 (Prussia only)
Denmark	35·59	49
England	26·95	70
Scotland	56·31	57
Wales	38·05	62

According to the Census of 1921, in Bengal, there is one hired labourer on the land to every five who cultivate their own land. In Eastern Bengal districts (Dacca and Chittagong Divisions), there is one hired labourer to eight ordinary cultivators. The Report points out that in 1911, in England and Wales there were well over three hired labourers to every farmer, i.e., cultivator of his own land ; and in 1851, before labour-saving devices had been invented so much, there were nearly 6 workers to every farmer. It should be remembered that the number of labourers employed by the ordinary cultivators in Bengal is still smaller because many of these are employed by landlords and middleman who often keep some land near their

¹ Rowntree—Land and labour, lessons from Belgium, p. 106.

home under their own management, and by disabled cultivators, widows and minors, etc.

It is no wonder that even with a fertile soil, comparatively favourable weather conditions, a monopoly in jute and a ready market for his goods, the hard-working cultivator still groans in poverty and abject misery. Poetic appeals are sometimes made about the beauties of the life of a peasant-proprietor. But it is time we recognise that agriculture must be treated as an industry, not merely a hereditary occupation ; that it must be organised on economic lines, and, most important of all, that it is the large farm only which has scope for capital, labour-saving machinery, intelligence and skilled direction.

IV

Fragmentation, on the face of it, accentuates all the evils of small-holdings ; because it makes the unit of cultivation still smaller. But it gives rise to other evils also. His land being in scattered plots the cultivator cannot have anything like a home farm, but has to live in the village away from his fields. This entails a great waste of time, labour and cattle-power, owing to the necessity of carting manure and bringing cattle and agricultural implements from the village to the fields and back. The same waste is also involved in moving these from field to field owing to the scattered nature of the plots. Incidentally it may be pointed out that few convenient pathways exist in the villages, and the cultivator has to pass through other people's fields. It has been estimated that expenditure on cultivation increases by 5·3 per cent. for every 500 metres of distance for manual labour and ploughing, from 20 to 35 per cent. for transport of manure, and from 15 to 32 per cent. for transport of crops. The net yield of a field therefore diminishes with the increase of its distance from the village and from other fields.¹

¹ Baroda Bulletin No. 6, dated 30th June, 1911, referred to in the Report on consolidation of holdings in U. P. by Pandit Shyam Bihari Misra.

It should be remembered that the crop wants watching when ripe ; much of it is neglected now because of the extra cost involved in keeping watch in several places. It is more than probable, that if all fields were in one block, much petty corn thefts would have been avoided on the one hand, and boundary disputes lessened to a great extent on the other.

There is also great waste owing to the erection of *ails* and boundaries much of which would be unnecessary but for excessive fragmentation ; and sometimes fragmentation proceeds so far that the plots become useless for agricultural purposes. "In the Punjab the results of consolidation indicate that five per cent. of the land which would normally be cultivated is lying useless owing to fragmentation being so excessive as to prevent any agricultural operations, while another one per cent. is lost in boundaries which could be abolished on consolidation."¹ In Bengal the evil is much more pronounced and the waste is certainly not less. It should be remembered that every unnecessary waste adds to the cost of production and hits not only the cultivator but also the general consumer and industry which uses agricultural products as raw material. The only advantage which has been claimed for fragmentation is that where cultivation is subject to the uncertainties of rainfall, the distribution of holdings in different soil areas may work as a practical insurance against risk. That is why in some parts two or more crops are grown in dispersed fields in different soil areas, so that if unfavourable distribution of rainfall destroys one crop the other may yield a good harvest. But this consideration is not of much practical importance in Bengal. The cultivators' plots though dispersed, are mostly situated in the same village or neighbouring villages, and have mostly the same soil conditions. In any case, there can be no doubt, that except in these rare cases fragmentation is an unmixed evil.

(To be continued.)

J. C. GHOSH

¹ Report of Royal Commission of Agriculture in India, p. 134.

REALISM AND HUMOUR IN MUSIC

The bare mention of cats being represented in musical sounds is at once interesting and amusing, and perhaps it will also sound ridiculous to a number of us. But the celebrated Scarlatti once wrote a "Cats Fugue" in which the feline association lay in the fact that the 'subject' had been suggested by a cat walking along the keys of an harpsichord, a proceeding of which cats are rather fond. We have also a similar incident portrayed in a modern Jazz pianoforte composition "Kitten on the Keys."

Stravinsky also found inspiration (?) in the pathetic 'meow' of pussy, but even he has failed to evolve anything representative of our friend the dog, unlike Chopin, of whom it is said, one of his best known compositions, a valse, was suggested by the gyrations of a puppy in pursuit of its tail! The great Rossini too, we are told, also composed a piece of music in memory of a dead poodle.

Camille Saint-Saens composed for the orchestra a "Danse Macabre" in which he attempts to portray a skeleton dancing on a tombstone. Xylophones are used to indicate the rattle of the bones against the marble slab covering the grave. The skeleton can only stay out of the tomb until daybreak; immediately the first cock crows at dawn back he goes into his tomb the stone of which is clapped to over him in a jiffy, all of which is graphically illustrated by the various instruments of the orchestra.

The theme of horses in motion seems to have appealed to a large number of composers. A splendid instance of its use lies in that portion of Wagner's Walkure known as the "Ride of the Valkyries." In his treatment of this composition the composer has reproduced with remarkable fidelity the neighing of horses, sounds of galloping hoof-beats, and

the impetuous progress of a company of riders. Another famous man to adopt this theme was the famous Russian composer Tschaikowsky who set himself the difficult task of writing a composition for the pianoforte with the troika as its 'motif.' Now the troika is a Russian vehicle to which three horses are harnessed in a single span. The middle horse which is in the shafts, trots, whilst the other two, hitched to either side, gallop. The remarkable rhythm created in this way is most faithfully reproduced in the composition, although I am bound to say, it is by no means an easy one to perform on the piano.

The labouring of a ship in heavy seas provided a theme for the fertile imagination of Rimsky-Korsakoff, another noted Russian composer, in his famous "*Scherezade Suite*." The orchestra accompanies Sindbad the Sailor upon one of his perilous journeys. The storm at sea, as indicated by the orchestra, is a marvel of orchestration, for the wind, imitated by the reed instruments, is most realistic in its intensity. At length when the doomed vessel is at last sent to its destruction amidst a crashing of drums and cymbals, every instrumentalist, from the first violin player to the triangle player, is bathed in perspiration, whilst the conductor shares the fate of the ship—he is an utter wreck.

It is not often that the orchestra is called upon to produce laughter as is the case in the third act of Gonoud's *Faust*. Mephistopheles proffers the sweet Marguerite an ironical serenade interspersed with laughter that is echoed by the orchestra in the true Mephistophelian fashion.

An amusing instance of musical illustration occurs in the first act of Puccini's "*La Boheme*," where three of the characters grope their way downstairs from an attic studio. They stumble and swear in the darkness, but eventually reach the street safely. The hazardous descent of each flight is cleverly suggested by the orchestra, one last profound note signalizing their safe arrival.

These are but a few instances in which eminent musicians have endeavoured to make their orchestras laugh, neigh, weep, gallop, and even imitate cats and dogs. But it remained for Mendelssohn to make his orchestra bray like an ass. This he does in the incidental music to Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream." The phrase typifies Bully Bottom whose head is changed by the sportive Puck into that of a donkey.

Flickering tongues of flame inspired the Feur-Zauber music of the Walkure, and although, of course, the suggestion of flickering tongues of flame is less evident in the pianoforte arrangement of the score, judicious orchestration has enabled Richard Wagner to give us a very realistic version of his subject.

Tremendous imaginative powers and skill are necessary to write such music as I have set out to describe above, and quite apart from the amusement that is given by the performance of these compositions, there is a technical interest that is thoroughly exploited by musicians of all degrees, whilst the examples we have before us prove that there is no valid reason why dramatic material of all descriptions should not be interpreted musically.

The art of music possesses a living soul which readily adapts itself to any and every changing condition.

LELAND J. BERRY

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

WESTERN OR UPPER PROVINCES.

We shall now pass on to other tracts up in Northern India which the Company had meanwhile obtained possession of and which, under the name of Western Provinces, formed part of the Bengal Presidency.

Over the entire face of this country the earth was more or less impregnated with salt. It can hardly be said therefore that the area had an inadequate supply. But the indigenous thing was an inferior stuff and better salt could be imported in great abundance from the neighbouring areas at fairly cheap prices.

The Government, to speak generally, was almost from the beginning actuated by a motive to suppress the local manufacture. For, to raise a revenue from it when it would be spread over thousands of square miles would require "an army to watch it."¹ The country was thus made to depend more and more on outside sources of supply. Hence the salt tax in this part of the Presidency primarily took the form of an import duty along its frontiers and the local history of the tax was more or less intimately connected with the history of the development of the country's customs policy.

The circumstances how the different parts of the Western Provinces were subjoined at different intervals are quite well-known to every student of Indian history and need no repetition here. In the first stage, even in the incipient state of the province, the Company had assumed the monopoly of import and manufacture of salt within its occupied area. But it was

¹ See Evidence of Wigwam Money, before Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1871-4, —his reply to Q. No. 4840.

in 1803 that the action was legalised and confirmed by a regulation.

In the same year the first regulation for the collection of customs tax was passed by which all articles of merchandise with a few exceptions were subjected to an import duty of 5% *ad valorem* and an additional duty of two and half per cent. (or in all 7½%) on exportation. These duties on imports and exports merely were meant more as substitutes for the vexatious sayer and transit duties than as an additional source of revenue.

Shortly afterwards the "conquered provinces" were won from the Maharattas and in view of this further accession of territories, the Government considered it inexpedient to retain its exclusive privilege in salt. Accordingly regulations were passed in 1804 which threw open the trade in that article and at the same time made it liable for a local duty of 12*as.* per maund on importation and 4*as.* a maund on exportation.

In 1804 the customs regulation of the year 1803 was also revised and amended. The transit duties were revived on salt as on one of a number of 90 articles. The rates of duty prescribed by the former regulation remained unaltered but salt was exempted from the export duty. Steps were also taken for improvement in the administration of this branch of revenue.

It was a cherished object of the Government to extend in this part the use and consumption of Bengal salt so that it might gain in revenue. But to impose the requisite duty on the cheap Western salt in order to confer upon its own a preferential advantage was out of the question. For, it would encourage smuggling on an extensive measure that was impossible to guard. To establish its control over the import, the Government in 1805 attempted as the other alternative the introduction of a monopoly of the Western salt but the effort failed totally.¹

¹ Evidence of Tucker, before Select Committee, 1831-32., his reply to Qs. Nos. 557. 659.

In 1805 the bazar and ganj duties were also abolished and town duties were substituted in their place. A town duty of 4% *ad valorem* was fixed for all commodities except alimentary salt and two or three other commodities which were taxed at a slightly lower rate.

The net consequence of all these changes was a considerable enhancement of the burden that one was asked to bear on account of one's consumption of salt. Unfortunately however the tax imposed by the Government was not the whole of the burden. A very heavy tax was in addition imposed in the shape of delay and illicit exactions of the customs officers of the Government.

The evils of the customs line loudly cried for redress.¹ A Committee of Finance convened in 1808 considered among other things the above question. On the basis of the recommendations submitted by the Committee an important regulation was passed in 1810 (Regulation IX of 1810). The customs department was reformed and a scale of transit duties adopted on alimentary salt that varied according to its quality and denomination. About the same time most of the articles that were assessable to both customs and town duties were freed from the latter. But alimentary salt together with a few other commodities continued subject to both customs and town duties (Regulation X of 1810 on town duties).²

Before the year was out, a fresh change was made. In lieu of the duties imposed by the previous regulation, altered rates of duty so as to make the better kinds pay a heavier charge were levied "on all salt, not being salt

¹ The evils continued long inspite of repeated improvements of customs administration. Even in 1834 Sir Charles Trevelyan had occasion to remark in course of his famous report (p. 46), "The universal power of search and detention constitutes a universal tax upon every person and everything which moves from place to place in the country."

² The following were the rates of transit duties chargeable by Regulation IX of 1810 on the different descriptions of alimentary salt, used in Benares and the more western parts of the Company's territory and of town duties, chargeable by Regulation X of 1810, on importation of alimentary salt into the city of Benares and into the towns of Agra,

purchased at the Company's sales in Calcutta, whether the produce of the British territories or of any foreign state, on the importation of such salt into or on the transportation of such salt through any part of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, and on the importation of such salt, which may not have previously paid the established duty, into the province of Benares" (Regulation XVII of 1810).¹ At the same time the law against illicit importation was made somewhat more stringent.

MADRAS.

We shall next turn our eyes to Southern India where too the English were steadily consolidating their power. It is however well-known that it was only after the overthrow of Haidar Ali in 1792 and more especially after the fatal defeat of Tippu in 1799 that they had obtained a sufficiently firm footing in the South and had acquired extensive territories on the

Furrakabad, Allahabad, Barriely, Mirzapure, Gorakhpur, Banda, Cawnpore, Myneporee Cost, Moradabad and Meerut.

Description of salt.		Transit duty per Maund.	Town duty per Maund.
Lahore salt	...	Re. 1	
Sambur } Doodwanee }	...	As. 12	As. 8
Balumba	...	As. 8	
Salumba, Furrah, Boraree } or any other alimentary salt excepting salt pur- chased at Company's sales in Calcutta.	}	As. 4	As. 4
Salt purchased at Company's sales in Calcutta.	...	nil	nil

¹ The altered rates of duty were as shown in the following schedule:—

Description of salt.		Duty per Md.
Lahorees, Sambur, Doodwanee	...	Re. 1
Balumba, Boraree	...	As. 12
Salumba, Furrah	...	As. 8
On other sorts of alimentary salt, excepting salt purchased at the Com- pany's sales in Calcutta	...	As. 4
Salt purchased at Company's sales in Calcutta	...	nil.

Coromandal Coast. So it was not till then that they could bestow proper attention on problems of internal administration which their preoccupations in war and a certain amount of sense of insecurity had prevented.¹

In 1798 the Supreme Government invited the opinions of the Governor in Council of Madras as to the desirability of extending to that area the reformed judicial and revenue systems that had been introduced in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis. The Board of Revenue, to which the subject was referred by the Local Government, submitted a very comprehensive report on the subject² in course of which it drew the attention of the Government to the possibility of deriving a large revenue from taxation of salt. The Board urged the adoption of the tax in order that a considerable, if not the greatest, part of the increased expenses arising from the introduction of the reformed judicial system might be met therefrom. With the example of Bengal before it, it naturally suggested the introduction of monopoly for the purpose and proposed a monopoly price of Rs. 105 per garce,³ which, in accordance with its own estimate of an average consumption of 12 lbs. for each individual, involved a tax of about 2 *as.* per head. It further pointed out how it was possible to develop a very profitable and extensive export trade to Bengal where salt was naturally dear. Previously in 1795 the Board had initiated an inquiry into the matter and had furnished itself with all such necessary information.

The proposal of the Board was not however without its difficulties. At that date the only salt producing area of the Company in the Madras Presidency was the Northern Circars.

¹ "The annihilation of the late hostile power of Mysore has impressed the inhabitants of those possessions with that confidence in the stability of the British power, and in the security of the country from foreign invasion, which was indispensably necessary to the establishment of any regular system of Government." Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Fort William to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, dated 31st December, 1799.

² 2nd September, 1799.

³ A garce is equal to 120 Indian Maunds.

Both manufacture and sale of salt were free in the neighbouring kingdoms of Tanjore and the Carnatic. The success of a monopoly within the Company's territory was therefore problematical.

The Supreme Government, after consideration of the above report, did not commit themselves definitely, so far as the particular question went, but merely empowered the local authorities to reserve for the Government the sole right of manufacture, while concluding the proposed permanent settlement in the Northern Circars. They did not however favour the Board's idea of developing an export trade from Madras to Bengal lest it should prejudicially affect the large revenue realized with so much facility in the latter country.

When therefore the Permanent Settlement was extended into the Northern Circars between 1802 and 1805, the Government reserved, on its own account, the sole right to manufacture salt in those areas. In the meantime, as the result of fresh annexations, the English obtained possession of the entire sea coast that was available for the manufacture of salt. One of the chief obstacles in the way of monopoly was thus removed.

For some time more it was still debated if monopoly or excise would be preferable. At last, after consulting the opinions of the Collectors of salt districts, the Board of Revenue, subject to one dissentient note, decided in favour of excise against monopoly recommended by a former Board and prepared a draft accordingly. The introduction of monopoly, in their opinion, bristled with many practical difficulties.¹ It would, they said, encroach upon the rights of Meerashidars (hereditary occupants of the soil) and much difficulty would attend the adjusting of fair compensations to them. The measure, in their opinion, presented a further difficulty since it would not be possible to prohibit the import of salt from

¹ The Board of Revenue to the Governor in Council of Madras, June 28, 1804.

foreign lands which had the privilege of exporting the article guaranteed by treaty or otherwise.

The dissentient advocated monopoly. In his opinion the Meerashidars had no more inherent rights to the soil than the Zemindars, who had already been deprived of the right. Further, to plead political difficulty on the score of guaranteed rights of trade was, he argued, idle for the only privilege of the kind was granted to the French by the treaty of Paris (1763) for importing into and vending in a definite quantity of salt in Bengal. Moreover it was only necessary to impose a frontier duty to remove whatever difficulty might exist.¹

The Madras Government however approved of the plan for monopoly, not on its own merits but on the misapprehended ground that the question was already decided by the Supreme Government in favour of monopoly and was therefore no longer an open one.²

Be that as it may, the regulation was passed in 1805 by virtue of which a monopoly was established throughout the Presidency with the exception of Malabar and Canara. Instead of a frontier duty being levied, importation of salt into the Presidency by sea or land was altogether prohibited.

Previous to this innovation salt was supplied from different sources chiefly by private enterprise. The sources of supply were briefly the following.

In the first place salt was produced in certain localities along the line of the sea coast by the process of solar evaporation. The cost of manufacture was so low, that in the words of a member of the Board of Revenue of the time, it was not much more valuable than sand. The cost varied from district to district within the range of less than an anna at the lowest and a little more than 2 annas at the highest. Secondly, salt, very white in colour and of peculiarly fine crystals, was spontaneously

¹ Falconar's Minute, June 28, 1804.

² Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Madras to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, dated August 29, 1804.

produced in large quantities in many districts especially in Tanjore and Musalipattam. It could be collected to any amount at the trifling cost of about $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per maund and in the districts specially mentioned for even less than one-fourth of an anna. Lastly, in almost every inland district but more especially in areas that were far off from the sea coast salt was manufactured in comparatively small quantities by the process of lixiviating saline earth.

For the sake of completeness it must also be said that there were even then some Government works as well that contributed towards the total stock of supply. These works were either formed out or managed by the Government themselves. The paltry sum of Rs. 2,80,000, that represented the average gross annual revenue derived from the works during the five years prior to the monopoly, almost surely indicates the comparative insignificance of Government supply. But even the comparatively insignificant supply was far in excess of local needs and the Government very often found it difficult to dispose of the surplus.¹ The profits of the salt farms were very little for the commodity was so little valuable that the salt farms produced little or nothing.²

With the introduction of monopoly the individual's right to manufacture on his own account came to an end. Manufacture was henceforward to be conducted exclusively on account of the Government in localities determined by it. The public officers would, in anticipation of the probable demand, fix the

¹ "The salt farm at Mazulipatam is one of the most considerable under the management of the Chief and Council, the produce of that article greatly exceeds the consumption.....etc." Letter from the Madras Government to the Court of Directors, November 5, 1767. In the same year in July we find the Madras Government requesting the Bengal Government to purchase the former's large quantities of surplus salt and the latter refusing it on the ground that "double the tonnage usually employed in the trade of the two Presidencies would be insufficient to bring down the quantity mentioned." Letter of the 20th July, 1767.

² Robert Alexander, before Committee on East India affairs, 1830-31, Q. 1633.

quantity to be produced in each year and would accordingly allot the pans among the individual manufacturers. The manufacturers would only receive a fixed price for the amount produced, and the Government would themselves dispose of the products from their own depots, situated in most cases near the pans, at a fixed price and in small quantities of one and a half maunds and even of twelve seers in some districts. The monopoly price fixed by the regulation of 1805 was Rs. 70 per garce.

From the most authentic estimate extant, the price at the pans before the introduction of monopoly was about Rs. 21 per garce. It may therefore be presumed that the new measure inflicted upon the people the burden of a tax roughly equivalent to Rs. 50 per garce or nearly 7 annas per maund. Thus Madras had wisely avoided Bengal's mistakes. It sold in quantities well within the means of the pettiest trader—a policy that was, as mentioned out elsewhere, most effective against oppressive combinations. It adopted a tax that was virtually definite and, on the whole, moderate; at least it was much less than what prevailed in Bengal. No doubt the moderation of the tax was partly to be ascribed to the natural impracticability of rendering it high; because from the natural cheapness of the commodity any considerable levy in the province was sure to act as a higher bonus to smuggling.

The acquisition of the monopoly went hand in hand with the artificial limitation of the sources of supply and diversion of the industry from its most profitable channels. In the first place, the Government, with a view to economising the expenses of establishments and guarding against risks of smuggling, had to follow a policy of concentration in regard to places of manufacture along the sea coast. Secondly, since swamp salt was open to great facilities for smuggling, the Government, in the interest of its own monopoly, pursued a dog-in-the-manger policy. People were forced to destroy swamp salt whenever it was to be found and it was one of the functions of the salt police

to enforce that.¹ Then again the licit manufacture of earth salt was altogether stopped since the Government found it an expensive, nay a well-neigh impossible affair, to watch over its production carried on, on a very small scale, scattered over a wide range of territory. Exceptions were however made with regard to the districts of Bellary, Cudappah and Kurnool (after its acquisition in 1838-39) where, in consideration of their location far away from the sea coast, the manufacture of earth salt was permitted, subject to the payment of a light motumpya tax.

In 1807 Canara and Malabar, the two districts at first left out, were brought within the pale of monopoly. The arrangement here was a little different from that of the rest of the province.² Manufacture continued to be free but the manufacturer was deprived of the right to dispose of his product to any but the Government.

Canara and Malabar, especially the latter, were not self-sufficient with regard to their supply of salt. The Government used to bring imported salt on indent in aid of the home supply. Malabar, which had no facilities for the production of salt at a moderate price, very soon gave up its manufacture, unable to stand the competition of imported salt. Its need was since supplied by the Government with salt imported on account of its monopoly from Goa till 1838 and then from Bombay exclusively owing to the failure of the former country to keep up a regular supply.

A fresh change was made in the salt regulation of the country in 1809 when the Government, on the recommendation of the Board of Revenue, increased the sale price of salt to Rs. 105 per garce.

(To be continued.)

PARIMAL RAY

¹ See evidence of Peter Gordon before the Select Committee, 1831, his answer to Q. 449.

² The reason for this difference would be obvious from the following passage : " Both in Canara and Malabar landed property is on a different footing to what it has been considered to be in the other territories, subject to this Presidency. There the greater part of the salt pans is and for a long series of time has been deemed to be the hereditary property of the Jellekkers or native land-holders." From Falconer's Minutes already referred to.

THE PROBLEM OF PURUŚOTTAMA IN THE GĪTA

They say : Philosophy and its outlook are not different—the ontology is repeated subjectivity only in a new context and new climate. The standpoint is more often and rightly the determining life-force of philosophical research than the individuality and essence of the ‘onta.’ The philosopher retorts : “ But however much the human enterprise or the impulse of wonder be the indispensable subjective element in all speculation, speculation of the scientific type seeks to overreach the limitations of subjectivity by way of an approach to the very core of reality. Philosophy in order to be universal in its scope cannot be less than or more than objective and impersonal.

The ‘Philosophic doubts,’ with which however the speculative life starts on its career, also stifle it, at the very root. What do we mean by the objectivity and impersonalism of philosophical reasoning and philosophical conclusion? What guarantees the certainty of objectivity? Or, is it mere ‘standpoint’ that yields different philosophies and not *a philosophy*? These are the issues that lead up to the problem of Puruśottama — the highest Puruṣa. Is he an Absolute Substance to whom no characters can be ascribed, who only reveals himself to recipients in exact proportion to their capacity to receive. Or, is not he the ‘Deity’ whom the higher and still higher conscious beings—the hierarchy of evolutes in the ‘pyramid’ of evolution—create and recreate, make and evolve along with their own development and progress? Is not Puruśottama developed and developing out of the poetic, the ethical and the religious idealism of the collective mentality of mankind? These are the relevant problems connected with the hypothesis of Puruśottama in the Bhagavadgītā to which we propose to address ourselves. The probable answers may be thus sketched : first, that the Puruśottama is beyond subjective idealism and the only absolutely independent reality; secondly, that he is

objectively ultimate and yet reveals immanently to men and the universe; and lastly, that he is the highest person—Man to all intents and purposes—an Ideal man who is also actual, who combines in himself the *guṇas* harmoniously and yet not exhausted by them. These solutions answer to the corresponding doctrines of the Nirguna, the Saguna and the Incarnation, or the Absolute, the Spirit and the Son of God. The second and the third solutions have often been mixed up in one concrete concept of the One who is vyaktimāpanna and still avyakta, the incarnation but the Incarnation of the Absolute, the real that is not unmanifested but a concrete universal. The pivot upon which the entire problem turns is the determination of the rightful claim of the Puruṣottama either upon impersonalism or personalism. Is not the supreme Brahman what the Gītā reaffirms as the Puruṣottama?—asks the Advaita Vedāntist. Why, the Puruṣottama is none other than Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa himself, objects the Vaiṣṇavite.

But it may be that Kṛṣṇa is nothing more than a symbol, an imaginary representation, a pictorial truth or ‘the Mythus.’ The probability of an allegorical explanation is not altogether utopian. Kṛṣṇa may very aptly be conceived as standing for ‘the voice of God’ delivering his redeeming message unto Arjuna, the ‘representative man’ in a state of ‘dark night of the soul,’ *i.e.*, in the battle of Kurukṣetra. Symbolic representation of highly complex metaphysical truths characterises a large literature of the Hindus; and it is not an irrelevant assumption if a historian of Hindu thought throws doubt upon the historicity of the characters of the Gītā and brings out a theory of interpolation of the entire Gītā into the body of the Mahābhārata. The apology for a new theory rests possibly on the new rôle of an interpreter of spiritual mysticism that Kṛṣṇa takes thus breaking the unity of his character. Himself a combatant in early life and youth, in the early parts of the Mahābhārata, he is in the Gītā a philosophical inspirer of a spiritual fight. Unless we believed in the theory of a multiple

personality of the great Indian hero, we had to be satisfied with only one purview of his life. Looming large in the horizon of the appreciative consciousness of every Hindu mind, it is not abnormal that Kṛṣṇa is now and again and ever appealed to. The drama of thought that forms the life-history of an individual mind is retouched in the light of a real perfection, and the idealistic-imaginative part of it is assigned to Kṛṣṇa. To a historian, Platonic Socrates is to a great extent Plato himself and is a symbol for a truly faithful Platonic pedagogue. To the student of Hindu culture too, Kṛṣṇa is a common proxy for very many geniuses of thought and action who denied themselves in their unselfish zeal for accentuating the excellence of this personality, each adding a new perspective of glory to the already accumulated multiple phases of his character. However much is the personality of Kṛṣṇa proved to be historical, the impersonalism of his message of harmony and strength is unquestioned.

The objector is still unsatisfied. He leans upon a purely philosophical interpretation of an impersonal and unresponsive Real. He marshals his arguments thus : It is not unlikely that the verses XVI-XVIII of Chapter XV of the Gītā, which make for a novel doctrine of a third Puruṣa called the Puruṣottama besides the Kṣara and the Aksara Puruṣas that are generally accepted as the only possible duality of aspects of the One and the Supreme, are Vaiṣṇavite interpolations ; because the mention of a Third Puruṣa as the highest is redundant and irrelevant in the face of the Aksara Puruṣa which is already the *ens perfectissimum* and than which nothing more is rationally conceivable.

The proposition of the Gītā itself in an earlier reference is that, the Aksara, *i.e.*, the Imperishable is the supreme Brahman अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमं. Hence the assertion of another Supreme Puruṣa, the Puruṣottama is contradictory and is probably motived by the Vaiṣṇavite idea of the exaltation of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa at the expense of the Impersonal Brahman.

The Concept of Puruṣottama could however be admitted if an archaic use of the term Aksara meaning 'māyādhīśa' or the

controller of the universe be revived in the philosophical vocabulary; for then the Puruṣottama could be equated to the highest conceivable spiritual status, *viz.*, Turiya, unapproachable to, though implied by, the Akṣara. But the issue cannot be prejudged, as the proposition कृष्णोऽपि उच्चते defines precisely the concept of Akṣara as identical with Kūṭastha, *i.e.*, immovable Paramātman or Brahman.

The hasty and unrevised interpolation is further warranted by a false statement of fact in the verse XVIII: "I am celebrated therefore as Puruṣottama both popularly and in the Veda," says Kṛṣṇa and thus lets the historicity of his utterance belie itself. Nowhere, in the whole range of the twelve significant Upaniṣads, does the term Puruṣottama occur. The truth is that among the hundred names that Kṛṣṇa bears, the one Puruṣottama is specifically valued by the Vaiṣṇavas; and it is to their achievement that the doctrine of the Puruṣottama will ever trace its origin and upkeep.

The heralding of an interpolation theory is thus the main objective of the above view—let us say, the view of the Pūrvapakṣa which furnishes further the background of the corollary view that after all Puruṣottama is a mythical being, spun out of the spiritual idealism of the devotee and has no corresponding objectivity besides being shown identical with the Akṣara Puruṣa for the sake of logical consistency. The doctrine of the Three Puruṣas (Chap. XV) therefore has no justification for acceptance, inasmuch as it has no adequate ground-work to be built upon. The Uttarapakṣa however takes all this to be an upstart doctrine vitiated right through with defects accruing from sectarian motives—motives that are individual and subjective and not those which ought to be over-individual and objective in order to be philosophical. What in a purely philosophical enquiry forms the well-defined desideratum is a critique of *pure* reason unalloyed by ethical and religious elements.¹

¹ Cf. Bertrand Russell's 'Mysticism and Logic' and 'Scientific Method in Philosophy.'

True. But a philosophical outlook, which is ruled by the virtues of disinterestedness, freedom from passions or the Idolas, is virtually *religionised* by these very spiritual traits which a religious discipline can only produce. So the religion of philosophy is something distinct and other than the philosophy of religion. What the latter vouches for directly is emphatically a ' responsiveness '¹ from the side of the religious subject seeking a communion with a being or beings, also, in all probability responsive; the former, on the contrary, steers clear of all subjective responsiveness and directs all its researches to the singular determination of the nature and content of the ' reality '. It is upon this basis of what may be regarded as the *religion of philosophy* that the *Uttarapakṣa* contention is made out. The thesis that next we propose to set forth in contra-distinction to the Vaiṣṇavite one is in character Vedāntic, even to the extent of Saṃkara's interpretation, also tangentially referring to the extremism of Advaita Vedānta. So the arguments of the *Pūrvapakṣa* are first subjected to a searching criticism.

It is true that philosophy is more or less a science of terms. When a particular phenomenon is to be indicated the proper term must be used; and the relation between different terms is to be determined in order to avoid a criss-crossing of their use. Akṣara is, indeed, in an earlier reference identified with the Brahman supreme; but this need not insure that the denotation of the term Akṣara shall ever remain the same. In another context in the Gītā itself Brahman is identified with योनिर्महृ्त् i.e., Prakṛti of the Saṃkhya. Does the Gītā therefore profound conflicting doctrines? The Gītā in fact abounds in similar instances. The term Ātman is differently used as sense-centre, mind, intellect, empirical individual and transcendental

¹ While Pratt in his ' Religious Consciousness ' emphasises the ' subjective response ' of the spiritual relation, Valentine finds an objective responsiveness equally characteristic of it (*What do we mean by God?*).

self. Jīva, to take another example, is described in multi-form ways : as part, superior prakṛti, knower of body or nature and supreme self (अंशः, परा प्रकृतिः, ज्ञेयज्ञः, परमात्मा). Take another term Yajña. This is used as an universal admitting in different associations, concrete exemplifications with distinct meanings, e.g., द्रव्ययज्ञः, तपोयज्ञः, योगयज्ञः, ज्ञानयज्ञः, etc. The different meanings of the same term are indeed perplexing in a conventional treatise on Logic. But the Gītā is by all means a book of harmony, wherein both terms and doctrines, even though conflicting and opposite are allowed wider latitude of use and larger scope for synthesis. The interests of the logic of terms consequently suffer a great deal in the Gītā and it is always *the meaning with reference to the context* that is ever in request. The author of the Gītā, whosoever he may be, keeps up the same trend also in Chap. XV. He takes the term Akṣara to mean a second Puruṣa intermediate between Puruṣottama and Kṣara Puruṣas and comparable to Plato's World-Soul connecting Idea on the one hand and Phenomenon on the other.

What do the traditional interpretations say about Akṣara? According to Śaṅkara, Akṣara is "the seed-cause which produces the Kṣara Puruṣas." By the adjective 'Kūṭastha' which qualifies the term Akṣara, he means, one who is situated in Māyā. The term 'māyādhīśa' can be substituted for what he refers to in this connection. The Akṣara Puruṣa is thus the efficient cause of the Kṣara or the change-aspect of the cosmos. It is the Saguna Brahman; and there are the due provinces of subsistence left for both the individual Jīva or Kṣara and the transcendental self or Puruṣottama. The term Akṣara has been used in the seed-cause sense *totidem verbis* in the Viṣṇupurāṇam : सदक्षरं यज्ञेश्वरः पुमान् गुणोन्मिस्तिकालसंश्यः (I-1-2). He who is the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction, is the Lord Akṣara Brahman. If the Kṣara Puruṣa means the category of Change and the Akṣara the Efficient Cause of all change, then the Puruṣottama is the *tertium quid* who is the

Nirguna Brahman, the ever-beyond and yet the highest principle of explanation.¹

To Śrīdhara, Akṣara is equal to Jīva. He writes : कृतस्यचेतना-भोक्ता । स तु अच्चरः पुरुषो इत्युच्चते विवेकिभिः¹ Kūtastha is conscious enjoyer. He is called by the name of Akṣāra Puruṣa by the wise (XV—16, Commentary). The empirical individuals who experience the world are opposed to it in the relation of subject and object. This relation requires to be finally comprehended by an ultimate supra-relational principle, and hence the Puruṣottama. Śrīdhara's interpretation is not altogether original. Even as early as the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, Akṣara is used in the sense of Amṛta, i. e., Jīvātman and conceived in knowledge-relation with Kṣara the Pradhān or Prakṛti, both the terms of the relation being ruled over by a Third Hara, the single and the shining one. Granting Śrīdhara's exposition to be verified by the Upaniṣadic text, it is possible to trace one distinct synthetic function of the book of harmony—as the Gītā is, viz., to establish a foundational link between the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya and thus to reach the highest principle of unity and comprehension. The Chap. XV of the Gītā is a clear endeavour after the development of a monistic theory out of the popularly accepted Sāṃkhya dualism. And the overruling Third has been characterised by Saṃkara as “knowledge, existence, bliss, single, secondless and the self supreme (1—10 Śvetā. Up. Commentary).”

What the above classical interpretations of Saṃkara and Śrīdhara, along with the historical antecedents traceable in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, stand guaranteed for, is the recognised antiquity of a doctrine of the Three Puruṣas which in Chap. XV of the Gītā has already transcended the stage of nebulous expression or imperfect formulation and has been

¹ It is profitable to compare in this connection Saṃkara's attempt in his commentary on the antaryāmividyā in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, at a reconciliation between the non-difference of the Kūtastha Brahman on the one side and Kṣetrajña, i.e., Antaryāmī on the other, i.e., between Absolute on the hand and the individual soul and the world-soul on the other.

shaped for the first time as a clear-cut doctrine of remarkable philosophical moment. Before, the idea had been vague, in the clouds. Now it was a philosophical doctrine ; and no amount of interpolation could take away from its strength. If in the opinion of the Vaiṣṇavas, the Puruṣottama was the same as Kṛṣṇa, the object of our life's craving, this would merely show that according to the Gītā, the highest self who is beyond all difference and relativity is as well *worshipable* and not beyond all touch with the human. Until the last vestige of ignorance is destroyed, worship is a fact and there is the dualism of the devotee and the object of worship. But the object of worship is not always a Personal God. The originality of the doctrine of worship in connection with the theory of Puruṣottama in the Gītā lies in emphasising on a *new kind of experiment in spiritual practice* with an Impersonal Object as the goal of religious ambition. The details of this worship are left untabulated though its possibility cannot be denied (XII—3-5). The theory of Puruṣottama therefore testifies to the fact that the Gītā is not merely a philosophical treatise aimed at harmony and reconciliation but an ethical and religious handbook as guide to practical spiritual excellence as well. The Gītā thus accepts both the personal and the impersonal worship as actual ; and any one negating the one in the interest of the other runs the risk of dogmatism and furthermore commits the fallacy of 'exclusive particularity.'

Puruṣottama is not merely Kṛṣṇa of historic reputation and Vaiṣṇavite recognition. Any theory that fastens the highest Puruṣa upon this or that phenomenon of the world of sensuous envisagement to the exclusion of others, directly militates against all reason and facts. He is neither a finite link in the endless chain of phenomena nor the all-comprehensive single system of appearances taken as a whole, but the ' Immutable Lord ' who—we know not how—sustains¹ the three worlds

¹ Cf. Aurobindo Ghose's suggestion of an ethical explanation of the Puruṣottama wherein is outlined "the principle of Divine works" as a reconciliation of the ideals of

by transcending them.¹ Such a Puruṣottama, who has been for the sake of clear understanding qualified by the unmistakable phrase परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः (called the highest self) can be taken as interpolated only on pain of an utter rejection of any view that identifies him with Kṛṣṇa as person. No person, in fact, needs to be indicated by the Impersonal. The Impersonal is the truth of the personal, the finite and the particular. Kṛṣṇa has himself expressed what he is ultimately and not phenomenally, *viz.*, the Unmanifested who is the 'immutable' and the 'transcendental.' "It is only the ignorant who think me to be personified (VII—24)." Thus understood, Kṛṣṇa is only another name and form (*nāmarūpe*) of the one Absolute.

Is it not true then that the Puruṣottama doctrine is as old as the Upaniṣad theory of Brahman and has its origin in the Vedas? It may be argued that the term Puruṣottama² has marked Vaiṣṇavite associations so far as modern Vaiṣṇava literature both in Sanskrit and Bengali are concerned; and though only once in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the expression Uttamah Puruṣah is used, it only meant the individual self and

the 'kinetic man' immersed in the action of the Kṣara and the 'quietist' or the 'ascetic' who seeks to dwell in the peace of Akṣara. *Essays on the Gitā* (S. Ganesan, Publisher), Chap.—'The Principle of Divine Works,' pp. 171-185.

¹ According to Mr. Ghose, the Puruṣottama has a two-fold status, the 'cosmic' and the 'supracosmic'; as cosmic, he is in Time as both Kṣara and Akṣara and 'yet he is other because he is more and greater than either of these opposites' and thus supracosmic. Hence in the Puruṣottama "the personal and the impersonal" are blended and united. It is an 'undividing Monism' of the 'whole-knower' who "sees the one as the one even in the multiplicities of Nature...." But Mr. Ghose is not clear on his emphasis either on the Advaita or the Viśiṣṭādvaita explanation of the Puruṣottama. *Essays, etc.* (second series) Chap. XV : 'The three Puruṣas.'

² Mr. Tilak in Chap. IX entitled *Adhyātma* of his '*Gitā-rahasya athavā karmayoga jāstra*' discusses what in the view of the *Gitā* is the exact position of the Puruṣottama whom he calls Parameśvara. He finds that (1) in the *Gitā*, despite many personalistic appellations of Parameśvara his ultimate and the highest nature is *nirguna* and unmanifested; and man in his ignorance conceives him to be *saguṇa*; (2) Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya, the apparent *prapātīca*, i. e., the cosmic scheme is all but appearance of this Parameśvara; (3) Puruṣa or Jīvātmā of the Sāṃkhya is finally of the nature of Parameśvara—*nirguna* and actionless, though mistaken by us to be the agent.

not Brahman. This argument is however overthrown very easily ; for the significance of language for philosophy is not all-important and philology is not philosophy. Hence though the term Brahman is replaced by another term Puruṣottama in the Chapter in question, it would be superfluous to think that the old doctrine of Brahman is supplanted by another novel doctrine of Puruṣottama. It only indicates, in this case, that the terminology for the one and the same meaning or import undergoes an extension. The commentators like Rāghavendra, Śrīdhara and Śaṅkara have all taken the term Puruṣottama to mean not a phraseology for philosophical annotation but a meaning for purely philosophical allusion. So when it is said that the theory of Puruṣottama is 'spoken of in the Vedas also', Śrīdhara quotes from the Veda and Rāghavendra refers to such Upaniṣadic texts as *paramacetana* or *cetanaścetanānām* thus linking up the whole theory with the Vedic line of thought. In so far as the Puruṣottama of the Gītā is identical with Brahman of the Vedas, they stand to one another in the relation of sameness of meaning with difference of expressions. But when the Puruṣottama is considered as in the context of the Gītā— not as apart from but in a line with the other two Puruṣas, he stands to the Vedic, or for the matter of that, the Upaniṣadic Brahman, in the relation of an express doctrine of first formulation to its nebulous genesis.

Puruṣottama, as even a word, is distinctly very old. The preceptor of Nityānandāśram, the commentator of the Chāndogyo-*paniṣad* was known by this name. Many other Vedāntists also seem to have possessed this designation. Much later again, in the Dharma Purāṇam, the word was given its Vaiṣṇavic definition to be used as a qualifying appellation of Vāsu-deva Kṛṣṇa. The word was stripped of its Vedāntic associations and given a Vaiṣṇavic garb. The word thus suffered, in the process of its evolution of associations, a bifurcation of usage and purpose. What the Gītā undertook to propose was to place the Puruṣottama at the top, in its metaphysical scheme

of the levels of reality, in the same status with Brahman, for they are non-different—recognising, in addition, a hypothesis of the worship of the transcendental. The challenge that the Puruśottama hypothesis of the Gītā throws to modern metaphysics is, firstly to underrate the sectarian motives whether in religious or scientific standpoints of philosophical speculation proper, and, secondly, yet to estimate adequately the necessity and urgency of spiritual discipline in order to be thoroughly disinterested and dispassionate and see facts full in the face just as they are.¹

SUSHIL KUMAR DEV

POEMS OF INDIA

MY FAITH

The dusty pilgrims and the worshippers
 Who daily pray within the Mosque, know more
 Of faith perhaps than I, who see all domes
 And minarets, temples, spires or crosses
 As earthly things, man-made and lacking peace
 For me. I weary of the different tongues
 That call on Allah, Brahma, Jove or God;
 I seek Him in the spacious quiet of night,
 Alone with naked thoughts to bridge the void,
 Not bound by walls; I need no outworn creeds
 Nor theories, dogmas, priests nor church; no
 Rituals to point my way to kinship
 With my God. Here within my soul dwells hope
 That I am one with all this mystery,
 Content to wait to learn the Truth at last
 When I have passed the key-less Door that men
 Call Death, yet is not death to me, but Life!

LILY S. ANDERSON

¹ Cf. Plato's Republic, Book VI, p. 500 : "He that truly keeps his understanding bent on the realities has no time to look down at the affairs of men, to fight and become full of malice and hate. Such men rather look upon and behold a world of the definite and uniform. Where doing and suffering injustice is unknown, and all is governed by order and reason (italics mine). "

SEA ADVENTURES

HAWKINS AND FROBISHER.

One of the greatest seamen of Queen Elizabeth's days was Sir John Hawkins. He was a man of Devon, like so many of the old sea-dogs, who raised England's prestige at sea so greatly in those stirring times.

Born at Plymouth in 1532, he came of a family whose interests were bound up with sea-faring in all its aspects. His father was a famous sea captain, and an elder brother helped to fit out ships for combating the Armada.

The first of the exploits of John Hawkins of which we have record was an expedition which he fitted out to the Gulf of Guinea, where he raided the Portuguese slave ships, allowing them first to get their living cargoes, and then taken them and hurrying across to America where the poor negroes were sold at a huge profit on the outlay of the British expedition.

Hawkins carried his enterprises with a high hand, but not always were they successful ; thus soon after his first great success he sent a couple of ships with instructions to raid Seville. These the Spanish captured and confiscated. Nothing daunted, Hawkins prepared another expedition, something on the lines of slave-raiding venture. One result of this second voyage, in which Elizabeth shared the profits, because she had contributed to the small squadron, was the granting of a coat of arms whereon was shown a negro in chains—a curious crest to us, but one thought very appropriate at that time.

Still a further slave-raiding expedition was fitted out, this time on a large scale, and Hawkins sailed with the backing of many of his countrymen ; indeed, the expedition might be said to be national in every sense.

The success of the Spaniards in the West Indies and Central and South America was a source of envy to our people, and

there was no lack of support to an enterprise which promised not only a rich return on the money invested, but some additional glory to our infant marine.

Many slave ships fell into their hands and then, having sold the negroes to advantage, compelling the Spanish to buy them whether they would or no, Hawkins thought that he might do better work than return with what he considered a very moderate yield. Sailing along the coast of America, Hawkins decided that it would be well worth while taking toll of the Spanish towns. Under pretence that he had been driven into harbour by stress of weather, he induced the Spaniards to afford him refuge whilst he refitted his ships. He was able to dictate terms to the town because he had taken a Spanish vessel on his way to Vera Cruz, and he held the crew as hostages against compliance with his demands.

These would have been singularly heavy, once the refitting had taken place, but for the unexpected arrival of a strong Spanish squadron, the commander of which professed friendship and his willingness to aid Hawkins in his refitting. Actually, the new arrivals laid plans to rid the seas of this English free-booter.

At a given signal the Spaniards fell upon the English ships and succeeded in destroying all but two ; Hawkins's own vessel, the "Minion" and the little "Judith," these limped out of harbour in a battered condition. "Judith" belonged to young Francis Drake who, despite the rather bad beginning of his adventures afloat, was soon to be heard of whenever the Spanish Main was in question.

The voyage home of the "Minion" and the "Judith" was a series of disasters, relieved only by the fine conduct of officers and men.

For years following this enterprise Hawkins stayed ashore, but his great merit was recognised by the Queen, who promoted him to be Treasurer, and later Comptroller, of the navy. Then,

with the coming of the Armada, he was at sea again, distinguishing himself greatly against the Spanish.

For his services in this adventure he received his knighthood. After the defeat of the Armada, he made several expeditions against the treasure fleets of the nation we had been fighting, but he had little luck. He tried to excuse his lack of success to the Queen by quoting a text. This provoked Elizabeth to one of her quick repartees. "This fool went out a soldier, and has come back a divine!"

Sir John lacked some of the finer attributes of the great sailors of his day. Brave he undoubtedly was, but also greedy ; he was also inclined to be unscrupulous and tended to practise a piety which was overridden too easily by his desire for gain. Like Drake he died at sea, and was buried off Porto Rico, in November, 1595.

Dying the year before Hawkins, Martin Frobisher was a greater seaman and an explorer of more than ordinary merit. He was a Yorkshire man though his people were natives of North Wales. Like most of the great heroes of these stirring days, he was sent early to sea, and by 1565 he was called Captain Frobisher. We do not know how old he was when he reached his captaincy, since the year of his birth is unknown. Records were badly kept in those distant days ; beyond the fact that we know he was born in the thirties of the sixteenth century, we have no certainty of the actual date within this decade.

Before Frobisher became a captain of a ship, he had planned a voyage of discovery. The belief persisted for a long period that there was a passage round the coast of North America to China and India. It was the ambition of every sailor of imagination to be the first to make the voyage to those rich dominions, by what was hoped would prove to be a much easier route.

For a long time Frobisher tried his best to get the English interested in his project, but it seemed in vain to plead at a

time when there were so many seas ripe for exciting enterprises. The riches of Spanish America were a far greater lure than the problematical North Western Passage of which Frobisher dreamed.

He succeeded at last in enlisting the powerful Earl of Warwick, and through his influence Frobisher found himself in command of three very small craft, one of which was best described as a pinnace. The others, named the "Michael" and "Gabriel" were mere cockleshells, but stout enough to serve this gallant seaman.

The total crew of the small squadron amounted to only 35 men, but, cheered by the presence of their Queen, they set sail from Greenwich on the 7th June, 1576, proceeding first to the Shetland Isles.

Like so many of these early voyages the start was marred by bad weather, in which the pinnace was lost, and the "Michael," fearing to share her fate, turned back and so deserted the flagship of the little squadron. Frobisher pushed on and at length sighted Labrador, but after following the coast for some distance the ice prevented further progress. Failing to get further north, the explorer followed a passage to the westward for some distance. Here he found friendly natives and stayed with them for a little time. Unfortunately some of the "Gabriel's" crew were decoyed from the camp and though every effort was made to induce the natives to give them up, no success was attained, and the poor fellows were left there, their end being unknown.

Winter was now approaching rapidly and, much against his will, Frobisher had to turn for home, baffled for the moment but quite sure that he was on the track of a great and beneficent discovery.

He reached the Thames again on the 9th of October, having accomplished quite a good deal of surveying in the limited time he had been away. A rumour swept the country that Frobisher had brought back an enormous nugget of gold from

the Arctic regions, and this led to a rush to invest money in a further expedition which he was invited to command for the following summer.

The explorer's star was now in the ascendant. A powerful company was formed with a charter which enabled them to sail in any direction to China, save the east. This indicated that the company meant to send their ships through the fabled North West Passage. Frobisher was appointed high admiral of all waters and lands which he might discover, the navy added the vessel "Aid" to his fleet, besides subscribing £ 1,000 to the outfit of the expedition. The fleet consisted of several well-found ships, including the "Michael" and "Gabriel" and many pinnaces. There was a total of 120 men abroad, against the paltry 35 of the previous year. Not all these were seamen, for the reported discovery of gold in Labrador made it desirable that the ships should convey a party of miners and metal refiners.

Leaving the home port at the end of May, 1577, Labrador was reached by mid-July and operations were commenced at once on that rocky shore, the quartz being eagerly searched for traces of gold.

It now transpired that Frobisher had secret orders not to trouble too much about the North West Passage that year ; he was to concentrate upon the gold that was popularly supposed to abound in great quantities amongst the rocks of that desolate land.

The land operations were greatly hindered by the un-friendliness of the natives, who were especially troublesome when Frobisher announced his intention of recovering the men who had been decoyed by their people on his last voyage.

Though the return of the vessels with 200 tons of ore was hailed as a great achievement, and Frobisher was made much of, the Queen giving him a chain of gold, there was considerable disappointment at the results of the expedition, especially when on refining the ore the traces of gold were almost negligible.

In spite of this, however, the belief that the new land had much hidden riches was so strong that early next year a further and much stronger expedition was fitted out, and again Frobisher sailed at the head of it. Further, it was resolved that a colony should be planted in Labrador, the country having already been annexed and added to the Queen's dominions beyond the seas. A party of 100 men were to be the first colonists.

No sooner had the expedition reached the coast of Labrador than dissensions, fostered by bad weather conditions, broke out amongst the somewhat mixed company. Large quantities of ore were obtained and placed on board the ships, and then they turned at once for home, all save one of the fleet, the "Dennis," which was driven ashore in the early stages of the exploration.

This finished the voyages of Frobisher in search of the fabled passage to China, but it is questionable whether this intrepid sailor ever gave up his firm belief that the way needed only careful search.

He served in various capacities, always with credit, and he had the honour of knowing that his name was one of four which were sent to the Queen as the best sailors in England when the country was threatened by the oncoming Armada. He did splendid work in the "Triumph," and was knighted for his services. For the rest of his life he served well and shared many minor enterprises. His reputation for strict discipline, at a time when it was urgently needed, was very high, though it is said he carried his vigorous rule rather too far. Finally, he was wounded in an action off Brest, and died full of honour, being buried in the Churchyard of St. Giles Cripplegate, London.

G. G. JACKSON

The Bureau of the Conference will remain in office during the interval between the two sessions, in order to examine the documents mentioned above and prepare the future work of the Conference.

It will be left to the President to fix, with the approval of the Council, the date of the second session of the Conference which, as far as possible, should be held at Geneva before December 31st, 1930.

To this session will be submitted, in addition to observations and proposals from Governments, the opinions obtained in advance of the advisory bodies of the League and of the International Labour Office and any other technical opinions, in particular, that of the International Chamber of Commerce.

* * *

The following countries were represented at the Conference : Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Free City of Danzig, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Peru, Poland, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.¹

¹ [Received by the Editor from the League of Nations, Information Section, Geneva, December, 1929.]

THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

The Thirteenth Session of the International Labour Conference was held at Geneva from the 10th to the 26th October, 1929. It was the third of those sessions of the Conference, the agenda of which consisted solely of questions relating to the living and working conditions of seamen. It thus continued and supplemented the work of the maritime conferences held at Genoa in 1920, and at Geneva in 1926.

The reasons for holding such special maritime conferences are not far to seek. The shipping industry is perhaps the most international of all industries. It is international in its object, which is to transport persons and goods from one country to another. It is international in the surroundings in which it is exercised—the high seas, which are the common property of mankind. It is international also because of the fact that it is open to free international competition. Except in the case of certain kinds of near trade between ports in the same country, no country stands in a privileged position : freight rates are established internationally. Since each mercantile marine is exposed to the competition of all others, it is difficult for any one to bear charges which are not also borne by the rest. Thus if the conditions of work of seamen are to be improved, it is even more necessary than in the case of other industries that the mercantile marines of the various countries should enjoy the safeguards of international labour legislation. Such safeguards can be comparatively easily devised, because wherever similar types of ships are concerned navigation is carried out under similar conditions on all seas ; and seamen, irrespective of the flag under which they sail, work in a similar way, since the exigencies of the service are the same in all mercantile

marines, and it is necessary to provide against the same dangers.

The agenda of the Conference consisted of the following four items :—(1) Regulation of hours of work on board ship, (2) Protection of seamen in case of sickness (including the treatment of seamen injured on board ship), *i.e.*, (a) The individual liability of the shipowner towards sick or injured seamen, (b) Sickness insurance for seamen, (3) Promotion of seaman's welfare in ports, (4) Establishment by each maritime country of a minimum requirement of professional capacity in the case of captains, navigating and engineer officers in charge of watches on board merchant ships.

Those four questions came up for first discussion before the Conference according to the newly introduced double discussion procedure, the immediate objective being not the adoption of Draft Conventions and Recommendations, but to settle as completely as possible the points on which the International Labour Office should consult the various member-states with a view to a second discussion which will take place at the next maritime session when the Conference will be called on to take final decisions. In view of the importance of the agenda, it is not surprising that all maritime states-members of the Organisation were represented with the exception of Norway, which, in the absence of an official delegation, due to political circumstances, sent two observers to follow the proceedings. The number of countries represented at the Conference was 31, who sent 102 delegates and 152 advisers, making a total of 254 persons. The President of the session was Mr. Eduard Aunos Peroz, Spanish Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. The personnel of the Indian Delegation was as follows :—

To represent the Government of India :—Delegate : (1) Sir Atul Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for India ; (2) Sir Geoffrey Corbett, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser and substitute delegate, Mr. C. W. A. Turner, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Advisers : (1) Mr. J. E. P. Curry, Shipping Master, Bombay ;
(2) Captain Sir Edward Headlam, Kt., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

To represent the Employers :—Delegate : Mr. Jadunath Roy, Calcutta. Advisers : (1) Mr. P. H. Browne of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Company, Calcutta ; (2) Mr. Fakirjee Cowasjee, Karachi ; (3) Mr. M. A. Master of Messrs. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Bombay.

To represent the Workers :—Delegate : Mr. M. Daud, M.A., B.L., President, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta. Advisers : (1) Mr. Syed Munawar, B.A., M.L.C., General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay ; (2) Mr. L. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B., Vice-President, Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay ; (3) Mr. Muzzammil Ali, Assistant General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta.

Mr. C. W. A. Turner acted as Secretary to the delegation.

At the beginning of the session, a difficult situation arose as a result of protests lodged by the employers' group with regard to the composition of the Conference, following which the employers' delegates in a body absented themselves from the Conference. The difficulty was tided over, and the employers' group induced to return, however, by the Conference passing a resolution inviting the Governing Body to seek all appropriate means of avoiding in the future a repetition of such difficulties. The work of the Conference, despite the temporary abstention of the employers' delegates went on smoothly, and the Draft Conclusions submitted by the four committees set up to deal with the items on the agenda were adopted in plenary sitting without any significant amendments, and the four questions were included in the agenda for the next maritime session for final discussion.

Hours of Work on Board Ship.

The conclusions of the Committee on Hours of Work on Board Ship were adopted in the plenary Conference

by 71 votes to 20. The Conference decided after examining the grey report on the subject that it was desirable to consult governments on the question of international regulations of hours of work of seamen by means of a Draft Convention and invited the International Labour Office to ascertain the views of the governments on the following main points :—(1) Scope of the draft conventions : (a) as regards vessels, (b) as regards trades, (c) as regards persons employed on board ; (2) Methods of regulating working hours it might be possible to adopt for different categories of the crew, i.e., engine room staff, deck staff, and the catering staff : (a) in port, (b) on sailing days, (c) on passage, and (d) on arrival days ; (3) Possibility of providing that overtime for certain classes of work necessary for safety shall not be subject either to limitation or compensation.

Protection of Seamen in case of sickness.

The Committee set up by the Conference to study this item submitted two reports. The first report, dealing with the individual liability of the ship-owner towards sick or injured seamen, was adopted by 65 votes to 16. The second report, dealing with sickness insurance for seamen, was adopted by 68 votes to 14. Both reports concluded that the question dealt with was suitable for treatment in a Draft Convention. The Conclusions adopted on the first point related to the risks covered (sickness, injury, and death) and the liabilities of the ship-owner (medical treatment, maintenance, wages, repatriation, funeral expenses, and the protection of the property of deceased seamen or those left behind as a result of sickness or injury). The conclusions adopted on the second point laid down the principle of compulsory sickness insurance for all persons employed on board ships engaged in maritime navigation, including sea-fishing boats, but with the exception of ships of war. Possible exceptions are suggested in the case of foreign seamen or seamen not

resident in the country whose flag the vessel flies, masters and officers in receipt of remuneration which is high in relation to the general level of remuneration, members of the employers' family, pilots and workers below or above specified age limits.

The Promotion of Seamen's Welfare in Port.

The report submitted by the Committee set up by the Conference on this item was unanimously adopted by the Conference. The following are the main points on which the International Labour Office has been invited to consult governments :

The institution in all large ports, where such bodies do not already exist, of authorities or officially recognised organisations, including representatives of the shipowners, the seamen, and the authorities and institutions concerned; the adoption, with due heed to national and local conditions, of legislative measures or regulations for the purposes of systematically combating the dangers of alcoholism and narcotics, of supervising hostels, and of protecting seamen in their movements between their ships and the shore; the initiation of suitable measures for the protection of the health of seamen against tuberculosis, tropical or other diseases, and especially the organisation of treatment for venereal diseases, as is provided for by the Brussels Agreement of 1924; the adoption of measures more directly concerned with the stay in port of seamen of all nationalities, including the provision of suitable hostels, meeting and recreation rooms, libraries, etc., and the extension of facilities for thrift.

Minimum requirement of Professional capacity in the case of Captains and Officers in charge of watches.

The report of the Committee on this subject was adopted by 65 votes to *nil*, and it was decided by 73 votes to 2 to place the question on the agenda of the next maritime session. It was the general opinion that as experience has shown that

a vessel however well-built, equipped, navigated and staffed, could be exposed to serious dangers from the fact that the staff of another vessel did not possess sufficient professional capacity, some form of international guarantee in this respect was absolutely necessary. It was, therefore, decided that the States Members should be consulted on the following points :— possession of a certificate of professional capacity is to be required by national legislation for employment as (a) master or skipper; (b) navigating officer in charge of a watch; (c) engineer officer in charge of a watch. The determination of the scope of this Draft Convention on the basis of general definitions, which might be as follows :—

Possibly, general conditions for granting certificates which should be specified by national laws or regulations : (a) a minimum age; (b) a certain standard of professional experience; (c) the necessity of passing one or more examinations organised and supervised by the public authorities.

The Conference also passed resolutions dealing with the following questions :—Conditions of life and labour of Asiatic seamen, especially when employed outside their countries or on board foreign ships; hours of labour in inland navigation; conditions of labour in aerial navigation; the application of Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by previous maritime Sessions of the Conference; and equitable treatment of seamen employed on board vessels plying within the territorial waters or on the inland waterways of the country of which such seamen are citizens, within the general framework of the social legislation of such country.

The resolutions concerning the conditions of life and labour of seamen in Asiatic countries, submitted jointly by Mr. Daud, Indian workers' delegate, and Mr. Liang, Chinese workers' delegate, deserve special attention. The resolution pointed out that though equal treatment of seamen without distinction of race and colour was an essential requirement, there existed at present

marked inequalities by which differential treatment was accorded to Asiatic seamen, as compared with other seamen performing the same work, in such matters as wages, hours of work, system of recruitment, housing, health and the protection afforded by the laws of the country of the shipowner in respect of insurance, workmen's compensation, freedom of association, etc., and requested the Governing Body (1) to direct the International Labour Office in the conduct of its general inquiry into the conditions of Asiatic labour to devote special attention to the conditions of Asiatic seamen and (2) to consider whether this question could be placed on the agenda of an early conference. Mr. Daud, in his speech on the resolution pointed out that there were over 250,000 seamen in India, of whom 200,000 were victims of chronic unemployment, and that even in the case of the 50,000 who are able to secure employment, invidious distinctions existed in respect of wages, hours of work, etc. Thus while an Indian fireman was paid Rs. 23 or £1-15s, a British fireman was paid £9-10s a month. Other abuses pointed out by Mr. Daud were the present system of recruitment of seamen by brokers, the woeful lack of housing accommodation for seamen, and the longer hours of work exacted from Indian seamen.

Before closing the account of the Conference reference has also to be made to the objections raised by several Indian employers' organisations against the appointment of Mr. P. H. Browne, as one of the advisers to the Indian employers' delegate. The objections were based on the following contentions :—(a) That Mr. Browne was not nominated in agreement with national organisations of employers in India, and as such cannot represent them ; (b) that Mr. Browne was not nominated in agreement with the most representative organisations of employers in India ; and (c) that Mr. Browne represented non-national interests which are in serious conflict with the national interests of India, and as such not only can he not faithfully represent the latter, but might seriously prejudice the same. The objectors also referred to the case of Sir Arthur Froom, whose credentials

were challenged at the Conference of 1926 by Indian employers on almost identical grounds, and whose nomination was validated by the Credentials Committee on that occasion on grounds of "expediency" alone. After giving a full hearing to the parties to the dispute, the Credentials Committee decided to recommend the acceptance of the credentials of Mr. Browne on the grounds "that while representation at the Conference implies the representation of national elements, it could not enter into the substance of the question," and that it was for the Government to decide, by virtue of its sovereign powers, the national or non-national character of any organisation of employers or workers.

The thirteenth Conference, despite the difficulties which it had to face, was on the whole a most successful one, so much so, in fact, that at the last sitting the spokesman of the workers' group was able to assert that perhaps for the first time since the seamen had been called upon to partake in the work of the organisation, they would return to their respective harbours with relief and hope in their hearts.¹

¹ Received by the Editor from International Labour Office, League of Nations, Geneva, through its Indian Branch, New Delhi.

WRONG, RIGHT AND LOVE

I

O when this heart is mad with sin
 I care not that Thou art ;
 But when of sin the charm has fled
 In fear I find Thy dart.
 In magic charm sin veils her face
 I feel that sin's Thy play ;
 The darkest sin can touch Thee not,
 Thou eternal, sin of day.
 Love's silent smile now touches heart
 All sin to Thee is naught
 By sin beguiled life's love and joy
 In vain in sin is sought.
 'Gainst Thy love sin 's no offence,
 Sin's poison vile to soul, heart, sense.

II

All virtue piled on virtue's head
 On Thee can make no claim
 O thou hast made and canst unmake
 To world what's virtue's fame.
 What's virtue now was sin before
 One's virtue's other's sin ;
 O who can tell where virtues end
 And where man's sins begin.
 O quench in love this pang of Sin
 And virtue's sturdy pride.
 O blot me out in Thy sweet love,
 My hearts eternal Bride !

III

Exiled from love all right and wrong
 Are but a tuneless, raucous song
 In love I know not rise or fall,
 Love is me and Love is all.
 Love is flesh and mind and soul
 Love is part and love is whole
 Thou Love art Love, save what none else?
 What I called curse in Thee I bless.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

DREAM OF LOVE

When night is falling
 Over the Western Hills
 I'll sing thee a song of love.
 Listen to me calling
 From 'midst the daffodils
 Wafting their scent above.
 Oh, My Beloved, I'll linger
 Waiting to hear your voice;
 Love of my heart, I want you
 You are my song, my singer,
 You are the love of my choice;
 Come then, My Love, I want you,
 Come then, My Love, My Own !

LELAND J. BERRY

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

The Revolt of Islam (1817)

The "Revolt of Islam" practically brings to a close the earliest stage in the development of Shelley as a poet who after 1817 began to shake off the influence of the Godwinian philosophy and its crude ideas. It embodies, however, his grand illusion of regenerated humanity now freed from custom, tradition, law, and the tyranny of kings and priests. It is also a poet-prophet's vision of the triumph of liberty and contains his zealous advocacy of women's rights and their emancipation.

It is curious to note that Shelley's two early longer poems represent not only the views of Godwin and the French Revolutionists but many of the ideas of the German philosopher Kant as they appear in his "Ideas towards a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View" (1784) and "Towards Perpetual Peace" (1793) as well as those of Condorcet set forth in his remarkable philosophical survey written immediately before his death called "Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind."

In the scheme of the semi-political and semi-religious narrative piece, the Revolt of Islam, Shelley not only creates an occasion for disseminating a large number of individual doctrines of the Revolutionary Movement but tries also to show how the blood of the two heroic and enthusiastic martyrs to the new Shelleyan religion of a regenerated new social order and society of free and equal men and women, establishing one brotherhood and fellowship of man as man built on the eternal foundation of Love, is, indeed, the seed of the millennium. In this new order replacing the old established order, Shelley realizes his highest idealistic vision of what according to him is the true kingdom of God on earth bound to fulfil the noblest mission of man's high ethical endeavours. Laon and Cythna

are apostles and missionaries of the new faith which replaces older superstitions erroneously called religion. They die in body to live immortal in soul in the Temple of the Spirit.

The crude ideas embodied in *Queen Mab*, largely influenced by Godwin's *Political Justice*, became considerably perfected by Shelley's actual experiences between 1812 and 1816 when he strongly pleaded in prose addresses for freedom, justice, wisdom and virtue. Shelley's editor, Mr. H. Buxton Forman, rightly says "the poem and its notes have played a considerable part in the growth of free thought in England and America, specially among the working classes." Here, in "*Revolt of Islam*", we possess an epic not only of free thought but also of *free love*,¹ of love without marriage, as if by way of an imaginative protest against his too generous indiscretion of having blundered too early in life into the other extreme of a marriage without love in the case of Harriet Westbrook, his first child wife.

In the heroine Cythna, Shelley depicts his ideal of emancipated womanhood—free, equal with man, a fearless and heroic self-sacrificing companion of Laon in his noble work of achieving human perfection through liberty and love.

This prepares us for the magnificent choral odes of "*Prometheus Unbound*" in which we have Shelley's noblest idealism dramatically represented in the hero who succeeds in liberating humanity from all bondage by the irresistible spiritual power of that ideal love which alone suffices to accomplish emancipation.

Prometheus Unbound (1819)

The conflict between good and evil assumes here the form of a struggle for supremacy between the indomitable spirit of man and the brute force of tyranny. Infinite suffering and eternal endurance fortify the champion of humanity against a non-human Power. There is a spiritual rebirth of the hero

¹ Cf. *Epipsychedion*.

who "hates no more as then ere misery made him wise" and is so changed that "aught evil wish is dead within" him. Shelley makes such a conversion of the vengeful Prometheus a necessary condition to ensure the *spiritual* regeneration of mankind. Shelley's idealism now enlarges his poetic vision of man and he cannot rest content merely with man's deliverance from social and political bondage. Purification of the hero is a suggestive improvement on the mythical view of his character because Shelley's ideal of freedom has under the influence of Plato now undergone an appreciable change. In exalting the dignity of man Shelley conceives him more as a moral agent than a political rebel. The spiritual emancipation of man through universal love is really his theme now. Suffering, says Novalis, is what makes us holy and through it we are led to God, and suffering effects a change of heart in Prometheus. The antique theme of a deadly strife between Zeus and Prometheus is not only presented by Shelley in a modern setting having a reference to the French Revolution but handled in a highly idealistic fashion. Shelley's philosophy recognises the value of healthy instincts, eternal endurance and contemplative insight in human evolution. The curse, once breathed on Zeus by Prometheus, he would recall. "Pain, pain ever, for ever"—is his lot. "No change, no pause, no hope" for "three thousand years of sleep-unsheltered hours," yet he endures, reigning and triumphing, to his foe's scorn, over his own misery and the vain revenge of the enemy of mankind. He repents for having cursed that enemy, for says he, "I wish no living thing to suffer pain." This is the kind of self-mastery achieved by the hero fit to champion the cause of man. Even Mercury admits that he is wise, firm and good, though vainly striving against the Omnipotent. "Within his mind sits peace serene, as light in the sun, throned." Shelley and Schiller were poets of infinite human aspirations guided by an inner law triumphing over external conditions and making for unhampered development of individuality in which the human *Will* is vic-

torious over the so-called inevitableness of fate and thus achieves *moral* freedom without which man's continuous struggle for perfection loses its significance. Hence the law of Necessity so prominent in Shelley's *Queen Mab* is replaced in *Prometheus Unbound* by the new law of emancipating Love. The liberator of man is no longer a common youthful enthusiast like Loan. The unvanquished Titan is always firm but never proud. Serene self-possession due to mastery over his own self takes now the place of the tumultuous spirit of rebellion in Laon. His moral will is supreme, he is invincible because he is "stern of thought." His character has been fashioned by Shelley on the model of the ideal Christ and he "would fain be the saviour and the strength of suffering man, or sink into the original gulf of things." He is determined to restore to man the birth-right of his being, "knowledge, power, the skill which wields the elements, the thought which pierces this dim universe like light, self-empire, and the majesty of love." Shelley conceives in this poem a new idea of slavery which is no more merely political servitude, for, he declares through Demogorgon that "all spirits are enslaved which serve things evil." The transformation of Asia in Act II of the poem figuratively signifies the triumph of liberty and love on earth, and once more—

"Love like the atmosphere
Of the sun's fire filling the living world,
Bursts from her, illuminates earth and heaven
And the deep ocean and the sunless caves
And all that dwells within them."

Addressing Asia, Panthea says—

"Hearest thou not sounds i'the air which speak the love
Of all articulate beings? Feelest thou not
The inanimate winds enamoured of thee?"

And Asia's reply is—

"Thy words are sweeter than aught else but his
Whose echoes they are: Yet all love is sweet,

Given or returned. Common as light is love,
 And its familiar voice wearies not ever,
 Like the wide heaven, the all-sustaining air,
 It makes the reptile equal to the God."

Then they sail on, away, afar into

" Realms where the air we breathe is love,
 Which in the winds on the waves doth move,
 Harmonising this earth with what we feel above."

The marvellous effects of the redemption of man from all tyranny, error and evil are next delineated by the poet. The spirit of the Hour is charged with the duty of proclaiming to the world the message of man's deliverance. The Earth feels the rejuvenating touch of life and joy, the warmth of an immortal youth shooting down through her withered, old and icy frame. All things put off their evil nature and the spirit of the Hour thus describes the sudden change that results—

" The impalpable thin air
 And the all-circling sunlight were transformed,
 As if the sense of love, dissolved in them,
 Had folded itself round the sphered world."

Thrones became kingless, altars, judgment-seats and prisons disappeared like ghosts of a no-more-remembered fame; hate, disdain, fear, self-love, self-contempt, hypocrisy, custom's evil taint, cold command of tyrants and abject slavishness of their victims, all vanished and made earth like heaven.

" Nor pride,
 Nor jealousy, nor envy, nor ill-shame,
 The bitterest of those drops of treasured gall,
 Spoilt the sweet taste of the nepenthe, love."

Next follows what to Shelley was then a fascinating picture of man :—

" The loathesome mask has fallen ; the man remains—
 Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man

Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the King
Over himself ; just, gentle, wise ; but man."

This, we need hardly add, is nothing better than an unreal abstraction derived mainly from the destructive rationalism of the French Revolution. It soon yields place, however, to a nobler conception of man living in a universe all triumphant with the supremacy of love which rules it as by a new law. When sceptred curse, which did threaten to muffle the universe round with black destruction, is sunk, withdrawn, covered, drunk up by thirsty nothing,

" Filling its void annihilation, love
Bursts in like light on caves cloven by the thunder-ball."

Love interpenetrates the granite mass of the earth, passes through trodden clay and tangled roots into leaves and flowers, is spread upon the winds and among the clouds, wakes a life in the forgotten dead and with earthquake shock makes shiver—

" Thought's stagnant chaos, unremoved for ever,
Till hate, and fear, and pain, light-vanquished shadows, fleeing,
Leave Man, who was a many-sided mirror,
Which could distort to many a shape of error,
This true fair world of things, a sea reflecting love."

* * *

*

*

" Man, oh, not men ! a chain of linked thought,
Of love and might to be divided not,
Compelling the elements with adamantine stress ;
As the sun rules, even with a tyrant's gaze
The unquiet republic of the maze
Of planets, struggling fierce towards heaven's free wilderness
Man, one harmonious soul of many a soul,
Whose nature is its own divine control,
Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea;
Familiar acts are beautiful through love;
Labour, and pain, and grief, in life's green grove
Sport like tame beasts, none knew how gentle they could be.

His will, with all mean passions, bad delights,
And selfish cares, its trembling satellites,
A spirit ill to guide, but mighty to obey,
Is as a tempest-winged ship, whose helm
Love rules, through waves which dare not overwhelm,
Forcing life's wildest shores to own its sovereign sway."

In the last quarter of the 18th century, the one-sided rampant individualistic trend of the rationalists passed through successive stages of pietism, sentimentalism, destructive storm and stress of raw passion and furious emotional outburst into an ideal cosmopolitan conception of collective man leading to the later conception of the organic unity of man. Shelley makes the nearest approach towards Hegel's idea of a concrete universal made manifest in the individual as the type of universal humanity. Kant presents the idea of a confederation of all peoples at peace with one another; Schelling gives us his ideal of spiritualised humanity; Fichte of humanity liberated from local bounds of geography and nationality and Schleirmacher of perfected man who does not slavishly accept any scripture but is the maker of all scriptures.

In Shelley's new universe as in Dante's Paradise, " Love is the guide, the rule " and the poet conceives " the whole motion of the universe as one cosmic dance of love that builds the universe into one to make it resemble the Supreme Unity." In the words of Demogorgon

" This, like thy glory, Titan! is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory."

In the Preface to his *Prometheus Unbound* we come across a significant hint where Shelley tells us, " The cloud of mind is discharging its collected lightning, and the equilibrium between institutions and opinions is now restoring, or is about

to be restored." He acknowledges his "passion for reforming the world" but warns us that his political compositions do not contain "a reasoned system on the theory of human life." 1818 to 1820 were for Shelley years consecrated to the poetry of liberated¹ humanity and regenerated social order, brought about by the downfall of tyrants, overthrow of oppression, removal of fettering social conventions. In Prometheus his ideal vision of perfected man is imaginatively realized. Though in his prose addresses to the people he is thoroughly practical here for once he is absurdly unhistorical, being absorbed in the *Idea*, as an incorrigible enthusiast careless of actualities. Shelley in Italy became a spiritual and idealistic recluse living in a world of books and ideas created by his devotion to Platonism. His hero rightly says therefore (Act I) to the Third Fury

"I am King over myself, and rule
The torturing and conflicting throngs within,
As Jove rules you when Hell grows mutinous."

Self-possession, serene and blessed now replaces the tumultuous revolt against tyrants and oppressors which characterise "Queen Mab" and "Revolt of Islam." Asia's emancipating self-less love reminds us of Goethe's Iphigenia whose large-hearted humanity and healing presence bring in a new age of freedom and fraternity in place of the hatred and vengeance that tracked the destiny of the house of Atreus. Intolerant religious persecutions and the reign of terror, followed by Napoleonic self-aggrandisement, are, no doubt, symbolically represented as perverting for a time good to evil yet all tormenting hideous revelations of this character only serve, adds Prometheus,—

(to) "gird my soul
With new endurance, till the hour arrives
When they shall be no types of things which are."

¹ Cf. Thomas Holcroft's novel "Anna, St. Ives" (1792) on the theme of regenerated humanity.

Here is the sure triumph of the Ideal over the real, of the spirit over the flesh. The ultimate source of strength and comfort in the midst of trying tribulations is thought and Prometheus is solaced by the spirits breathing the atmosphere of human thought, who have from unremembered ages been gentle guides and guardians of heaven-oppressed mortality, *viz.*, the spirits of Love, Altruism, Wisdom, Poesy.

Imperfections of realities always suggest to Shelley a perfection behind them guiding his imagination to a vision of what is to be. Here is the very soul of Shelley's ideal passion and of his mystic vision. We are not, however, justified in inferring from this that he was incapable of sober thinking about politics. He says to Leigh Hunt, "I fear that in England things will be carried violently by the rulers and they will not have learned to yield in time to the spirit of the age, the great thing to do is to hold the balance between popular impatience and tyrannical obstinacy ; to inculcate with fervour both the right of resistance and the duty of forbearance. You know my principles incite me to take all the good I can get in politics, for ever aspiring to something more. I am one of those whom nothing will fully satisfy, but, who are ready to be partially satisfied in all that is practicable."¹

I feel constrained to postpone for a while the consideration of Shelley's *Hellas*. In connection with his well thought out political ideas and ideals, mention should be made here of Shelley's "Philosophical View of Reform." Mr. Ingpen thinks that

Shelley refers to it in his letter of November 6,
"A Philosophical
View of Reform" 1819, where he says—"I have deserted the
(1820). odorous gardens of literature, to journey
across the great sandy desert of politics." It was finished
by 1820 but left unpublished till 1920 and contains Shelley's
well-considered opinions and practical suggestions as political
remedies and is considered by Professor Dowden to be more

¹ Letter to Leigh Hunt, from Florence, of November, 1819.

important than all other writings of Shelley on politics and by its editor Mr. T. W. Rolleston as remarkable for the moderation of his views. Mr. Rolleston gives an important extract from a letter of Shelley to Leigh Hunt, dated May 26, 1820, in which according to him we have the first mention of this Essay : "Do you know any publisher or book-seller who would publish for me an octavo volume, entitled "A Philosophical View of Reform"? It is boldly but temperately-written, and, I think readable. It is intended for a kind of standard book for the philosophical reformers, politically considered like Jeremy Bentham's, something, and perhaps more systematic."¹ The social, economic and political conditions prevailing in England at the time of Shelley's Essay are well known to-day to every student of English history. The scheme of the Essay as stated at the outset by Shelley consists of four topics :—

- (1) Sentiment of the Necessity of change.
- (2) Practicability and Utility of such change.
- (3) State of Parties as regards it.
- (4) Probable Mode—Desirable mode.

In the unfinished Essay, as we have it, there are only three chapters, *viz.*, Chapter I, Introduction, Chapter II, dealing with the first topic mentioned above, Chapter III, on "Probable Means."

In the last paragraph of the Introduction (Chapter I) Shelley asks—"Has there not been and is there not in England a desire of change arising from the profound sentiment of the exceeding inefficiency of the existing institutions to provide for the physical and intellectual happiness of the people?"

This will strongly remind us of Godwin's *Political Justice*, Book VII, Chapter III, in which that political philosopher elaborately works out his theory that the necessity of political coercion arises from the defects of political institutions and also

¹ Introduction V of Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition (Oxford University Press, 1920).

of Chapter V which establishes the relation between despotism and anarchy. Shelley also seems to have partly drawn his inspiration from Book VI, Chapter III, which deals with the absurdity of the attempt on the part of the Government to restrain political thought and the freedom of speech and of free discussion of political questions.

After putting the above-mentioned question regarding a desire of change, Shelley adds—"It is proposed in this work (1) to state and examine the present condition of this desire, (2) to elucidate its causes and its objects, (3) to show the practicability and utility, nay the necessity of change, (4) to examine the state of parties as regards it, and (5)¹ to state the probable, the possible, and the desirable mode in which it should be accomplished."¹ Godwin was also an advocate of a gradual but uninterrupted change. He will have many reforms but no revolutions. "Revolutions are,"² says he, "the produce of passion, not of sober and tranquil reason." Yet "incessant change, everlasting innovation seems to be dictated by the true interest of mankind." But governments are conservative and opposed to alteration, improvement and advance.

A Philosophical View of Reform.

In order to put the crisis in England in a proper historical perspective, Shelley gives in his Introduction (Chapter I) what he calls "a slight sketch of the general condition of the hopes and aspirations of the human race" since "the obliteration of the Greek republics by the successful tyranny of Rome." He passes in review man's struggle for freedom "from the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the vast and successful scheme for the enslaving of the most civilised portion of mankind to the epoch of the French Revolution" and refers to the resistance offered to tyranny (1) by the Republics and municipal Governments

¹ Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition, page 31. The editor has corrected Shelley's "inadvertently written 4th" in place of (5).

² *Political Justice*, Book III, Ch. VII.

of Italy and how Florence divided and weakened the strength of the Empire and the Papedom,(2) by the Reformation which however, is called an imperfect emancipation of mankind from the yoke of priests and kings, to the rising of the oppressed peasantry who murdered their tyrants and the establishment of the Republic of Holland, to the English Renaissance—that extraordinary exertion of the energies of intellectual power which by rapid gradations conducted the nation to the temporary abolition of aristocracy and episcopacy, to the Revolution of 1688 which is a compromise between the inextinguishable spirit of Liberty, and the ever watchful spirit of fraud and tyranny and by which monarchy and aristocracy and episcopacy were at once established and limited by law. It was acknowledged and declared, however, that the Will of the People was the source from which those powers derived the right to subsist.

"In both instances" (*i.e.* of the Reformation and the Revolution), Shelley concludes, "the maxims so solemnly recorded remain as trophies of our difficult and incomplete victory, planted on the enemies' soil. The will of the People to change their Government is an acknowledged right in the Constitution of England. The protesting against religious dogmas which present themselves to his mind as false is the inalienable prerogative of every human being."

Then Shelley speaks of the new epoch marked by deeper religious and philosophical enquiries into human nature and into the inmost nature of the social man and mentions Lord Bacon, Spinoza, Hobbes, Boyle, Montaigne, Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Hartley and the use made of the doctrines of these writers by a crowd of writers in France who developed portions of the new philosophy to expose the falsehood of the mediæval pretences of their religious and political oppressors. Political Philosophy was also assuming a precise form under the influence of these philosophers and Swift, Bolingbroke, Sidney, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Godwin and Bentham illustrated the principles of human nature as applied to man in political society.

These enquiries kindled "a thirst for accommodating the existing forms according to which mankind are found divided to those rules of freedom and equality which have been discovered as being the elementary principles according to which the happiness resulting from the social union ought to be produced and distributed." Mechanical sciences also attained to a greater degree of perfection and commerce was pursued with a perpetually increasing vigour.

"The result of the labours of the political philosophers has been the establishment of the principle of utility as the substance, and liberty and equality as the forms according to which the concerns of human life ought to be administered."¹

The state of public opinion in Europe is next reflected in the just and successful Revolt of America as its first result and in the French Revolution which is the second.

The system of Government in America administered according to republican forms, as the first practical illustration of the new philosophy, appeared to Shelley to be a near approximation to a perfect system, though sufficiently remote from the accuracy of ideal excellence, having no absolute King, no aristocratic legislature, no venal priesthood, no leisured rich class fattening on the earnings of actual toilers, no arbitrary Chancery Court, and no standing army² ready to cut down the people if they at all murmur at oppressions. "It has a true representation. The will of the many is represented in the assemblies and by the officers entrusted with the administration of the executive power almost as directly as the will of one person can be

¹ Though quotation marks are not always used, the whole of this passage has been put as nearly as possible in Shelley's words and may be practically regarded as consisting of extracts from Shelley's *Essay* (pages 1 to 12 of Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition).

² The "Peterloo Massacre" of 1819 was quite fresh in Shelley's mind to which he refers in Chap. III, pages 78 and 80. This was responsible for Shelley's extreme views about soldiers. "From the moment a man is a soldier, he becomes a slave,...is taught to despise human life and human suffering,...is more degraded than a murderer" (page 68). Such views are, however, considerably modified and softened when he speaks of them as reasonable Englishmen (pages 81-82).

represented by the will of another." Also "there is a law by which the constitution is reserved for revision every ten years." "Compared with the old Governments of Europe and Asia, the United States affords an example of a free, happy and strong people."

In Shelley's view hereditary oligarchy is "an order of men privileged to cheat and insult the rest of the members of the State, and who inherit the right of legislating and judging which the principles of human nature compel them to exercise to their own profit and to the detriment of those not included within their peculiar class." And the established Church is a "system of opinions respecting the abstrusest questions which can be the topics of human thought, founded in an age of error and fanaticism, and opposed by law to all other opinions, defended by prosecutions, and sanctioned by enormous grants given to idle priests and forced from the unwilling hands of those who have an interest in the cultivation and improvement of the soil."

In the French Revolution, Shelley holds, "the tyrants were, as usual, the aggressors" and the desire of the oppressed, "rendered brutal, ignorant, servile and bloody by slavery," to wreak vengeance, "a mistake, a crime, a calamity." But he rightly adds that if a just and necessary revolution could have been accomplished with as little expense of happiness and order in a country governed by despotic as in one governed by free laws, equal liberty and justice would lose their chief recommendations and tyranny be divested of its most revolting attributes.¹ Tyranny entrenches itself within the existing interests of the best and most refined citizens of a nation and says 'If you dare trample upon these, be free.' Though these terrible conditions

¹ Cf. "If the Revolution had been in every respect prosperous, then misrule and superstition would lose half their claims to our abhorrence...Could they listen to the plea of reason who had groaned under the calamities of a social state according to the provisions of which one man riots in luxury whilst another famishes for want of bread?" [Preface to the *Revolt of Islam*.]

shall not be evaded, the world is no longer in a temper to decline the challenge.

The degradation of the French people of the time of the Revolution is attributed to their institutions—slavery, superstition, contumely and its tame endurance and the habits engendered out of this transmitted inheritance.

The liberation of Germany and Spain's struggle for it and the establishing of republics in South America are next reviewed. With great foresight Shelley refers to the future of Asiatic countries where revolutions were in sight, mentioning India, China, Persia, Syria, Arabia, the Turkish Empire, and Palestine. Egypt and the West Indies are also taken into consideration.

Shelley was thoroughly convinced of the inexpressible advantages of a self-governing society. One important condition according to him of perfect government is the representation of the will of the people but provision is, he insists, necessary to make that will as wise and just as possible.

"Right Government," he adds, "being an institution for the purpose of securing such a moderate degree of happiness to men as has been experimentally practicable, the sure character of misgovernment is misery, and first discontent and, if that be despised, then insurrection, as the legitimate expression of that misery. The public right to demand happiness is a principle of nature. The labouring classes, when they cannot get food for their labour are impelled to take it by force. Laws and assemblies, and courts of justice and delegated powers placed in balance and in opposition, are the means and the form, but public happiness is the substance and the end of political institutions."¹

Shelley's political reasoning is based on his review of political forces in modern England, of the movements of English opinion, of the National Debt and its implications,

¹ "A Philosophical View of Reform," Ch. II, page 49.

the mischiefs of paper currency, the consequences of the creation of a new aristocracy of wealth having its basis in funds (consisting of attorneys, excisemen, directors and Government pensioners, usurers, stock-jobbers and country bankers) and created out of an increase in public calamities, and the wretched condition to which labour is reduced under this double aristocracy. A picture of this wretchedness is vividly drawn by Shelley who condemns strongly "sweating," child-labour, labour extorted from women, the old, the sick and the immature. "For fourteen hours' labour, which they do perforce, they receive the price of seven. They eat less bread, wear worse clothes, are more ignorant, immoral, miserable and desperate." "This, then, is the condition of the lowest and largest class, from whose labour the whole materials of life are wrought, of which the others are only the receivers or the consumers."

The alternatives with which the nation is faced in these circumstances are Reform, Military Despotism or Revolution.

Shelley's conclusions are :—

(1) The majority of the people know how destitute, miserable, ill-clothed, ill-fed and ill-educated they are and are impatient to procure a reform.

(2) All property is the produce of labour and its unequal distribution is the cause of so much misery and the cause of that cause is a defect in the Government.

(3) Every enlightened and honourable person's duty it is to remove from the minds of the oppressed people the false idea that all this arose from the unavoidable conditions of human life and "to excite them to the discovery of the true state of the case, and to the temperate but irresistible vindication of their rights." In this connection Shelley attacks "the Malthusian fallacy."

As preliminaries to Reform Shelley would abolish the national debt, disband the standing army, abolish sinecures and

tithes (with, however, every possible regard to the existing rights and interests of the holders) and make justice cheap, certain and speedy and extend the institution of juries.

Then follow Shelley's views¹ regarding property which, he says, are of two descriptions and entitled to two different measures of forbearance and regard.

"Labour, industry, economy, skill, genius, or any similar powers honourably and innocently exerted are the foundations of one description of property, and all true political institutions ought to defend every man in the exercise of his discretion with respect to property so acquired."

"Another species of property has its foundation in usurpation, or imposture, or violence. Of this nature is the principal part of the property enjoyed by the aristocracy and by the great fund-holders."

The first kind "is a property of the most sacred and indisputable right and the foundation of all other property."

"If a man takes by violence and appropriates to himself through fraudulent cunning, or receives from another property so acquired, his claim to that property is of a far inferior force."

In case of public emergency the nation may with the least injustice appropriate, not the profits and savings of labour and skill, but possessions which can only be called property in a modified sense.

On principle Shelley is not against universal suffrage and female suffrage, but in the then condition of England he considered them to be premature. "Our present business," he prudently says, "is with the difficult and unbending realities of actual life."² Shelley is too hastily condemned by his adverse critics as an impractical and impatient idealist and a dreamer. With regard to the choice between Reform and Revolution in England he holds—"A Republic, however just in its principle

¹ "A Philosophical View of Reform," chapter II, pages 60-64.

² *Ibid*, ch. III, p. 71.

and glorious in its object, would through the violence and sudden change which must attend it, incur a great risk of being as rapid in its decline as in its growth.¹ * * No friend of mankind and of his country can desire that such a crisis should suddenly arrive "² in which the nation may be compelled to revolt to establish a representative assembly by the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy.

" If ³ Reform shall be begun by this existing government, let us be contented with a limited *beginning*, with any whatsoever opening; let the rotten boroughs be disfranchised and their rights transferred to the unenfranchised cities and districts of the nation; it is no matter how slow, gradual and cautious be the change; we shall demand more and more with firmness and moderation, never anticipating but never deferring the moment of successful opposition, so that the people may become habituated to exercising the functions of sovereignty, in proportion as they acquire the possession of it. If this reform could begin from within the Houses of Parliament, as constituted at present, it appears to me that what is called moderate reform, that is a suffrage whose qualification should be the possession of a certain small property, and triennial parliaments, would be a system in which for the sake of obtaining without bloodshed or confusion ulterior improvements of a more important character, all reformers ought to acquiesce. Not that such are first principles, or that they would produce a system of perfect social institutions or one approaching to such. But nothing is more idle than to reject a limited benefit because we cannot without great sacrifices obtain an unlimited one. We might thus reject a Representative Republic, if it were obtainable, on the plea that the imagination of man can conceive of something more absolutely perfect. Towards whatever we regard as perfect, undoubtedly it is no less our duty than it is our nature to press forward.

¹ *Ibid*, ch. II, p. 67.

² *Ibid*, ch. III. p. 75.

³ *Ibid*, ch. III. pp. 76-77.

* * * It is in politics rather than in religion that faith is meritorious."

Wiser words than these have seldom been uttered by a man of twenty-eight and yet Shelley continues to be a victim to "an ineffectual angel" legend.

"The great principle of Reform consists in every individual giving his consent to the institution and the continuous existence of the social system which is instituted for his advantage and for the advantage of others in his situation. As in a great nation this is practically impossible, masses of individuals consent to qualify other individuals, whom they delegate to superintend their concerns." Shelley's theory of popular Government is thus based on this principle of representation and the people's representatives have, he says, constitutional authority to exercise the functions of sovereignty, uniting in the highest degree the legislative and executive functions. "A Government which is founded on any other basis is a Government of fraud or force and ought on the first convenient occasion to be overthrown." If, therefore, "the Houses of Parliament obstinately and perpetually refuse to concede any reform to the people, my vote is for universal suffrage and equal representation."

The inconveniences of the system of voting by ballot are enumerated. He next sets forth in eloquent words the duties and functions of a true patriot who must "endeavour to enlighten and to unite the nation and animate it with enthusiasm and confidence, to rally round one standard the divided friends of liberty and make them forget the subordinate objects with regard to which they differ." He will indefatigably promulgate political truth and promote open confederation among men of principle and spirit to make their intentions and efforts converge to a common centre. He will discourage all secret associations. "Lastly, if the tyrants command the troops to fire upon" the people collected in the exercise of their right of assembling (as at Manchester on the memorable 16th of August,

1819) or "cut them down unless they disperse, he will exhort them peaceably to defy the danger, and to expect without resistance the onset of the cavalry, and wait with folded arms the event of the fire of the artillery and receive with unshrinking bosoms the bayonets of the charging battalions. ** And this not because active resistance is not justifiable when all other means shall have failed, but because in this instance temperance and courage would produce greater advantages than the most decisive victory."¹

It may be stated here that Godwin in his *Political Justice* Book I, ch. III, deals with the questions of the unequal distribution of property, the insolence of the rich and the poverty of the masses and of unjust legislation favouring the wealthy classes. As a staunch believer in the power of convincing men by reason (Book I, ch. IV) Godwin would proceed to correct even the men disposed to use violence "by convincing them of their error" (Book III, ch. I). Being in favour of a *gradual* change, he will have many reforms but no revolutions (Book III. ch. VII). Practical hints are next laid down by Shelley for successful methods of agitation. Prosecutions for political libel should be courted to create opportunities for testing those forms which are used by oppressors as means, the right to impose unjust taxes contested and the tax-gatherer compelled in every practicable instance to distrain; petitions ought to load the tables of the House of Commons and even poets, philosophers and artists ought to present memorials—men like Godwin, Hazlitt, Bentham and Hunt should effectively appeal in solemn and emphatic language. As far as possible all risks of a civil war and of an insurrection (the last resort of resistance) should be avoided. He next considers for a moment the nature and consequences of war. "There is secret sympathy between Destruction and Power, between Monarchy and War. ** War is a kind of superstition; the pageantry of arms and badges

¹ Shelley here anticipates the modern patriot's creed of passive resistance with extraordinary foresight.

corrupts the imagination of men. * * War, waged from whatever motive, extinguishes the sentiment of reason and justice in the mind." He equally condemns the idea of revenge and retribution.¹

The essay, though left unfinished abruptly, ends in a vision of what will remain to be done after victory will have been achieved by the people and their representatives assumed control of public affairs according to constitutional rules, *viz.*,—"the great task of accommodating all that can be preserved of ancient forms with the improvements of the knowledge of a more enlightened age, in legislation, jurisprudence, government and religious and academical institutions."

In order to secure the advantage of a chronological study of the development of Shelley's political views I have been compelled to interpose Shelley's prose essay of "A Philosophical View of Reform" as a very important contribution to his political philosophy between *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas*. We turn now to the consideration of his last longer poem on the subject.

Hellas (1822)

Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" was inspired by an ideal passion for man's emancipation from all types of tyranny. The idea of human perfectibility runs through the whole piece. His revolutionary zeal reaches its maturity in a vision of regenerated man and woman liberated from all bondage by the spirit of love. Though presented in a concrete form, after all it is an abstract ideal of human perfection that the poet's vision of the millennium embodies in it. Shelley himself says—"it is in the merest spirit of Ideal poetry," and "never intended for more than five or six persons."²

¹ Cf. Shelley's "Essay on Christianity" (1815).

² Letter of July 20, 1820, to Thomas Medwin, and of April 10, 1822, to John Gisborne.

But in the case of *Hellas* which was written, he says, "in one of those few moments of enthusiasm which now seldom visit me,"¹ it is a well-defined actual historical event which appealed to his lyrical genius. "I am writing," he adds, "a dramatic poem, called *Hellas*, upon the contest now raging in Greece—a sort of imitation of the *Persæ* of Æschylus, full of lyrical poetry."² He speaks of it to Horace Smith in April, 1822, as "a poem on the Greek cause last summer,—a sort of lyrical, dramatic non-descript piece of business" and we are further told that the author felt intense sympathy with the cause here celebrated.

Herein Shelley produces "something relative to the age," and presents the political ideal of a thorough-going radical in politics opposing the narrowness of early nineteenth century conservative England. Though condemning vehemently all faith in religion Shelley's philosophy, however, admits it in politics.

The noble and heroic, though yet partially successful, effort made by the Greeks to throw off the Turkish rule and despotism inspired Shelley's imagination. Shelley urged his publisher Charles Ollier for immediate publication for he knew that on it depended the success of the poem in exciting interest. Yet both "*Prometheus Unbound*" and "*Hellas*" have the same theme—only the treatment is different. Freedom forms in both the keynote. "*Hellas*" opens with the choral song—

"Life may change, but it may fly not;
Hope may vanish, but can die not ;
Truth be veiled, but still it burneth;
Love repulsed,—but it returneth !
Yet were life a charnel where
Hope lay coffined with Despair;
Yet were Truth a sacred lie,
Love were lust—

If Liberty

¹ The last letter mentioned above.

² Letter of October 22, 1821, to John Gisborne.

Lent not life its soul of Light,
 Hope its iris of delight,
 Truth its prophet's robe to wear,
 Love its power to give and bear."

"In the great morning of the world,
 The spirit of God with might unfurled
 The flag of Freedom over chaos,
 And all its banded anarchs fled,
 Like vultures frightened from Imaus,
 Before an earthquake's tread."

Reference is next made to Thermopylæ, Marathon, Philippi, Milan, Florence, Albion and Switzerland to show how "from age to age, from man to man it lived till night fell" and "France with all her sanguine steams, hid, but quenched it not." Freedom returns now to "what of Greece remaineth."

There is a side attack on the conduct of England and of Russia in this struggle of Greece for freedom.

The chorus of captive Greek women sings again in passionate language, saying

"Where the rocks that gird th' *Aegean*
 Echo to the battle pæan
 Of the free—
 I would flee
 A tempestuous herald of victory!"

* * *

And my solemn thunder knell
 Should ring to the world the passing bell
 Of tyranny!"

Slavery is next vigorously attacked and the world is told further—

"Let there be light!"—said Liberty:
 And like sunrise from the sea,
 Athens arose."

Temples and towers, citadels and marts, and they who live and die there, may decay

“ But Greece and her foundations are
Built below the tide of war,
Based on the crystalline sea
Of thought and its eternity.”

With unshaken faith in freedom the poet makes the chorus sing—

“ Alas ! for Liberty !
If numbers, wealth, or unfulfilling years,
Or fate, can quell the free.

* * *

And now, O Victory, blush ! and Empire tremble !
When ye desert the free !
If Greece must be
A wreck, yet shall its fragments reassemble,
And build themselves again impregnably
In a diviner clime,
To Amphionic music, on some Cape sublime,
Which frowns above the idle foam of Time.”

There is, finally, a soul-stirring message of hope in grand lyrical lines, which recapture the sublime spirit of antique Hellenism in its purity and beauty, in the last choral ode of which the musical effect is indescribable.

“ The world’s great age begins anew,
The golden years return;
The earth doth like a snake renew
Her winter weeds outworn :
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam,
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.”

* * *

„Another Athens shall arise,
And to remoter time

Bequeath, like sunset to the skies,
The splendour of its prime;
And leave, if nought so bright may live,
All earth can take or heaven can give."

Shelley's poetic vision of a liberated Greece has borne its fruit. It may be noted that many of Shelley's grand political ideals, which appeared to his contemporaries as mere illusions, have in the course of a century of progress come to be realised and that many of the advanced ideas of the twentieth century in politics and sociology bear the unmistakable stamp of Shelley's so-called dreams.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

The Beginnings of Local Taxation in the Madras Presidency—A Study in Indian Financial Policy—1863-1871. By M. Venkata Rangaiya, M. A., Andhra University Series—No. I.

This is an investigation carried on into the finances of Local Boards and Municipalities in the Madras Presidency and the material collected from the original sources during ten months' research work is placed before the reader in this volume. This material refers to the early history of local finance and the author frankly admits that it is mere "spade work" and suggests that a more detailed and critical study of the institutions of local Government should be made for the wide training that is so essential to enable us to enjoy responsible Government in the future can be garnered in the local administrative field and any success or failure in this direction is absolutely dependent on the financial resources at the back of the local bodies.

Leaving aside the dim beginnings of local taxation in the days of the Company (p. 1 to 7) the author rightly points out that a conscious beginning in the development of local finance can be noticed in the years 1863-1871. The ever-growing expenditure of the Government of India, compelled it to devise measures to increase taxation but financial equilibrium could not be secured by additional taxation for reasons stated on p. 14. Uncertain revenue, increasing expenditure, spendthrift Provincial Governments, and an over-centralised financial system made the financial position of the Government of India a ludicrous one. With the Scylla of lessened resources on one side and the Charybdis of clamouring Provincial Governments for increasing grants on the other the supreme Government had to steer a cautious middle course and it hit upon the stratagem of "Local Taxation" as a thing different from Imperial Taxation. Relief was obtained by throwing certain charges on the shoulders of the Provincial Governments which were hitherto met by it. Cesses for education and road making were developed. Municipalities had to bear the cost of urban police. As Imperial Expenditure went on increasing more and more relief was obtained by delegating the charges to the Provincial Governments and this financial process known by the hackneyed term of "Decentralisation" commenced in right earnest from 1870.

Reference is made to Mayo's scheme of 1820 as an illustration of this principal tendency of securing relief to imperial finances by additional local taxation. In 1871 the Provincial Government had to shift these charges in the urban areas to the Municipalities and local taxation became a settled process by 1871.

The two other factors responsible for the development of local taxation are next referred to. To remedy the defects of Imperial taxation of those days, which practically meant unequal Taxation and to secure greater revenue local taxation was hit upon as a convenient measure. It was also the honest endeavour of the Supreme Government to secure real improvements in local areas and train people for self-government. To attain these measures of local taxation were devised during these days. Thus far the book deals with historical details of the subject matter. The critical part of the study commences from page 59 and covers roughly 50 pages.

The apparent conflict between the different motives that led to the development of local taxation is the subject matter of pages 59 to 80. So long as the dominant motive was relief to Imperial Government finances, the true principle that ought to guide the division of duties between the Central and the Local Governments was not logically carried out. Charges that ought to have been borne by the Imperial Government were delegated to the local bodies to be defrayed out of their frail resources. The use of local taxes for non-local purposes and the control of the Imperial Government over the local services created discontent among the minds of the people. The endeavour to evade police charges by declaring even mere rural areas as urban ones and the extension of the Municipalities Act to them is quoted as a specific instance of the evils arising out of the conflict of principles which led to the development of local taxation. The use of local taxation for higher educational purposes, medical relief and imperial highways meant for imperial use was also another specific grievance in the early days of local finance.

On account of this conflict local finance could never be developed on popular lines and the true principles of sound local finance could hardly have been evolved in those days of experiment and trying to learn by the methods of trial and error.

The next definite piece of criticism of the author is that no real self-government was after all existing in the local bodies of those days. The constitution of the municipal bodies is examined just to show that responsible Government hardly existed in the local areas. The predominance of the official and nominated non-official element in the municipal body and even the fixing of the expenditure item by the Governor (till 1871)

and the late introduction of the election element (1878) in few of the municipalities, even though the people knew how to work self-governing institutions on an elective basis are given out by the author as practical proofs of the non-existence of real self-government in those early days of the history of the local bodies.

The hesitation with which the elements of real self-government were introduced even when full control over rates lay in the hands of the Government forms one of the lost points of his criticism. The depriving of the villages of the last vestiges of their self-government by the village Cess Act of 1864 by making village officials the servants of the Imperial Government was another proof of the absence of any real self-government in those times either in urban or rural areas.

The only silver lining to the cloud was the levying of the education rate by representative regional local committees for running "rate schools" in the Godavari District. But as the option of continuing or giving up the rate was vested in the hands of the people at the end of every five years this experiment proved a failure for the rates were considered burdensome and the schools were closed by the people.

The utility of the monograph would indeed have been greatly heightened, if attention had been drawn to the rapid changes that have taken place in local administrative bodies. Every economist has to admit the necessity of amending the Indian system of local government. With the development of towns and rapidly congested areas, the development of motor transport altering the use made of the roads and the insufficient local resources an impasse in the present system of local Government is bound to arise. Having studied the original roots and the early development of the local finances, it would have been more interesting if the author ventured to suggest the proper course of action for the Government to adopt in altering the system of local finance.

The applicability or otherwise of Baldwin's scheme of "block grants" to our local administrative units would have been stimulating. Without intelligent suggestions for the immediate future any restatement of the conditions of the past is bound to be boring, when specially new facts of material importance are not discovered. It is indeed true that it is left to the Simon Commission to elaborate a many-sided scheme of financial reorganisation which would enable the local administrative units to meet a large part of their expenditure out of local revenue. How and in what manner should the restrictive measure of control over the local bodies be exercised by the Provincial Governments? Is it not wise to set up a tribunal to solve all questions of "Surcharges" of "improper expen-

diture " as the Government auditor is bound to term them? Is it wise after all to supersede altogether elective local bodies and are there no other ways of coercing refractory local bodies? What additional sources can there be to meet increasing expenditure that would be needed to undertake public utility services? How and in what manner can the elected local bodies be made miniature Parliaments or a progressive system of Parliamentary devolution be established within this country? Such are the important questions which require immediate solution and an immediate appeal to the best brains of the country to solve these living and vital issues is far more important than any fittering away of our best energies in exploring the historical standpoint without at the same drawing any useful lessons out of it.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

Illusion of the Charka.—By Anilbaran Roy.

The adverse criticism of a more or less accepted principle or symbol always indicates boldness and Mr. Ray has it in abundance. In this brochure on the Charka and its contribution to the national movement in India, he has indulged in some plain talks and has not minced his ideas on the spinning wheel of which he was once an extreme advocate, and his presence in the Council Hall with only his loin cloth on will be a matter for history to record. But he now declares he has seen the errors of his ways; his charges against the Charka are many and various and he has had ample opportunities to rep'y to his critics. All the same, we feel constrained to admit, the spinning wheel retains its importance. The personalities of those who advocate it and those who disapprove should not observe the issue which, to dispassionate observers, should not present any complexities.

The Charka does not stand for poverty; but it is a definite stand both against the snares of capitalism and the individual idleness or the negation of the doctrine of manual labour. Gandhiji has been always saying that it is for leisure-time work and his *modus operandi*, also, is simple; if simplicity is Aladdin's lamp, then the Charka, of course, is such a lamp. To describe the present ' patronage ' or ' subsidy ' of the spinning wheel as eternal is to distort the case out of all proportions. That there is no ready market—not yet—for the Charka yarn or *Khadder* is an admitted fact, but that the demand is on increasing is the thing that matters. We must beg leave to differ from Mr. Roy when he says, while speaking on the evils of industrialism, ' How can the evils be overcome unless one enters into

it ?" For we may profit by other peoples' experience and alter our ways of industrialism so as to put ourselves beyond its well-known evils, taking our cue from the teachings of experience. If the charges against the spinning wheel are simple, the replies are equally so, and it is all the more surprising that there should be a controversy about it and old questions should be revived. Those who have no 'illusions' about the Charka are welcome to talk of agricultural industries and co-operative societies and banking facilities, the most violent Khaddarite should have nothing to object. But at the same time, there are people who see in the Charka both a symbol and a practical proposition, a centre for all beneficent activities in the village as it has sometimes proved to be in actual experience when workers have steadily held to it and settled down in the villages.

It is interesting to note that in the young India of December 19 last, Mahatma Gandhi has himself answered similar charges made by Mr. George Joseph and has clearly stated that the millions of India must be their own manufacturers and consumers if Khadi is to be used by them, that spinning as advocated by him is to be a spare time occupation, and that Khadi is the national programme for solving the problem of the growing poverty and the forced partial unemployment of millions of the peasantry "till a better is evolved."

Whatever may be the value of the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Ray, there is no doubt that the book is of a thought-provoking nature and deserves perusal, if only to see the two sides of the shield, at any rate, to consider what may be urged against the adoption of the spinning wheel as one of the main items of national work.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Vivekananda: the nation-builder.—By Swami Avyaktananda. Ramkrishna Ashrama. Bankipore, Patna. 1929.

This is a most notable contribution to the literature on Swami Vivekananda whose activity as a nation-builder the book tries to re-state in definite terms. But what is a nation? The author of the book, Swami Avyaktananda, says it is essentially a group of individuals whose thoughts and activities are all organised on a particular basis with a particular end in view and this end must be furthered by the entire scheme of national life, as expressed in the political, social, economic, religious and educational institutions of the nation. In India it is religion which is the national goal, in Europe it is politics, and the fact that Indian nationalism is in these days so much and so often

identified with politics is due, in the writer's view, to the baneful influence of western culture. Swami Vivekananda, profoundly stirred by the synthetic teachings of Sri Ramkrishna and trained also on Western lines, first conceived the idea of a United India on a spiritual basis equipped for the defence of its own culture and came forward with a programme of work in which he cautioned again and again the great need of carefully keeping in view our rich spiritual heritage which, he said, was the life-blood of the Indian nation. The writer arranges the sum and substance of Vivekananda's ideas on social and political reconstruction and the result is extremely interesting as well as the treatment is novel and the style spirited. The book deserves to be read with attention by all who are interested in the national welfare of India and Swami Avyaktananda should be congratulated on having written it.

There is one unfortunate error in the footnote references which has to be pointed out and which, I hope, will be rectified in the second edition. On page 27, there is a reference to the Rig-Vedic India by 'Abinash Chandra Das Gupta,' evidently a mistake for 'Abinash Chandra Das'. The translation of the first sentence in the well-known passage on patriotism may be revised. Is it "I believe in patriotism" or "I also believe in patriotism?"

The one item in Swami Vivekananda's dictum on food, we draw the attention of our thoughtful readers. When pure Sattva is highly developed, all desire for animal food is extinct; but while admitting that there is widespread pretence of religiousness on the strength of vegetarianism, should there be no sincere attempts to bring about a change of temperament by introducing diet reforms? Surely some middle course is possible between hypocrisy on the one hand and absolute reliance on inner purification on the other, and regulations about diet have their value. Otherwise dietics would not have played so important a part in the scheme of life planned by so practical a man as Mahatma Gandhi. Over-emphasis on it is certainly misleading but neither is wholesale neglect of it by any means justifiable.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Cimmerii, or Eurasians and Their Future.—By Cedric Dover. The Modern Art Press, Calcutta. Price Rs 1.8 only.

The author of the book is a Eurasian himself and has put forward an able and spirited plea for the independent existence

of the Eurasian Community as a distinct ethnic and cultural type. Being a practical scientist, the author has brought to bear on the study a critical and detached consideration, and in this his first-rate anthropological and biological knowledge has enabled him to make out a strong case in favour of the mixed races. The writer has followed a nice plan of his own, and begins with a characteristic statement of opinion, which indicates the general attitude of unmixed hatred of the pure whites "towards the results of their own amativeness." The history of origin, growth and development, and the causes which have led to the present unavoidable condition of the Eurasians has been very ably traced with the unbiased detachment of a scientist.

The author has thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the insidious propaganda carried on by interested scientists, who have sought to prove on biological grounds that the Eurasians are physically, intellectually and morally an inferior race, in whom the bad quality of both the parental races become accentuated in a pronounced form (p. 16). And it must be stated in the interests of honesty and truth that he has succeeded in making out a strong case against the accusers.

We do not however agree with the author on his formulation of the remedy "that the removal of racial friction by marriage will ultimately lead to the peaceful occupation of the whole world by one composite race" (p. 36). We think on the other hand that the racial instincts are too deep seated to permit of a world-wide fusion even in the distant future and the diversity of ethnic and cultural types has a deeper value and significance for the civilization as a whole. Diversity need not connote hostility and antagonism. What is needed for the better progress of the world is sympathetic study of one another's culture; and racial individualities may exist side by side, and ultimately contribute to the richness of the world's civilization. We admire however the author's love of independence and superiority to that cringing attitude of the mind which seeks for help and charity from the ruling classes. The author boldly criticises his community for its pro-white psychology which he rightly emphasises, can never uplift them from their present degradation. The Eurasians must shed this slave-psychology and feel proud of their community and the land of their birth before they can hope to make any appreciable advance. The writer declares in a really prophetic strain, "The petty politics of the passing hour may meet with temporary success. Petty politicians may even earn coveted ribbons by megaphoning their British heritage and their claims on the

country of their fathers. But I am vain enough to believe that permanent emancipation can only come from toiling along the uphill road I have attempted to indicate" (p. 54). We fully share the author's sentiments and we only hope that the present book will be instrumental in disabusing the minds of his own people of this folly of clinging to the apron strings of the ruling classes.

The printing, get-up and paper are not in any way inferior to those of European publications and typographical errors are almost nil. The book evinces originality of thought and deserves wide circulation.

S. M.

Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court—By Prof. M. A. Ghani, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab.) Morris College, Nagpur. Rs. 5-8.

This is a welcome addition to other books already existing on the subject. After the publication of *Shi'rul 'Ajam* by Shibli Nu'mani, as the author himself has stated, there was a great move to construct a literary history of the Persian language on the lines similar to *Shi'rul 'Ajam* under the title of *Shi'rul Hind* so as to determine what part India played in the growth of Persian language and literature. He also felt a real need that India should have a good history of the development of the Persian language of its own. With this object in view the author undertook to accomplish this task, and has finished his labour, which is going to be published in three parts, covering the development of Persian Literature under Babur, Humayun and Akbar.

The book under review is Part I and deals only with the growth and advancement of Persian under Babur with a brief survey of the growth of Urdu language. The major portion of this book deals with the life and history of Babur and anecdotes connected with him. The author in dealing with the subject has attempted to show to what extent Hindi and Prakrits have influenced the Persian language in India. In tracing its development he has touched on Hindi, which coming in contact with Persian, gave rise to Urdu the *lingua franca* of India. He has given few instances of novel but graceful blending of Persian with Hindi from works of famous Persian poets, such as Manuchehri and Hakim Sa'ui. He states that the Persian language and idiom was well preserved in India till about the 19th century, but since then it began to lose its ground and intermixture began to creep in, and there is now a great divergence between the Persian of Persia and the Persian of India. In this connection he states: "the consequence was that the Hindus and such of the native

Muslims as whose mother-tongue was Hindi began to introduce into the language words from Persian and Arabic. This was a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India....A number of Persian official and legal terms together with other common colloquial expressions obtained currency in their mouth in a somewhat different sense from that in which they were understood in Persia. Many words coined under local influence also came into vogue....The Persian as it developed in India evidently under the influence of Indian dialects was solely deviating from its centre....The authors in India never seemed to have felt the need for recasting their style by a reference to Persia, due perhaps to a sense of *par excellence*. Very many words were crystallised by usage and accepted by the society's verdict strayed from the original meaning, and retained here in a different sense altogether; while others becoming obsolete in Persia, being ruled out from time to time by fresh ones in their stead...remained both inaccessible to and unwished for by the Indian writers."

The author in dealing with the development of Persian literature under the Mughal Court, has in fact, given us nothing new than what has already been said by Prof. E. G. Brown in his Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominions and by Shibli in his *Shi'rul 'Ajam*.

The author has also devoted few chapters in giving a brief outline of the growth of Urdu literature during the reign of the Mughal emperors, and in this connection he has stated that Urdu language in its crude form can be traced as early as the 4th century A.H.

The book has many interesting informations and extracts from original sources. It is nicely got up and beautifully bound. We hope the other instalments of this series will be more interesting and helpful to the students of Persian and Urdu literature alike.

M. K. Shirazi.

Ourselves

THE LATE MR. S. C. GHOSE.

We record with deep grief our sense of loss at the death of Mr. S. C. Ghose, Lecturer on Railway Economics in the Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University, at the comparatively early age of 53 on the 10th January, 1930. Mr. Ghose was a well-known authority on Railway rates and his expert advice was eagerly sought for by the Railway Board where his voice on technical questions relating to Railway tariff carried great weight and he acted as an advisor in matters affecting Railway policy to such big Native States as Baroda and Gwalior. Many of his valuable contributions on Railway Economics have appeared in this Review. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

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PROF. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A. (CANTAB.), PH.D.

The resignation tendered by Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala B.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D., University Professor of Comparative Philology in the Post-graduate Arts Department with effect from 1st February, 1930, has just been accepted by the Senate. We are sorry to lose a man of Dr. Taraporewala's intrinsic worth and high character and the loss to the University is really great. His services to the cause of Iranian Studies were of immense value and he gave an impetus to the study of French and German in the early years of the new organisation of Post-Graduate studies in the Calcutta University. The study of Guzrati as a subsidiary subject in the Indian Vernaculars Department owed not a little to his efforts. He was an ideal

teacher who inspired his students with a keen desire to follow his noble example. We heartily congratulate him on his recent appointment as Principal of the Cama Athornan Institute of Bombay and wish him long life and many years of useful activity.

* * *

DR. KALIDAS NAG.

We congratulate Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris) on the recent invitation received by him from the Carnegie Institute of International Education, New York, America, to deliver a course of lectures on "Indian Art and Archaeology" as the visiting Professor of the Institute for 1930. He has also been invited by a number of learned Societies of Europe, such as the German Academy of Munich and the Kern Institute of Leyden, to deliver lectures on Indian cultural subjects which, thanks to the generous support extended to the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in this University by the far-sighted genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, form an integral part of Post-graduate Studies with which Dr. Nag is associated as a Lecturer. Dr. Nag is one of the active organisers of the Greater India Society which has done signal service by bringing into closer touch the larger world of culture and important centres of learning with the Calcutta University. He was deputed by Sir Asutosh in 1924 to accompany Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his extensive Far Eastern tour and presented, on behalf of the University, complete sets of its publications to the Imperial University of Tokyo, the National University of Peking, The French School of Archaeology in Hanoi (Indo-China) and the Dutch Archaeological Department of Batavia. He was invited to lecture on Greater India by the Universities of Dacca, Madras, Mysore, Andhra, Allahabad, Bombay and Nagpur. We hope he will succeed in establishing

a cultural relation with America of this University by his fresh efforts.

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THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS FOR 1929.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Scientific Subjects for the year 1929, has been awarded to Dr. A. N. Sarkar, M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), on his thesis entitled "Defraction of X-Rays and Determination of Molecular and Crystalline Structures."

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MAHARAJA SIR J. M. TAGORE LAW MEDALS FOR 1920 AND 1921.

Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore Law Medals for the years 1920 and 1921 have been awarded to the following candidates :—

1920— { 1. Sachindranath Rudra.
 { 2. Nrisinhachandra Basu.

1921— { 1. Nrisin! achandra Basu.
 { 2. Sachindranath Rudra

* * *

THE NEXT ANNUAL CONVOCATION

His Excellency the Chancellor has approved of the programme for the next Annual Convocation to be held on the 8th February, 1930.

* * *

RESULTS OF THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held

in November, 1929, was 110 of whom 70 passed, 37 failed, none were expelled and 3 were absent.

RESULTS OF THE FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the first M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held in November, 1929, was 91 of whom 55 passed, 34 failed, none were expelled and 2 were absent.

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RESULTS OF THE SECOND M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929

The number of candidates registered for the Second M.B. Examination (under the new Regulation) held in November, 1929, was 140 of whom 77 passed, 59 failed, none were expelled and 2 were absent.

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RESULTS OF THE THIRD M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Third M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations), held in November, 1929, was 121 of whom 72 passed, 49 failed, none were expelled and none were absent. One candidate was registered for final M.B. Part II, Examination who having passed the Third M.B. Examination but failed at the Second M.B. Examination shall not be declared to have passed the Third M.B. Examination.

• • *

RESULTS OF THE FINAL M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations) held in November, 1929, was

274, of whom 125 passed, 135 failed, 14 were absent and none were expelled.

Of the successful candidates 7 obtained Honours in Midwifery, of the successful candidates at the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations) 1 failed in Pathology at the Second M.B. Examination and 1 failed in Jurisprudence at the Third M.B. Examination and they are therefore not declared to have passed the Final M.B. Examination completely.

* * *

PROMOTION OF INDO-CULTURAL RELATIONS.

(*Through The Activities of "Die Deutsche Akademie."*)

The regular annual conference of "*Die Deutsche Akademie*" was held at Jena, on the 18th of October, 1929. The Senators of the Akademie unanimously approved the programme of organising *The India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie*, to facilitate the work of promotion of cultural relations between Germany and India.

On the same date the Senators of the Akademie unanimously agreed to confer upon Taraknath Das, Dr. Phil., of Calcutta, who is a resident of New York and Munich, the distinction of an *Honorary Membership of Die Deutsche Akademie*. It may be mentioned that this award of a regular diploma of an Honorary Membership of Die Deutsche Akademie to Dr. Das was a unique event ; because in the history of the Akademie, it was the first time a non-German scholar has been honoured with such recognition.

On the 5th of November, 1929, a special meeting was held in the Studentenheim Munich, to complete the organisation of the India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie. A strong and influential Executive Committee was appointed to further the work of the India Institute. The Committee first composed of

the full wing persons : (1) Honorary President Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Frierich von Muller, the President of Die Deutsche Akademie, (2) President—Dr. F. von Winterstein, Regierungspräsident A.D., (3) Secretary—Dr. F. Thierfelder of Die Deutsche Akademie, (4) Prof. Dr. Aufhauser of the University of Munich, (5) Dr. Fritz Beck, Director of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle, Munich, (6) Dr. Taraknath Das, (7) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Dorn of the Technical College of Munich, (8) Prof. Dr. Karl Haushofer of the University of Munich, (9) Prof. Dr. Oertel of the University of Munich, (10) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Prinz of the Technical College of Munich, (11) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Sommerfeld of the University of Munich.

Among various propositions for the promotion of cultural relations between India and Germany, discussed in this meeting by the Executive Committee of The India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, was the need of a systematic programme for the exchange of professors between Indian and German universities —especially between the University of Munich of the Technical College of Munich and the University of Calcutta or some other institution of higher education in India.

After the meeting, the members of the India Institute and eleven Indian scholars, studying in Munich, were guests of Dr. Taraknath Das in a reception dinner given by him. On this occasion President Dr. von Winterstein of the India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, welcoming the Indian scholars, expressed his hope that they (Indian scholars) through their labour and attainments in the educational world, will become very valuable assets to the national and cultural life of India and as well as prove to be a credit to Germany. *He further assured German sympathy to the people of India and hoped that better understanding between the great peoples of Germany and India will become a very important factor to the cause of World Peace.*

The authorities of the India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie" earnestly seek co-operation of those Indians who

are interested in promoting Indo-German cultural relations and will be glad to hear from them.

[Received by the Editor from the Deutsche Akademie, Munich.]

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THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA.

The following communication has been received for publication from the Inter-University Board, India.

Intimation has just been received through the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in Council that the well-known "Opera Montessori" has organised at Rome under the auspices of the Italian Government a special international and practical course of teaching according to the Montessori method from the beginning of January until the end of June, 1930. The courses will consist of about 60 lessons on the theory of the system held three times a week by Dr. Mary Montessori ; a course of about 70 practical lessons on the use of Material, under the supervision of Dr. Montessori or her Assistants and 50 seances of Observision individual work. The lessons will be held in Italian and translated into other languages. A Diploma of Ability in teaching the Montessori System will be granted to those who attend the complete course regularly and pass the relative examination test. The cost for the whole course is £30. The Montessori school will procure facilities at the hotels for those who so desire. All commuuications should be addressed to the "Opera Montessori", Ente Morale, Via Monte Zebio, 35, Rome, Italy.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1930

III—MATHEMATICS AND LITERATURE

Manipulation of Words.

We shall examine more directly than we did in the first article the possible effect of a new outlook in mathematics on the teaching of the sciences. But it may not be too bold to essay first some consideration of relations it may have to studies less rigorous in attitude. These, however, would play but little part in classwork in mathematics.

Even the student of literature is expected to show some familiarity with the spirit of mathematical devices, especially of mathematical notation. The extreme compression that has been found acceptable in the Concise Oxford Dictionary is evidence that ability to work with a heavily-laden notation is to be expected of educated men. With less warning too than is usually given in mathematical books contractions like "C.O.D." (for the dictionary) are presented. The fact too that the Society for Pure English refers to itself, also without warning, as the "S.P.E." indicates that the old ban on the use of contractions in English prose has been relaxed. Perhaps the mathematician, who has had more experience of the use of symbols than any,

should have some part, even if indirect, in forming the standard of taste which will determine the abbreviations suitable for ordinary usage. Even he might regard askance the highly-respected geographer who, the other day, used "h.p." to denote "higgledy-pigglediness"! The statistician...well, no; he would preserve his peace.

The Infinitesimal.

But students of literature are not confined in their mathematical walks to so unaspiring a path as mere nomenclature. In the short story "Savannah-la-Mar" De Quincey indulges in an eloquent reverie, the relevant part of which must here, for the mathematician's sake, be quoted *in extenso*; however, it may be that for the literator his is what a critic calls one of De Quincey's "tedious digressions." What he expresses is one of the fundamental ideas of the integral calculus:

"Put into a Roman clepsydra one hundred drops of water; let these run out as the sands in an hour glass, every drop measuring the one hundredth part of a second, so that each shall represent but the three-hundred and sixty-thousandth part of an hour. Now, count the drops as they race along; and when the fiftieth of the hundred is passing, behold! forty-nine are not, because already they have perished, and fifty are not, because they are yet to come. You see therefore, how narrow, how incalculably narrow, is the true and actual present. Of that time which we call the present, hardly a hundredth part but belongs either to a past which has fled, or to a future which is still on the wing. It has perished, or it is not born. It was, or it is not."

Infinitely False.

"Yet even this approximation to the truth is *infinitely* false. For again subdivide that solitary drop, which only was found to

represent the present, into a lower series of similar fractions; and the actual present which you arrest measures now but the thirty-sixth-millionth of an hour ; and so by infinite declensions the true and the very present, in which only we live and enjoy will vanish into a mote of a mote, distinguishable only by a heavenly vision. Therefore the present, which only man possesses, offers less capacity for his footing than the slenderest film that ever spider twisted from her womb. Therefore also even this incalculable shadow from the narrowest pencil of moonlight is more transitory than geometry can measure, or thought of angel can overtake. The time which *is* contracts into a mathematic point; and even that point perishes a thousand times before we can utterite birth. All is finite in the present ; and even that finite is infinite in its velocity of flight towards death.”

Whether some acquaintance with the calculus would be an aid to the appreciation of this is doubtful. Rather would the contribution of literature to mathematics be the greater ; for such richness of phrasing would be reckoned “difficult” in an elementary mathematical text-book, and yet it would certainly be more effective than the text-book in helping students away from the static school-final viewpoint. Only if the substance of the argument of the passage were to be criticised, might mathematical refinement point out that in this way of De Quincey’s no progress in thought lies : but to explain this would be a good exercise for an advanced mathematical student; and so mathematics benefits again.

Method Revealed.

Statistics most unexpectedly intrudes in the introduction to Weymouth’s “The New Testament in Modern Speech.” There a device is given for elucidating the use of connecting links between sentences in the Greek language, as contrasted with that in English. This device is nothing more than the primary

operation in the study of statistics. It is easy to imagine more interesting applications of it than to conjunctions. It has been applied, and with the critical apparatus of advanced statistics too, to contrast the use of dactyls by Virgil and by Ovid; and so in many other ways it might doubtless be used in helping to evaluate the factors that contribute to the peculiar quality of an author. It is easy also, of course, to imagine an overenthusiastic employment of so mechanical a device ; it may be made but one more way to the contemplation of the mere bones of literature, or of the lowlier aspects of how our geniuses work, consciously or unconsciously. Had a student of literature, however, had the opportunity of gaining some experience of counting by this device in varied circumstances, he would fumble less in arranging how to use it, should the need arise, for his own problems. And even more important, his knowledge thus gained of some of the limitations and risks in the use of this tool would help him to preserve balance in the interpretation of results he may obtain.

IV—MATHEMATICS AND HISTORY.

Vivid Representation.

On the more scientific side of language study, as contrasted with the aspects considered in the preceding article, acquaintance with the liberty conferred by certain mathematical devices may be of considerable value. If the diagrams (in, say, the latest volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica) which are now used to represent the classification of vowels according to the manner of their formation are examined, one cannot avoid the impression that the diagrams are wooden to a degree that ill accords with the amazing flexibility in use, and even the variety of the vocal organs. This must not be discussed further here, but

it may be remarked that the diagrams could with ease be generalised so as to be much more suggestive of what actually happens. They would then lend themselves to representing part of the activity, as well as the position, of the vocal organs. They might lead also to a notation more scientific than the scheme now accepted—which is only a modification of what has been handed down from the days when the nature of vowel sounds was much less clearly understood than now. This notation could be made more suggestive, and adapted to the comparison of sounds in different languages. (It may be of interest to note a not very successful attempt at graphical classification of vowels in Taylor's Gujarati Grammar.)

Medicine leads.

Distinctions of an ever more subtle and complex kind, even if less amenable to measurement than movements of the tongue, may be made clearer by the use of axes, the fundamental graphical device. Mr. Aldous Huxley gives a hint of this in an essay on Varieties of Intelligence, when he distinguishes horizontal and vertical differences in *intelligences*! As an example, choose two scales at right angles, a horizontal scale of introversion and extraversion, and a vertical scale for I. Q. (Intelligence quotients) : points can then be plotted to give to show Mr. Huxley's or our own estimates of historical or fictitious persons in respect of these two capacities. Thus information could be effectively and concisely displayed, or opinions compactly summarised, and the scales of value we habitually apply even to our geniuses be made more vivid, so vivid at times that the contrasts are amusing.

This instrument, like the statistical one, is clearly dangerous in the hands of the simpleminded ; but there seems little reason why its controlled use should be restricted to students of medicine. In *Graphs and Statistics* is given an instance of how phenomena may be shown graphically from many

points of view. The character of human blood may be described by seven fundamental interrelated variables. When these seven variables are taken in pairs, and each pair related to each of the other five variables, there result one hundred and five graphs (actually drawn in the original paper) corresponding as it were, to one hundred and five aspects, each of which it is worth while to study. So, in the even greater complexity of literature a similarly flexible device for recording more or less partial results can usefully be made available.

Elements of History.

The plotting of graded characteristics described above is evidently a device of wide applicability, especially to history as already hinted. But more important in historical study would be the use of a device than which nothing could be simpler—a uniform scale to represent the uniform flow of time. Spengler, in *The Decline of the West*, speaks of the tendency of historical study to dress up as a science, at the imminent risk of becoming a mere physics of public life. This which usually passes as history is after all only “historical spade-work”. All that is asked in it is whether things are correct or erroneous. This is a necessary preliminary question, and in disposing of it, once and for all, if that may be, the orderliness and the conciseness made possible by the above device ought to be of considerable service to the student of history; and likewise to the student of “periods” of literature.

The scale, sometimes called a line of time, is most conveniently marked down the left hand edge of the page, and the events inserted at their appropriate places. Notwithstanding its simplicity, this expedient has not been adopted in textbooks as freely as would seem desirable. The reason probably is, on the one hand, that this arrangement is apt to be much more wasteful of space in printing than, say, a list of dates, and, on the other, that it is often very difficult to print a date

chart effectively. However, the special value of these historical charts lies in their being so simple to write, and so adaptable in respect of the time-scale, that the student can construct them for himself according to his particular need or interest. From the point of view of the teacher the device should be specially welcome, as it affords evidence of intelligent work done by the student which is comparatively readily gauged. To the student too it need not be irksome, for it provides an effective check on the accuracy and consistency of the sources whence he derives his facts and suggests points of interest to which he might otherwise be insensitive.

Chronology.

But the provision of a uniform time-scale, effective though it be, is scarcely a worthy contribution by mathematics to such study. The device can be elaborated (or rather, simplified, in that writing is thus reduced to a minimum) by drawing lines, other than the time-scale, with specific senses, e.g., to exhibit the duration of a war, or activity of any kind. Thus the facts occurring in a particular period can be exhibited in relation to one another in a simple way, in small compass, and with just as much detail as seems desirable. (An attempt may be made to reproduce one such scheme in connection with articles to appear in *The Calcutta Review*.)

All this is but a clearing of the way for exposition and interpretation of the facts, for "deep and pure historical research," for history treated poetically. It may indeed be that in actual working out things may not be as simple as this reference suggests : but, to an outsider at any rate, there does appear to be need for making historical and literary study much less of a memory, and more of a critical and appreciative, exercise than it is at present. A graphical form of representation may well be used to "sharpen the images" in time and to "work up the outlines of epoch and fact for the understanding

eye,' to be filled in thereafter in a colourful way by the student.

As an example of a possible modification not usually advantageous may be mentioned an interesting suggestion. The relatively greater importance of the recent past in history may be shown by using either a logarithmic or a hyperbolic instead of a uniform time-scale : this would give a truer psychological representation, and it would bring remote ages with ease into the picture. But the psychological importance of eras like the Renaissance does not depend upon their position in time ; and to attempt to introduce the psychological into the graph may be transferring the duty of live interpretation to the mechanical device.

We shall next consider some uses of elementary graphs and statistics where they most fittingly apply—to Science, and in more detail to Agriculture.¹

JOHN MACLEAN

¹ Reprinted from "The Times of India," dated 1st July and 8th July, 1929.

THE INDIAN STATES AND MINTS AND COINAGE

1. *The Present Position.*

A number of the Indian States had their own mints and coined their own money in the past. A few States still retain their mints and currencies. Much pressure, however, it has been frankly admitted by the Butler Committee, has been brought to bear upon them in the course of the last half century to close their mints and accept the imperial currency—such States claim the right to re-open their mints. These and other States have also laid claim to a share of the profits of the currency and also to an effective voice in settling its general policy.

2. *The Butler Committee's Views.*

The Butler Committee thinks that if the States were to have their separate currency, there would be danger of its manipulation and, as a consequence, of serious injury to trade. They, therefore, strongly hold that the multiplication of different currencies would adversely affect the best interests of the States and the country as a whole. As regards the profits of the currency, the Committee was informed that they were not appreciable so far as metallic currency was concerned, while the profits on the paper currency, according to the Committee, are due to the credit of British India. Still, as regards the latter profits the Committee recommends that some allowance may be made on their account in any financial settlement that may be made with individual States or group of States.

3. *Separate Currencies.*

The question of allowing the States to reopen their mints is essentially a question of their prerogative. They know,

like the Butler Committee, that the profits of metallic currency are inappreciable, but what matters to them is not so much the extent of the profits as the recognition of their right. The Butler Committee itself testifies to the fact that there are few subjects on which the States feel more strongly than in regard to this one of mints and currency. Such feeling is not confined to the States alone—it is conspicuously noticeable in the West also. Thus the British Crown also attaches great importance to this royal prerogative, and currency figures prominently among the earlier cases of disallowance in the self-governing Dominions. It is a singular irony of fate that while the Colonies which could not point to any past right possess their own mints, the States with all their sovereign right should be compelled to part with them. The Butler Committee apprehends that as soon as the right of the States to re-open their mints is conceded, any number of mints will necessarily spring up in utter defiance of the counsel of wisdom. The prerogative to coin money has actually fallen into disuse in several States as a result of sheer stress of economic factors. They should justify confidence in the economic conditions working out their natural course in the generality of cases. Again, if a mint is actually started, it would not necessarily coin a currency different from that of British India. As the Butler Committee rightly observes, "the advantages of the imperial currency are so obvious." There is thus no substantial ground for the apprehension that the mints of the States would result in a dangerous multiplicity of currencies. On the other hand, the enlightened self-interest of the States is a sufficient guarantee that they will welcome any proposals of experts for an arrangement between them and British India, which duly safeguard their financial interests. Thus the only important question that would arise would be one of participation of the States in the profits of the British Indian system of mints and coinage. Again, it would surely not be beyond human ingenuity to avoid the multiplication of different currencies.

4. Example of the Colonies.

Canada recognises the royal prerogative, but is able to strike coins for use in Canada. Similarly the Newfoundland legislation of 1910 on the subject received the royal approval in due course. Until 1909 the Commonwealth of Australia obtained what coins they desired from the Treasury on paying the face value, while the British Government remained responsible for carriage, the renewal of worn-out coins and so forth, Australia receiving on the other hand the benefit of the profits on the coinages. In 1907 an arrangement was made by which the Commonwealth was to have a coinage system of its own, which should be special to Australia, and on which it should receive the profits, though the coinage is manufactured in London. There are at present subordinate mints at Melbourne since 1872, Sydney since 1855, Perth since 1898 and Ottawa since 1907. The cost of the mints is provided by the colonial Government concerned who receive the profits of the coinage. The gold coins struck at these mints are valid tender wherever British gold coin is valid tender. There is also local legislation in Canada regarding local coinages, the rates and values of dollars and cents and the acceptance of foreign coin such as the American coin. There is also a new silver coinage in the Commonwealth. The royal pleasure is always taken as to the inscriptions on coins and so forth. These arrangements point to the desirability of an investigation with a view to finding out a feasible solution for the demand of the Indian States in respect of a recognition of their prerogative without disturbing the economic fabric of the country. The question of preventing a mismanagement of currency should not baffle human ingenuity.

5. A Share of the Profits.

The question of practical importance is that of participation of the States in the profits of the British

Indian currency system. According to the Butler Committee, the profits on paper currency are due entirely to the credit of British India, while those of the metallic currency are inappreciable. It cannot, however, be denied that, whenever necessary, the States have freely given their co-operation in helping the credit of British India. It would be enough in this connection to cite the instance of the share borne by the States in the maintenance of this credit on the occasion of the declaration by the Government of India of a moratorium at a critical juncture during the Great War. An investigation would indeed throw further light on the question as to what part the States have had in the building up of the present homogeneity of the country, which had also materially promoted its credit. The entire currency policy has all along been framed and enforced by the British authorities, as if the whole map of India were red, and they did not spare even the machinery of pressure. The States had thus to suffer, no less than British India, from all the defects of the system, such as, (1) its great complexity, (2) its highly expensive character, (3) its liability to vanish on the rise of the price of silver above a certain level, (4) a cumbrous duplication of reserves, (5) a dangerous division of responsibility for the control of credit and currency policy, (6) the failure of the system to secure automatic expansion and contraction of currency, (7) the autocracy of the currency authority, and (8) the inelasticity of the system. It has been freely admitted in the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance 1926 that "In consequence of these defects the system has not the confidence of the public," and that "when allowance has been made for all misunderstanding and misapprehensions, the fact remains that a large measure of distrust in the present system is justified by its imperfections." Thus the States have been subjected, in common with the rest of India, to the evils of these defects and they cannot, therefore, be fairly denied a share in such profits as the system with all its defects yields. The Butler Committee suggests that an allowance on account of

these profits may be made only in respect of the individual States or group of States with which any financial settlement may be made. But the application of the general currency policy to the States proceeded irrespective of any considerations of prospective financial settlement, and no state, however small, it would seem, should be excluded from its benefits, when such a concession is made. The actual basis on which the profits of the currency policy may be distributed will, of course, have to be settled with the help of the advice of the experts to be selected by the interests affected and on their mutual agreement. It will further have to be provided that the States should have an effective voice in the settlement of the general policy of the country regarding mints and currency.

6. The Solution.

If a happy solution of the problem is to be reached, it would seem to be necessary in the first instance to have a Committee of experts to thoroughly go into the whole question of the mutual rights and interests of the parties concerned and also of the conditions of the problem with particular reference to the needs of the country as a whole and make proposals so as to bring about general agreement. These proposals would command respect and weight, and form an excellent basis for a negotiation of an arrangement between British India and the States. Such of the difference as might remain in the course of the negotiation could be settled by a Committee, recommended by the Butler Committee, consisting of a representative of the States and a representative of British India with an impartial Chairman of not lower standing than a High Court Judge. Only the decision of such a Committee, if it is to inspire due confidence, will have to be made binding on the parties instead of merely advisory as suggested by the Butler Committee.

THE BENGAL LAND-HOLDER—SUB-DIVISION, FRAGMENTATION AND SUB-INFEUDATION

V

We have already indicated the confusion which arises from sub-infeudation combined with the co-parcenary system of proprietorship and interlacing of interests. The great uncertainty which arises from this cause, may be realised from the following extract taken from the Bakharganj Settlement Report : “ In the preparation of the record-of-rights, it was found that the system was too complicated for the people who lived under it. Those who owned land very often did not know what land it was they owned, and those who cultivated did not know the title or estate of their landlords. The settlement camps were indeed regarded somewhat as lost property offices. Landlords came to find their lands, and tenants came to find their landlords.”¹

It may be hoped that the completion of Settlement operations would bring this state of confusion to an end. But this brings out in a striking manner, how as a result of sub-infeudation, a great landlord class has grown up, who live on the land, but are yet removed from it. By a tragic irony of circumstances, the connection with land of the greater number of those who have proprietary interest in it is not close enough to enable them to take an interest in its development or improvement. When almost every plot of land belongs to so many groups of people, whose interests in it are of various grades and of varying nature, and most of whom live away from it, it can hardly be expected that anybody should take an abiding interest in it. The landlord class in Bengal have been very often

¹ Bakharganj Settlement Report, p, 43.

blamed for living as parasites on the land, who live away from it and do nothing for its improvement. It may be pointed out here that most improvements mean a certain amount of initial expenditure ; and as a rule the Bengal landlords are not a wealthy class. According to the Land-Revenue Administration Report of 1927-28, the gross-rental in that year was Rs. 15,19,27,364 and the land-revenue demand for the same area was Rs. 2,93,20,801. This excess of 12·26 crores of rupees were divided among the following classes and number of land-owners :—

	Rs.
Land-Revenue-paying estates	... 1,06,226
Land-Revenue-free estates	... 30,703
Rent-free lands	... 28,307
Tenures ...	... 47,83,565
 TOTAL	 49,48,801

If every separate interest in land was held by one person, it would mean about Rs. 25 per head. Of course there are abwabs and various kinds of landlord's fees. On the other hand it must be remembered that most of these estates and tenures are held by co-sharer landlords. It may be conceded that averages are misleading when too literally interpreted, and that there is a numerous body of men who have the means and opportunity to improve the land to which they owe their prosperity. But it remains that the great majority of the middle-class population of Bengal who are connected with land are in a sad plight, and have perforce to live away from it, in order to supplement the very meagre income from this source.

Unfortunately, the tenancy laws make the situation worse. The results of any improvement can be directly enjoyed only by the raiyats and their immediate landlords. The intermediary interests are mostly permanent annuitants at fixed rates and would not directly participate in the benefits of any increased production from land. Neither can they interfere in

the management of land or claim any legal right to make any improvement in it. Land improvement means knowledge, money, initiative, and the capacity to organise. Those who are in actual possession of the land, and their immediate landlords can, in most cases, hardly claim to have any of these. Those who are comparatively better placed, have neither the incentive of self-interest nor the legal right to make any improvements, even if they wanted to;¹ and as we have seen the complicated nature of title in land is anything but an encouragement to the investment of money in land.

During the last half-century many laws have been enacted to improve the lot of the raiyats ; and many noble attempts have been directed to the same end. But agricultural operations are still carried on by methods which were used centuries ago; the cultivator still plods his way through poverty, ignorance and disease with little hope and less enjoyment in life. Is it surprising when we see that all the possibilities of improvement are blocked by the system under which agriculture is worked? The present condition is but the inevitable result of the circumstances under which we have been working. If agriculture is to be improved, these must be tackled at the root.

VI

Various measures have been suggested and examined from time to time to meet the difficulties enumerated above. Among these the scheme of consolidating fragmented holdings as worked out in the Punjab has rightly attracted wide attention. But in Bengal, it seems to have been tacitly taken for granted that the difficulties in the way of working out any scheme of consolidation are insuperable. A critical examination of this assumption may not be useless.

There are certain difficulties partly psychological, which are inherent in the present-day rural life of Bengal and which

¹ See evidence of Sir P. C. Mitter before the Taxation Enquiry Committee.

must be faced by any body of people who work for rural uplift. These are due to the age-long conservatism of the peasant classes, the inevitable suspicion of any interference with their possession and ownership of land-rights, and sometimes the strained relations between the cultivators and their landlords and among the cultivators themselves. These difficulties cannot be ignored, but they never can be an excuse for inactivity, but can certainly be overcome by sustained and systematic organised effort.

But there are other difficulties which are to a certain extent peculiar to Bengal, and which present more serious obstacles to progress. The most important arises from the complex nature of the land-system in Bengal, specially sub-infeudation and co-partnership. It has been said, that, "where there are more than a dozen middlemen between the zamindar and the actual cultivator, it will require the consent of at least 24 persons to consolidate two small pieces of land."¹ It has also been said that consolidation of holdings will mean fragmentation of tenures, and this will be resented by the tenure-holders.² The difficulty presented by this factor is certainly great, but it must not be exaggerated. The assumption that for any exchange of plots the consent of all those who have an interest in the holdings is necessary is not correct.

It is evident that where the raiyats concerned hold land from the same landlord, whose consent is available, consolidation can be proceeded with without the consent of the superior interests though the immediate landlord may be but the last link in a long chain of intermediary interests. For the raiyats' immediate landlord is responsible for all the plots concerned and so long as he does not change the extent and character of his tenure, the superior landlords have no right to interfere with the internal management and disposal of his land. To take a

¹ Choudhuri, *The History and Economics of the Land System in Bengal*, p. 142.

² Memorandum by Messrs. Finlow and McLean before the Royal Commission. See also the Evidence of Mr. Burrows before the Commission.

more complicated instance, suppose B and C are both tenure-holders under A. For any scheme of consolidation affecting the raiyats holding under B and C, the consent of A as well as B and C will be necessary, in so far as it affects the tenures of B and C. But when this is available, the consent of any other superior landlord will not be required, though A himself may be only a tenure-holder, and there may be many middlemen intervening between him and the ultimate proprietor, all having an intermediary interest in the same land. It is clear that consolidation of holdings within the same tenure does not affect its extent or character. Where more than one tenure are affected, though it may change their relative physical positions, consolidation of holdings does not, in any sense, mean fragmentation of tenures. On the other hand, in so far as they will have compact holdings under them, the process will to a certain extent make the tenures more compact. In fact the tenure-holders have nothing to lose.

How far it is feasible to work out any scheme of consolidation under these restricted and comparatively favourable conditions may be indicated by the following figures taken from the Settlement Reports of the various districts, showing to what extent raiyats hold directly from the proprietor without the intervention of any middlemen. Excluding the area retained in their immediate possession the proprietors of Dacca District have leased out 64 per cent. of the total area of their estates to raiyats direct. In Bakharganj, 14 per cent. of the land of private estates are so held by the raiyats from the proprietors. But in some estates the land so held is a considerable proportion of the whole. It is 88 per cent. in Alinagar, 57 per cent. in Shaistabad, 56 per cent. in Ramnagar, 38 per cent. in Idilpur, and about 30 per cent. in Habibpur and Haveli. In Faridpur the proprietors of private estates in the district have leased out 35 per cent. of their lands to the raiyats direct. These instances are taken from Eastern Bengal Districts where sub-infeudation has proceeded further than in the other parts. It is likely that if the unit of operation be carefully selected, quite a large number of estates

and villages will be found where consolidation may be feasible inspite of the general complicated nature of the land system. Moreover consolidation may be tried under specially favourable conditions in the estates under the direct management of the Government, including those belonging to private proprietors but managed by Government as well as those owned by Government as proprietor. In 1927-28, there were 2,751 such estates covering 4,707 square miles with a revenue demand of Rs. 55,81,117. That even the difficulty of co-sharer landlords is not insuperable provided a well-directed attempt is made, is shown by the experience in Birbhum where a large area has been consolidated by private effort.

Consolidation works, according to the Punjab scheme, by the substitution of a compact block in place of scattered plots ; and this is brought about by exchange of land belonging to different land-holders, so that contiguous plots may be put in the same holding. This is done with due regard to the extent and value of the original holdings, and differences may be adjusted by cash-payments. But here we are confronted with a tremendous difficulty in Bengal, in so far as in any transfer by exchange each party has to pay a landlord's fee of 5 per cent. of the value of the land transferred or $1\frac{1}{4}$ times its annual rent. The landlord's fee in case of any other transfer is 20 per cent. of the value of the property or 5 times the annual rent. During the discussion in Council of the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill (1928) which legalised and fixed the landlord's fee on transfer, the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill, Sir P. C. Mitter, said that the landlord's fee was fixed at lower rates in case of transfer by exchange in order to encourage such transfers for the improvement of agricultural conditions. It is possible, this may have the desired effect in individual cases where people may agree to exchanges on personal and other grounds. But there can be no doubt that this provision [Sec. 26 D (c) of the Bengal Tenancy Act] present an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of any scheme of consolidation

by exchange. People may be educated to see the value of consolidation ; but to expect the raiyat to suffer an immediate tangible pecuniary loss in order to secure the prospective benefits of the promised improvements in agricultural conditions is neither reasonable nor calculated to inspire them with confidence. Nor can they very well afford it, in their present circumstances. It is essential, therefore, that in areas where consolidation of holdings are attempted, the landlord's fee on transfer by exchange should be, at least temporarily, abolished. This may raise practical difficulties by alienating the sympathy of the landlords ; but in the larger interests of agriculture and of the landlords themselves, their objection should not be allowed to stand in the way of a very useful agricultural reform. And as the landlords will not be directly injured, but only suffer from the loss of prospective income which might not materialise at all, it is probable that by tactful handling by the officers concerned their consent and co-operation may be secured.

Consolidation is not a new or untried experiment. It has been tried in the Punjab with conspicuous success. Up to 1928, 133,000 blocks have been consolidated and their number reduced to 25,300. The average area of each block has increased from 0·7 to 3·8 acres. The cost per acre varies from Rs. 1-6 to Rs. 2-11 and is likely to decrease as the staff becomes more expert and the people more willing.¹

Of course measures to meet the special difficulties in Bengal will have to be carefully thought out and much spade work will have to be done. Steady, systematic and persistent propaganda will be necessary to make the people appreciate the benefits of having compact holdings, and give consolidation a chance. Unending patience and tact will be necessary to overcome unreasonableness, obstinacy and suspicion. Special legislation may be necessary to meet the case of tenants who have different rights in their land ; in cases where minors

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 139.

and widows are concerned, and where lands are under mortgage. Perhaps, there may be some initial failures and disappointments. But once the experiment is worked out successfully in some places the movement will grow on its own momentum. The problem is important and urgent, and as the Royal Commission has said, "difficulties should not be allowed to become an excuse for inactivity."

In order that valuable work done by months of painstaking labour with the consent and co-operation of the greater number of the people concerned may not be ruined by the obstinacy of a recalcitrant minority, it is inevitable that legislative compulsion will have to be introduced in the end. But where matters so fundamental as rights in land are concerned, it is essential that compulsion should not be introduced until public opinion is more ripe for it and except as a last resort. It is essential that any scheme of agrarian reform should not only be just and beneficial, but be understood and appreciated by the people as such. We should suggest that a scheme on the lines adopted in the Punjab should be introduced and worked out with purely administrative measures. This may be done either by officers of the co-operative department as in the Punjab ; or a special revenue officer with settlement experience may be deputed with a small staff working either under the Registrar of co-operative societies or the Director of Agriculture. This will at least serve as an opportunity of ascertaining the real difficulties, and educating public opinion, and pave the way for legislative measures in the light of the experience gained by such methods.

Government may also encourage consolidation by various concessions. We have already seen that it is essential to abolish the landlords' fees on transfer by exchange in case of those who join any scheme of consolidation. The stamp and registration duties and the process fee for service of notice on the landlord may also suitably be remitted in these cases. Government should also bear, at the initial stages, part of the

working expenses, such as of surveying and re-planning and the remapping of the area, and the setting up of boundary marks. People may also be induced to join by making provisions to consider their cases specially in cases of financial assistance such as under the Land Improvement Loans Act.

It is evident that in any scheme of consolidation in Bengal, the unit should be tenants who in most cases have permanent hereditary rights in their land. The work therefore will proceed on the basis of ownership. But it is also evident that this will to a great extent remove fragmentation of cultivating units, as most of these people are cultivating tenants. This is also supported by the experience of the Punjab experiment. Of course as mere consolidation will not remove the cases of fragmentation, these holdings may again be sub-divided and scattered after a few years. But it is permissible to hope, that once people enjoy and appreciate the benefits of consolidation they will not allow their holdings to be fragmented in the future.

This brings us to the other part of the question. It is necessary to consolidate fragmented holding; but it is equally important that the tendency for holdings to be sub-divided and scattered should be checked. Mere consolidation does not affect the root of the evil and would not eradicate it permanently.

In so far as fragmentation is due to the customary method of dividing family property, the best remedy seems to be the educative effect which actual working of any scheme of consolidation will have on the people. But prevention of sub-division presents a more serious problem. Both sub-division and fragmentation are to a certain extent due to transfer of parts of holdings in various ways. Any restriction on the alienation of land, would therefore, check both these evils to a certain extent. But any such restriction would impair the credit of the agriculturist, and prevent the free-play of economic forces which tend to bring land in the most capable hands. Moreover, if any restriction be put on the partition of holdings, a cultivator, in case of necessity, would be obliged to sell or

mortgage the whole holding even though a part would suffice to raise the money. These restrictions are sure to be defeated by practical sales effected under the guise of sub-letting and mortgage. Moreover, it is a serious interference with a very important and cherished right of the tenant, which has been formally recognised and given explicit legal sanction in Bengal only last year. These considerations, therefore, rule this measure out of practical politics in Bengal.

The other suggestion which has found wide currency, is the creation of impartible economic holdings, and of putting a legal limit below which no holding can be sub-divided. One effect of this will be the creation of a large body of landless proletariat, all of whom may not be absorbed in agriculture under the altered circumstances; and they will find few alternative employments in industry. Such a result evidently is fraught with grave social and economic consequences. But apart from this and other economic and administrative considerations which this measure gives rise to it interferes with the existing laws of succession, a result which can only be contemplated on wider and more fundamental grounds. Such a measure, therefore, cannot be enacted on agrarian considerations only.

A way has been sought to avoid this difficulty by suggesting that the heirs should inherit according to the present laws, but the entire holdings should be put to auction, only the reversioners and the co-sharers being entitled to bid ; in other words, that one of the co-sharers should buy up the others. But it is evident that such a sale would be subject to very abnormal influences. Ordinarily, the property would not realise its full value in such a narrowly limited market, and the co-sharers who will have to be compensated will not get their proper share. On the other hand, where there is excessive attachment to the family property, as is not infrequent, the co-sharers may be tempted to make bids out of all proportion to the true value of the property. In any case the successful bidder would have to start with a heavy initial debt which in

most cases he will not be able to bear. For the others, in the absence of alternative employment, the provision may be anything but a blessing.

A proper remedy seems to lie in co-operative farming by the co-sharers. Holdings should not be divided; they should be cultivated jointly. But the division of interest should be retained by the division of the produce according to the respective shares of the co-owners. It is hardly possible to enforce joint farming by law when the division in ownership is recognised; and the idea can only be worked out on a voluntary basis. It should be remembered that holdings in Bengal are mostly too small for progressive farming. Consolidation and prevention of further fragmentation will be a vast improvement on the present position; but the holdings should still be too small for the economic application of labour, capital, and skilled direction. Co-operative farming opens vast possibilities in this direction. It need not be confined to co-owners; it may comprise neighbouring cultivators, whose lands may be treated as a homogeneous whole for purposes of cultivation. The co-operative department has until recently confined its attention to credit societies; purchase and sale and irrigation societies are now being formed in certain places. There is no reason why the department should not examine the possibilities of co-operative production in agriculture. Work on these lines is sure to meet a distinct need of the province. Bengal, being a land of small farmers, is the more suited for co-operative farming, because the small cultivator is the more sensible of small economies. Another advantage is that the methods and forms of farming are more or less similar and therefore suitable for co-operative experiment. We have seen that one of the essentials of advanced farming is adequate land where improved methods and appliances can be profitably utilised.¹ This can only be done by inducing neighbouring

¹ In view of the inadequacy of the average holding to enable the economic working of advanced methods, the following extracts taken from the evidence of Mr. G. S. Hender-

cultivators to pool their resources together, land, and otherwise. It is the declared policy of the Government to encourage and promote the formation of agricultural associations¹ which may conduct various agricultural operations on a co-operative basis. Efforts in these directions may profitably be co-related with schemes of co-operative farming. Both the co-operative and the agricultural departments will perhaps find it useful to explore the possibilities of forming co-operative organisations of neighbouring cultivators for joint production as suggested in these pages.

One thing is certain. Private initiative or the working of natural forces cannot be trusted to remedy the evils of rural Bengal. As it happens, the Province does not seem to be very happy in voluntary efforts in matters agricultural. Hardly any effort has been made in large-scale farming on modern lines even where there is ample scope for it, such as in lands in the private possession of zamindars or tenure-holders. Besides there are many reasons why the intervention of the state is essential. No private organisation would create the same confidence in the agriculturist, in matters where confidence is so vital, as the Government departments would. Neither has any private organisation the same resources or the expert staff to carry on the work. As we have seen, at any rate, at the initial stages, state

son, Imperial Agriculturist, Pusa (Report of the Royal Commission, Vol. I, Part II), may be of interest :—

Mr. Calvert. A. 1293. The major part of this country is cultivated in small holdings up to about 12 to 15 acres. Do you think the methods you are working out now are suitable for small cultivator?—No.

A. 1294. As far as I have seen, practically no attempt is being made to work out the type of cultivation suitable for these small holdings?—That, I presume, is being done by the Provinces.

A. 1295. We have not yet found any Province where it is done. This machinery which you showed us is not suitable for the 3 acre man?—No.

A. 1296. There is nothing being done here to try and improve agriculture as it is understood by 90 per cent. of the agriculturists?—We are working on specialised problems. But although, as you say, the larger proportion of Indians cultivate it in very small fragments, still there is a very large amount which is cultivated in big estates.

¹ Resolution of Rev. Dept. No. 631 T. R., dated Darjeeling, the 7th June, 1919.

help and encouragement is a necessity. Moreover, many of the agrarian reforms would affect legal rights and valuable interests, and legislative enactments will be necessary. The experience of European countries also teach us that in experiments like consolidation of holdings, though voluntary efforts played an important part, very little could be achieved, until the State actively intervened.

The danger of leaving matters to adjust themselves is not imaginary, specially in India. Not unoften, it is believed, “.....that for a general increase in the size of holdings, we must look to the working of economic forces—such as the growth of urban industries, which, by reducing the pressure on the soil, would facilitate the transition;—rather than to legislative action.”¹ In connection with the often repeated suggestion that the redundant labour on the land may be absorbed in industries, it is not always remembered that in Bengal the percentage of industrial (including mines) to district population is only 7·8. As the Fiscal Commission remarked, “even if the development of industries in the near future is very rapid, the population withdrawn from the land will be but a small proportion” (Report, p. 27). These considerations represent a strong case for a bold and active policy of agrarian reform on the part of the state.

(Concluded.)

J. C. GHOSH

¹ Resolution No. 2308/1A—209—1924 Rev. Dept., dated Allahabad, the 27th May, 1924.

SHORT ESSAYS ON CHAUCER

CHAUCER'S SOCIAL POSITION AS SHOWN FROM THE FACTS OF HIS LIFE

Kittredge says, "It is vastly fortunate that Chaucer was born high enough in the social scale not to need holy orders as a means of escape from cramping circumstances. Otherwise, a great poet would have been spoiled to make an indifferent parson." He, no doubt, still would have been a poet, but not the same Chaucer. If he had been born an aristocrat he would not have understood other classes of people—and the world would have been the loser. The *Troilus* we might have had, yes, but not the *Canterbury Tales*. It is, therefore, fortunate that he took an active part in business life, for that gave him the opportunity to study various types of people, which one finds in the *Canterbury Tales*.

Chaucer's family came from the burgher class, which had some kind of court influence, since he became page to the Countess of Ulster, and was later connected with the royal household. It is known that he went abroad seven times on diplomatic business to France, Italy, and Flanders. These trips were concerned with war questions, commerce, and the king's marriage. It is evident that Chaucer had a broad and intimate acquaintance with the life of his time. It is evident also that he saw many of the most remarkable European cities of his day, and that he grappled with the astute old counsellors who surrounded Charles the Wise and again with the English adventurer whose prowess was a household word throughout Italy.

It is rather interesting to note that Chaucer, on St George's day, 1374, received the grant of a pitcher of wine daily for life, "to be received in the port of London from the hands of the

King's butler." St. George's was a day of solemn feasting in the Round Tower of Windsor. One must remember also that Chaucer was made Comptroller of the Customs and Subsidies. Then he received a life pension from John of Gaunt as well as from the King. In 1386 he was elected to sit in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for the county of Kent. Chaucer, who lived in one of the most brilliant epochs of English history, was in turn a courtier, a soldier, a business man, an ambassador, Justice of the Peace, a Member of Parliament, Thames Conservator, a Clerk of the Works, and even a lover.

A REVIEW OF THE FACTS OF CHAUCER'S LIFE WHICH SHOW
THAT HE WAS A MAN OF AFFAIRS AS WELL AS A
MAN OF LETTERS

The name Chaucer was originally significant of an occupation. The Old French *Chaucer*¹ signified a hosier instead of a shoemaker, although it was sometimes used in the latter sense. The modern French *chausse* represents a Low Latin *calcia*, a kind of hose. It is likely that the Chaucer family came originally from East Anglia. Henry le Chaucer is mentioned as a citizen of Norfolk in 1275; and likewise Walter le Chaucer in 1292.² In several early cases the name occurs in connection with *Cordewanerstrete*, or with the small Ward of the City of London which bore the same name. Baldwin le Chaucer lived in *Cordewanerstrete* in 1307; Elyas le Chaucer lived in the same place in 1318-1319; Nicholas Chaucer also lived in the same place in 1353; and Henry Chaucer, a man-at-arms, provided for the king's service by Cordewanerstrete Ward. Chaucer's father and his grandmother lived, at one time, on this same street.

¹ See Godefroy's *Old French Dictionary*.

² *The Athenaeum*, Nov. 25, 1876, p. 688.

The earliest relative with whom one is able to connect the poet, with any degree of certainty, is Robert, his grandfather. He, with his wife, Mary, in 1307, sold ten acres of land in Edmonton to Ralph le Clerk for 100*s.*¹ Robert le Chaucer, on August 2, 1310, was appointed a collector of the new customs upon wines granted by the merchants of Aquitaine. Robert Chaucer was married about 1307 to a widow whose name was Maria or Mary Heyroun ; and the only child of whom there has been any mention made was his son and heir, John, who was the father of the poet. Maria, however, had a son still living whose name was Thomas Heyroun. He died in 1349. John Chaucer was born in 1312 and his father, Robert, died before 1316. In 1323 his widow married her third husband, Richard le Chaucer, who was probably a cousin of her second husband. Richard le Chaucer was "one of the vintners sworn at St. Martin's Vintry, in 1320, to make proper scrutiny of wines." Thus, one can see that he was likely brought into business relations with Robert whose widow he married in 1323. Richard Chaucer was a wealthy man (according to Riley's Memorials). There is not a great deal to be found about Chaucer's father, John. He was born about 1329 or later. His wife's name was Agnes. On June 12, 1338, John Chaucer obtained letters of protection on his expedition to Flanders for the king. In February and November, 1348, John is referred to as being deputy to the king's butler in the port of Southampton. In 1349 he was executor to the will of his half-brother, Thomas Heyroun. His name, with his wife's, appears in a conveyance of property, dated January 16, 1366. He passed on shortly afterwards at about the age of fifty-four. His widow married again in a few months, for she is described in a deed dated May 6, 1367, as being the wife of Bartholomew atte Chapel, citizen and vintner of London. The date of her death is unknown.

The exact date of Geoffrey Chaucer's birth is not known. It has been a subject of dispute for some years. The year 1340, however, seems to be the most likely date. On several occasions an attendant on the Countess is designated as Philippa Pan, which is supposed to be the contracted form of Panetaria, or mistress of the pantry. Dr. E. A. Bond says that "speculations suggest themselves that the Countess's attendant Philippa may have been Chaucer's future wife. The Countess died in 1363...and nothing would be more likely than that the principal lady of her household should have found shelter after her death in the family of her husband's mother," Queen Philippa. Chaucer, no doubt, at Hatfield, gained some knowledge of the Northern dialect, which he used in the *Reves Tale*. The non-Chaucerian Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose* shows some traces of a Northern dialect, but Fragment A, which is Chaucer's, shows no trace of that dialect.

Chaucer was probably a page in the household of the Countess of Ulster (if he was born in 1340). If he had been born before 1340, he would have been too old to be a page in 1357. It is known, however, that he was attached to the service of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and of the Countess of Ulster, as early as the beginning of 1357. It is said that Chaucer accompanied the Countess when she attended the funeral of Queen Isabella (the mother of King Edward), which took place at the Church of the Minors, in Newgate Street on November 27, 1358.

In November 1359, Chaucer joined the expedition of Edward III to France. During this time, he fell into the hands of the French. Nothing is known of the method of his capture, although it was during the siege of a little town which was probably Rethel. The journey to France was worth while if it did nothing more than fill the poet's mind with the pictures of the knights in chain-mail protected by the artfully jointed plate-armour. With the armourers, the camp-followers, the drivers of the great four-horse wagons that carried the supplies, Chaucer

became familiar. By this expedition he learned to know many types of the English people for his previous life had given him no opportunity to know them intimately. Chaucer's knowledge and sympathies were thus broadened. His poems were written for a noble audience, but he enters into the life of all his characters and makes one feel the sympathy he has for them. After his release from captivity, he made his way back to London. Although his business life covered about forty years, his writings never seemed to interfere with it. While in England he did work of the most painstaking kind, for he was a clerk; and, when he was sent abroad, he gave his services in the most important matters to the king. Chaucer had for his companions men of high position.

The first item in the accounts which names Chaucer concerns the granting to him of a life pension, or an allowance of twenty marks a year. He is called in the grant *dilectus valetus noster*, or *our trusty follower*. His importance in the royal household can be seen from the amount of salary he received. He is supposed to have received an income of five thousand dollars a year, if one allows for the greater buying power of money in those days. That was not a poor salary at that time for a man of about twenty-seven years of age. Chaucer remained, nearly all the time, officially attached to the king's court. He was a valet in 1367 but became a "squire of less degree" in 1368. Four years later he is entitled *regis scutifer*, or *king's shield bearer*. In 1369 there is a record of a payment of ten pounds made to Chaucer while he was in the war in France and in April, 1370, his pension was not drawn by him in person but by another. That was probably because Chaucer was abroad for a while upon a second military expedition. There is nothing known about his experiences with the English army, and it is doubtful whether he took any part in the campaign commanded by the "Black Prince."

Between 1370 and 1380 he went abroad six or seven times on the king's services. One time has been noted in 1370;

two years later Chaucer went to Genoa and to Florence, and was absent nearly a year. On this journey it is possible that he saw the Italian poet, Petrarch. In 1377 Chaucer made two other journeys : he was sent to France to arrange a formal marriage between Richard, heir to the English Crown, and Princess Isabel of France, then a little child ; and he was again sent to France in 1378, and a mission to Lombardy was on his list. This indicates that Chaucer was trustworthy in matters of greatest importance, and that he was a man of affairs.

The greater part of his life was spent in London and the duties performed by him while a resident there were at first in connection with the customs of the port of London. On June 8, 1374 he was appointed "controller of the customs and subsidy of wools, skins and tanned hides" in that port, and he was required to do the work in person and to keep the records in his own handwriting. In his poems, Chaucer reproaches himself for burying himself among his books as soon as his day's work is done.

" For whan thy labor done all is,
And hast y-made thy reckonings,
Instead of rest and newe things,
Thou goest home to thine house anon,
And, all so dumb as any stoon,
Thou sittest at another book
Till fully dazed is thy look,
And livest thus as an hermyte
Although thine abstinence is lyte."

Throughout Chaucer's works there are references to events and personages of the siege of Troy, and there are some notes of the exploits of Alexander the Great, of Charlemagne, and of Arthur and his knights. In the middle ages, however, these subjects were popular. It is evident that Chaucer was well-read in the literature of his time, but, as well as he liked literature, he was familiar with the science of his period. Besides his treatise on

the Astrolabe, which he illustrated with drawings for the benefit of his little son, he also shows a knowledge of astronomy and astrology, introduces an alchemist into the *Canterbury Tales*, and, here and there, in his poem, he shows by a shrewd remark that he was an interested listener to the theories of men of science. In one place, he speaks of the earth as "This wide world which that men say is round;" and though he puts the words into the mouth of the Franklin, they are spoken not as questionable but as a matter of course ; and this was more than one hundred years before the days of Columbus ! Like Shakespeare, Chaucer viewed with interest everything that came before him.

At the time Edward and his son were fighting, Chaucer was bringing to England a treasure destined to be immortal. He brought from France and from Italy the seed of a great literature. He read, appreciated, and learned to value the poems of the great Italian writers ; and from them, he taught himself to know good poetry, and to write good poetry in England. Chaucer was sympathetic, and had an understanding of all the men and women who, in their various ways, found their lives worth while. Although he loved books, he was no bookworm, and did not close his eyes to the world about him. If he praised virtue, he sympathized also with the less pious. In learning the skill of the Italians, he did not forget the kindness of the French, and, to both, he added a quality that either was or has become distinctly English the quality of simplicity. Chaucer's attitude toward the men of his time, in so far as it is revealed by his poems, is that of an observer rather than an imitator. There is never any bitterness or resentment in his writings. He never tried to moralize or to be a reformer, for he was too busy living.

There is no doubt at all that Chaucer was well educated, for, in manhood, he shows a knowledge of all the learning of his time : Latin, French, the sciences, and literature—and this is in spite of his passing a busy life in court and in the city.

SOME EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF
 CHAUCER'S HAVING MET PETRARCH DURING HIS FIRST
 JOURNEY TO ITALY, 1372-1373.

Did Chaucer make the personal acquaintance on his first Italian journey (1372-1373), of Petrarch? Chaucer's own words in the prologue of the *Clerk of Oxford's Tale* seem to testify to the personal meeting with Petrarch.

" ' Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriate poete,
 Highte this clerk whos rethorike sweete
 Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie,—
 As Lynyan dide of philosophie,
 Or lawe, or oother art particular,—
 But deeth, that wol nat suffre us dwellen heer,
 But as it were a twynklyng of an eye,
 Hem bothe hath slayn, and alle shul we dye.
 But forth to tellen of this worthy man
 That taughte me this tale, as I bigan,
 I seye that first with heigh stile he enditeth,
 Er he the body of his tale writheth,
 A prohemye, in the which discryveth he
 Pemond, and of Saluces the contree;
 And speketh of Apennyn, the hilles hye
 That been the boundes of West Lumbardye,
 And of Mount Vesulus in special,
 Where as the Poo out of a welle smal
 Taketh his firste spryngyng and his souris,
 That estward ay encresseth in his cours
 To Emeleward, to Ferrare and Venyse,—
 The which a longe thyng were to devyse,
 And trewely, as to my juggement,
 Me thynketh it a thyng impertinent,
 Save that he wole convoyen his mateere;
 But this is his tale which that ye may heere.' "

A great many biographers have assumed that it is not only the fictitious *Clerk* but the real poet who confesses to have

learned the story of *Griselda* directly from Petrarch. It is true that the *Clerk of Oxford* is made to say that he learned from the worthy *Franceys Petrak* the tale at Padua; and one might think that Chaucer himself heard the story from the lips of Petrarch. M. Jusserand has pointed out that the English poet's fame was already great enough in France to give him a ready passport to a man so greatly interested in every form of literature and with such close connections as Petrarch. The meeting of Chaucer and Petrarch has been doubted partly on the ground that whereas the *Clerk* learned the tale from Petrarch "at Padua," the aged poet was, in fact, during Chaucer's Italian journey at Arquà, a village sixteen miles off in the Euganean hills. Again, it had been proved that the ravages of war had driven Petrarch down from his village into the fortified town of Padua, where he lived in security during a greater part of that year, so that this very indication of Padua, which does, in fact, show that he possessed such accurate and unexpected information of Petrarch's whereabouts as might, of itself, have suggested a suspicion of personal intercourse.¹

It is possible that Chaucer and Boccaccio, who were near each other during 1372-1373, were yet fated to remain strangers to each other and this lends all the more force to the fact that Chaucer knew Petrarch to have spent the year at Padua, and not at his own home. Did Chaucer meet Petrarch prior to 1372-1373? In 1368 Lionel of Clarence was married for the second time to Violente Visconti of Milan. Petrarch was an honored guest at that wedding and Speght, writing in 1598, quotes a report that Chaucer was there, too, in attendance on his old master. This, however, was taken as disproved by the more recent assertion of Nicholas that Chaucer drew his pension in England "with his own hand" during all this time. Mr.

¹ See the *Athenaeum*, Sept. 17th to Nov. 26th, 1898 (Mr. C. H. Bromley and Mr. St. Clair Baddeley) and Mr. F. J. Mather's two articles in *Modern Language Notes* (Vol. XI, p. 210 and Vol. XII, p. 1).

Bromey's researches, however, have reopened the possibility of the old tradition. He ascertained, by a fresh examination of the original Issue Rolls, that the pension was surely paid to Chaucer on May, 35, while the wedding party was on its way to Milan, but the words "into his own hands" are omitted from this particular entry. The omission may be merely accidental, but, at least, it destroys the alleged disproof, and permits one to take Speght's assertion at its intrinsic worth. It may be that Chaucer's own silence on the subject has a sufficient cause, the reason which he himself put into the Knight's mouth in protest against the Monk's fondness for tragedies.....

" For little heaviness
 Is right enough to many folk, I guess.
 I say for me it is a great disease,
 Whereas men have been in great wealth and ease,
 To hearken of their sudden fall, alas!"

It is possible to hope that Chaucer not only met Petrarch in 1372-1373, but even earlier at the splendid wedding feast of Milan.

In the *Canterbury Tales* the Host calls upon the *Clerk of Oxenford* :

" Ye ride as still and coy as doth a maid
 Were newly spoused, sitting at the board;
 This day he heard I of your tongue a word
 For Goddes sake, as be of better cheer!
 It no time for to study here."

The *Clerk* thus rudely shaken from his meditations tells the story of *Patient Griselda*, which he had "learned at Padua, of a worthy clerk—F. Petrark, the laureate poet."

Professor Lounsbury, after calling attention to the fact that the *Canterbury Tales* is a dramatic composition and that it is the *Clerk of Oxenford* and not Chaucer who says he learned the tale from Petrarch at Padua, sums up with the sentence : "We can creditably and honestly try hard to think that the two poets

met; but with the knowledge that we at present possess, we have no right to assert it."¹

From Mr. F. J. Mather's careful investigation of the chronology of Chaucer's Italian journey one has still more light on the subject. For Petrarch's translation of the *Griselda* any date in the early months of 1373 is possible; any date earlier than April is improbable. The mission of which Chaucer was a member was sent primarily to attend to certain business in Genoa. If he left England on December first, 1372, he could not have reached Genoa much before February first, 1373.²

When Chaucer reached Genoa he was separated from the rest of the members of the mission and was sent on special business to France. If he did not stop in Genoa, he may have been in Florence about February tenth. By March twenty-third, he was most likely back in Genoa. His possible stay in Florence was probably only a few weeks but diplomatic business usually takes longer than that. Then again, a journey from Florence to Padua was not very easily accomplished, for a long and tedious ride over mountains would have been necessary. If Chaucer did make this trip, he could not have been in Padua later than March fifteenth, a date too early for the possible composition of Petrarch's later version.

It might be well to consider Jusserand's arguments.

Louise A. Nelson

¹ *Studies in Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. 68.

² Root says that an allowance of two months for the journey to Genoa is probably excessive and that on his second Italian journey of 1378 Chaucer was absent from England less than four months. The second journey, though, was made during the Summer when travelling was easier.

THE PLAINT OF YASODHARA

My lord, why hast thou deemed it well
 That thou shouldst fare a wanderer
 From thine ancestral halls, afar,
 To be of Truth the discoverer.

Was Yasodhara so unfair?
 Unpleasing to thine eyes divine?
 Or was I ever cold to thee,
 Or failed to make me wholly thine?

Forgive, my lord, and come to me,
 The mother of thine infant son :
 The dancers shall dance for thy joy,
 For jealousy is from me gone !

On bed of roses thou shalt lie,
 Drenched with glamour's exquisite fire :
 Forget the world and its vast pain,
 And know again my lips' desire.

My lord, what if age doth approach,
 If one has lived in youth full well ?
 An everlasting youth would pall,
 And life be but an empty shell.

In youth 'tis sweet to drink of love,
 Enwrapt in flame of passion's fire ;
 And then to slumber, drugged by love
 While far-off twangs a dreamy lyre.

I'll deck myself with flaming gems,
And dance in love's sweet imagery,
Till thou respond to passion's call
That throbs in my throat silvery.

Rahula sleeps on jasmine buds :
Hast thou no pity, then, for him?
If not thy wife, surely thy son
Can call thee from the great world grim.

My lord, ah ! my dear lord, return,
And lie on Yasodhara's breast.
In naught else I thee will gainsay,
If thou wilt make me truly blest.

For none can pierce the mystery
That shrouds the chances of our birth.
So, why then waste those precious hours
Given us for loving while on earth ?

I loved thee well, my lord and king,
Was my kiss but a moment's dream ?
I had not thought thee, sweet, so cold
That night we watched the pale stars gleam.

The moon was rising in the east :
The dancers swayed,—a galaxy
Of pulchritude— but thy dear eyes
Gazed not on their love-pageantry.

They rained on us the lotus flowers,
And roses from Kashmiri's dale :
The air was perfumed with rare scents :—
I trembled 'neath my gauzy veil.

For love that night was in thy eyes—
A flaming love for me alone,
So, lingeringly, the dancers went
And left us on thy rose-strewn throne.

Ah ! love, hast thou forgot so soon
My eyes keep closing wearily,
Yet sleep ne'er comes, unless I lie
With my lord's arms encircling me ?

Ah, woe ! ah, woe ! my lord is gone,
And Yasodhara is afraid,
Lest he return no more to hear
With her sweet Bulbul's serenade.

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

LAUGHTER

The subject of laughter is very fascinating. Almost all philosophers, from Aristotle to Bergson, have attempted to explain this mysterious quality of nature in some way or other. During this endeavour several theories were evolved but none of them is satisfactory as we shall see later.

To the vast majority of intelligent persons to-day, laughter spells Bergson. Most of them think that he has explained the problem once and for all. I shall give sufficient time to an unprejudiced investigation of his theory on this subject, partly in order to disperse false convictions and partly as an introduction to what I have to say later.

Bergson is more widely read than any other philosopher. And that is why I wish to draw your attention, first of all, towards what he has said concerning this subject. It is not for the scientific truth of his argument, that every one accepts him to be the philosopher of laughter. It is undoubtedly on account of his rich imaginative power, poetic genius, and glowing language (qualities that are indeed rare among philosophers) that his philosophy has so wide an appeal.

Throughout the whole of his essay, you will find passages so thrilling and arguments so arranged that a reader has to reach to an apparently infallible conclusion. He has woven his facts into a completely water-tight hypothesis and in a beautifully contrived plan. It has the charm to convince you even against your will, and it is this compactness that makes his theory seem so sublime and obviously correct.

Mr. J. A. Gunn says in his 'Bergson and his Philosophy,'— "For the student as yet unpractised in philosophical reflection, Bergson's skill and clarity of statement, his fertility in illustration, his frequent and picturesque use of analogy may be a pitfall. It all sounds so convincing and right, as Bergson puts it, that the critical faculty is put to sleep" (p. xv).

At first everything seems convincing. It is only when one begins to think a little that its insufficiency becomes clear.

Bergson calls his book "Laughter : An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic." In reality it is not about laughter at all. Throughout the whole book he has failed to explain what laughter itself is. It is a fatal omission and can throw doubt upon any theory of laughter, however convincing it may be.

Another point I wish to suggest is that Bergson has fallen into grave psychological errors and his treatment of the subject is unscientific at many places. I will give some examples to support this view.

He says : "The comic.....appeals to the intelligence pure and simple; laughter is incompatible with emotion. Depict some fault, however trifling, in such a way as to arouse sympathy, fear, or pity ; the mischief is done, it is impossible for us to laugh.....It must not arouse our feelings." (Laughter, 1911, p. 139.)

He divides the mind into two distinct sections—Intelligence, and Feeling; and on this assumption feels himself justified in saying : " calling into play their intelligence alone."

Three comments immediately suggest themselves :—

- (1) The division of mind into two sections : Intelligence and Feeling,
- (2) Non-existence of feeling when one laughs,
- (3) Laughter as an effect of intelligence.

We shall discuss each of them successively.

(1) There are a good many people, besides myself, who will strenuously oppose this theory. Mind is a whole. Intelligence is a faculty of mind that has evolved, and feeling is its emotional state. Such a sharp division of mind into Intelligence (a faculty of mind), and Feeling (a state of mind) is contrary not only to scientific psychology but even to common sense. It will appear apparently untrue to anybody who gives a moment's thought to this point.

(2) Feeling is ever present in every mental situation. I would not be doing any work, unless doing so gave me a feeling of pleasure or comfort. Almost all conscious activities, whether intellectual or physical, have their basis of feelings in the minds of those who perform them. It does not require much skill in introspection to realise this.

Feeling is defined as : "The agreeable or disagreeable side of any mental state"; emotion being "An excitement of the feelings, whether pleasant or unpleasant." Feeling is a simple emotional state; and Emotion is a complex state of Feeling. The difference is a matter of degree and not of kind.

Too many persons have fallen into the habit of undervaluing Emotion. They seem to give it a subordinate place in the trinity of mind, and to exalt above it the co-ordinated elements of thinking and willing. But it must be borne in mind that Emotion lies much closer to the heart—the spring of human action—than any other mental faculty, quality, or phase. Those persons, who give predominance to the Intellect, thinking that it plays a fundamentally important part in human efforts, err and totally ignore the virtues of Emotion.

Man has a heart as well as a head. In reality, the heart plays a greater part than does the head in human actions. Remove Emotion from human life and you will have stolen away the source not only of its greatest beauties but also of all manifestations and expressions. Human-beings will be left not unlike the inanimate objects of our day, were they to be devoid of emotions.

Bergson says : Laughter is devoid of feeling (*L'insensibilité qui accompagne d'ordinaire le rire*). The translator renders "L'insensibilité," as "absence of feeling." He, therefore, means that no feeling or emotion exists in the mind when one laughs. But it is absolutely opposed to common experience.

It is a fact that comic laughter cannot exist in the presence of any degree of emotion except that of amusement. But it would be quite absurd to deduce from this that laughter does not exist with any emotion whatever.

Laughter is often uncontrollable. On several occasions we have experienced that we are as unable to control it as a nervous coward is unable to refrain from flight.

An animal is emotionally moved. Owing to its immersion in the present, the emotion is always immediately translated into action. To feel an emotion is to do something. But with man that is not the case always. Because of his detachment from the present, his mind may be emotionally disturbed, and still no outlet of the co-ordinated physical activity may be available. Emotion may be aroused, and yet because of his detachment, there may be nothing that he desires to do, so that it bubbles up in laughter.

Laughter is an effervescing of an emotion. It is always the result of an emotion which has nothing to do. Instead of being repressed or producing any other states, *viz.*, hate, anger, etc., it lifts an emotional safety valve, causing the pressure to be lowered and the noise which is produced by the chattering of the valve, is called laughter.

Bergson says that when pity is aroused the person is unable to laugh. He deduces from this that laughter is not emotional. But it is quite erroneous to reach to this conclusion from the said example. Fear kills pity more effectively than laughter. Does this mean then that pity is not emotional? Emotion is a mental state. There cannot be two different states of the same mind at the same time. One state naturally dies out before another is manifested. This does not imply that the first was not emotional. We have no reason to believe like that.

(3) Mind has two different spheres—Instinct and Intelligence. Instinct is unlike intelligence and need not learn from experience. Intelligence implies experince and needs a previous acquaintance to work upon. For example, a baby sucks as soon as he comes into this world, but to speak and express his views he requires training. The former act is instinctive, and the latter is intellectual.

Bergson states that we laugh with our intelligence. The insufficiency of this axiom can immediately be seen were some one

to devote even 5 minutes to deliberate on the point. Although it does not appear till some time after birth, yet it has, doubtless, all the earmarks of an instinctive reaction. It is not unlike crying and sucking. The baby laughs without any training or previous experience. It is clear, therefore, that Bergson's conception, that laughter comes from the intelligence is scientifically un-psychological and does not result from empirical observation.

Considering the question as to why is the Negro comic, M. Bergson says :—

“ There is a logic of the imagination which is not the logic of reason,” and “ It is something like the logic of dreams,.....” (p. 41).

‘ Logic ‘of imagination,’ ‘logic of reason,’ and ‘logic of dreams’ are bad uses. Logic is a word which has a precise meaning. It is erroneous to use it at our convenience. Process is a more appropriate word that could be used here.

I have spent a little time to show that Bergson has committed several psychological errors in treating the subject of laughter. Now I do not wish to overweight these pages with any unnecessary description of this sort. Instead I would endeavour to write a short criticism on the theories of laughter as propounded by him and others, which I hope, will be of some interest to the readers.

M. Bergson says :—“ It is not his sudden change of attitude that raises a laugh, but rather the involuntary element in this change—his clumsiness, in fact. Perhaps there was a stone on the road. He should have altered his pace or avoided the obstacle. Instead of that, through lack of elasticity, through absent-mindedness and a kind of physical obstinacy, as a result in fact of rigidity or of momentum, the muscles continued to perform the same movement when the circumstances of the case called for something else. That is the reason of the man’s fall, and also of the people’s laughter.” (P. 9.)

He means by this example that it is the absent-mindedness and clumsiness that is comic. This is a strange and posing thing, of course ! To my mind there would be more laughter if a man

suddenly sat down in the way—that is voluntariness—than if he just happened to stumble and fall.

There is another point which demands an equal consideration. It is not the clumsiness alone that causes laughter, but clumsiness plus the abasement; the latter is a most essential factor, which he has ignored.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the infringement of one's will adds to one's own inferiority. When the observer sees the passer-by trip and fall; his feeling of superiority is greatly enhanced. This enhancement creates a feeling of pleasure, which is the fundamental cause of laughter. And that is why the clumsiness, however mechanical it may be, if it fails to create a feeling of superiority by infringing one's will, would never cause laughter.

"We laugh every time a person gives us the impression of being a thing." (P. 58.)

In order to support this theory Bergson instances Sancho Panza tossed in the air like a foot-ball. I do not know how he has concluded this from that example. We do not laugh at all at things that are inanimate. The rocks, the plants, and all other things devoid of life never betray any laughable element. They neither do anything ridiculous, nor exhibit a perception of anything absurd done in their presence. We, doubtless, laugh at Sancho's waving arms and legs, not because he gives us the impression of being a thing, but his tossing creates the feeling of superiority and pleasure in the observer. The comicalness lies in the insult to Sancho's dignity.

Incongruity.

One of the oldest theories of laughter is that of incongruity. Deformities of any sort, two-headed or six-fingered men, spilling ink, falling down (specially of respected persons) these are all examples of incongruities. They are said to be the cause of laughter. At first, this appears to be promising. But any one who devotes a few minutes to deliberate on the subject will find the invalidity of the theory.

There are two points to which I wish to draw your attention: (1) Many incongruous things are not comic, and (2) some things are comic that do not fall under the head of incongruity. Spencer, in his essay, has illustrated several examples of incongruities that are not comic. Had incongruous things been the cause of the comic, they would invariably and infallibly produce laughter in all men and at all times. But empirical observations do not agree with this. Instead they prove that incongruous things often arouse many feelings—such as hate, disgust, anger, irritation and at times pain—that have no concern with laughter, whatsoever.

Aristotle's definition of the ridiculous is, "what is out of time and place, but without danger." If there be pain and danger, he calls them tragic and not comic. Emerson, in his essay 'The Comic' has accepted this definition; but to my mind it is very poor. Because it does not tell all we know about laughter.

Contrast, artificiality, surprise, unexpectedness, a descent from the large to the small, a form of sex, interruption, rigidity, absent-mindedness, error, infringement of freedom, weakness, failure, imitation, stupidity, monotony, lack of harmony, automatism, inelasticity, stiffness, artificiality, etc., are some of the more recent suggestions. A theory of the comic must cover every funny fact. But a little impartial study will convince the readers that not even one of them is altogether satisfactory.

It is very difficult to draw a line between what is comic and what is not, not even with the same man. The comic is what we think comic. Every man has his own ideas of what should and what should not be so. I think something absurd and ridiculous while you consider the same thing to be quite sane and reasonable. It is not unlike even with the same man. For what one finds funny at one time he may not consider so at another, although the condition remains the same. For instance, a hole in the trousers (other than your own) is funny. The bigger the hole and the more respectable the man, the greater will be the laughter. But if it were to be in the trousers of some one very closely asso-

ciated with you by reason of love, then it would not appear to be comic. Nay, it would arouse in you a feeling of anger and resentment against those who laugh.

In postulating the same idea I instance to you another example. A young boy had a pet dog which he loved very much. It died, and as a token of special favour it was kept stuffed in glass case. Once upon a time, his grandmother came to see him. He lovingly took her to the case. She looked at it for some time and then admired it. The boy exclaimed amazingly well and said :— “Mother, when you die you will also be stuffed and kept in a case like Moti (his late pet dog).” Obviously enough the boy and the spectators laughed, but the old-lady was very much enraged. Whatever may be the ultimate cause of laughter, it can decidedly be ascertained from this example that the comic entirely depends upon the man who laughs and not upon the object.

I could multiply examples almost indefinitely but it is not necessary. The elemental idea of all these illustrations is that the idea of comic differs from man to man. It does not require much effort of imagination to realise this.

One would very easily reject these theories were some one to propound any other theory that would cover all the facts and act as a clear and sufficient explanation. I have already called your attention to various theories that have been propounded from time to time. Now I will put forth my own theory and attempt to show its validity.

Any living thing is comic provided—

- (a) It is pleasing ;
- (b) It does not arouse any specific interest or emotion ;
- (c) It creates a feeling of superiority in the observer ;
- (d) It is different from that person’s beliefs and experience.

Let us discuss each of them in order :—

- (a) Inanimate objects never arouse any mirth, we should remember. It is only animate objects that are laughed at.

Things have the same properties for all of us. It is in their meanings that the difference lies. For instance, the feeling that I have for a dear friend of mine, is entirely different from the feeling of that person who has been very badly insulted by him. That is, the same person arouses a feeling of love in one and the feeling of anger in another. An honest man seeing a policeman, has a feeling quite different from that of a thief. It proves, therefore, that the meaning of a thing varies, very considerably, in different persons : the same thing can be ugly disgusting, painful, irritative, annoying, embarrassing, or funny to different persons. It is this familiar fact that has led me to say that the comic element does not depend entirely in the thing itself but in the meaning interpreted by the man who laughs.

We laugh always at things that are pleasing. Displeasing things are never laughed at. It is a fundamental element without which nothing can be ludicrous.

(b) Another important point is that it should not arouse any specific interest or feeling. Comic laughter can only exist in a comfortably pleasant state of mind unoccupied by deep interest or emotion. It will not occur at all if the object arouses any kind of active interest or emotion, either unpleasant or thrilling. We laugh at it as long as it does not arouse any degree of emotion (other than that of laughter). But as soon as it begins to influence us in the way which we cannot bear, we are emotionally disturbed and the laughable element is suddenly lost.

(c) The third element is that of the feeling of superiority. Unless and until the observer feels himself superior to the man at whom he laughs, he will not laugh. I laugh at a monkey, a boy, a friend; but not at a king, or at those persons whom I think superior to me. Sufficient has already been said in this connection, and I do not think it necessary to discuss it any more. If the readers try to remember what they have read in the previous pages they will find no difficulty in understanding this principle.

(d) The fourth element for a thing to be comic is that it must be different from that person's beliefs and experience. It

is an admitted fact of psychology that the exuberance of experience of anything decreases its power to stimulate the mind. The more experience a mind gains the less power it has to respond. We all know that when we are sitting in our study, we are often found indulging in frivolous attempts and mental reverie and the articles of the room fail to draw our attention to them, for they have been experienced several times. Persons living elsewhere find Bombay and Calcutta much more interesting and pleasing than the inhabitants of these very places. We may feel a touch of any insect sitting on our body, but the presence of the coat, the shirt, and the trousers is not felt always. The principle is so simple and commonly known that it would be an insult to the readers' intelligence to multiply examples of such kind.

The theory that is suggested above, contains all the essentials and a little study of it will reveal to the readers the validity of the theory.

One more suggestion and I am through. The theory which purports to tell all about laughter, cannot be stretched to cover the tickle laugh, and the baby's laugh in general. Why should the child laugh when tickled, is a poser. Our theory does not satisfactorily answer this. But it is evident that tickling is also a stimulus (in terms of stimulus-response psychology) to laughter. This is a physiological question and as such we have not touched it here. Only psychological elements are considered, for the subject is too difficult to be reduced to one single theory. Physiological stimuli will be considered on some future occasion.

UDAI BHANU

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BOMBAY.

We shall now leave Madras to see what was happening on the opposite coast of the Deccan. Everybody knows that the Mahrattas remained the dominant power of Western India till the end of the 18th century and for long the British possessions there were confined to narrow limits so that the Bombay Presidency, during the period under question, was yet in an inchoate state. The circumstance acted as a great hindrance to the accomplishment of important arrangements for improvement of administration and resources of revenue in the province. The final overthrow of the Marhattas came in 1818 and two years before that the Government had just started an enquiry to ascertain if salt could be turned into a profitable source of revenue in the Presidency. But many were the years that elapsed before any definite result was achieved.

The Government, however, derived some revenue from salt even during these early years of its rule, though it was insignificant. The salt revenue, which was but one among many small miscellaneous items, was a hotchpotch of diverse kinds of receipts. In fact, "the whole subject of Bombay salt revenue" during these early years was a "mass of confusion."¹

But before we proceed to it, we shall do well to give here a brief account of the salt supply of the province in order that we may follow the *immediate subject of our study* more clearly. Along the whole of her long seaboard, almost in every district, the

¹ T. L. Peacock, Asstt. Examiner of Indian Correspondence, before the Select Committee on Salt, 1836. Q. 770. Wrote the Court of Directors in their despatch of 10th June, 1829 : "The mode of raising the revenue from salt at your Presidency has hitherto been very complicated differing greatly in different places."

manufacture of sea-salt was carried on in Bombay by the process of evaporation. Salt was also manufactured in the interior on the eastern boundary of the salt desert, known as the little Runn of Cutch, but its proportion was even less than a tenth of the total home supply. Besides, a negligibly small amount was produced by lixiviation of saline earth in a few villages. The consumption of this last class of salt was strictly confined to the lower order of people. The supply, on the whole, was so abundant that not only was it sufficient for internal needs but a large amount of the surplus was regularly exported to other parts of India and even beyond it. No doubt Bombay also received imports of foreign salt by sea from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs and by land from the surrounding native states and foreign possessions ; but the quantity thus obtained had always been very small.

The owners of salt works fell into three broad classes, (1) State, (2) Private individuals subject to the original proprietary claim of state as overlord, (3) Holders of free land, the Government's claims on which had been either foregone or alienated. The Government however was the principal manufacturer so that, as James Mill said, monopoly in a certain sense of the word might be said to have existed. The total revenue consisted of the following items :

- (1) Income from Government-owned salt works under heads of profits from works managed by the Government themselves and of rent from those farmed out to individuals. In certain places the Government reserved for its own salt the right to priority of sale and was thus in a position to command a price somewhat higher than the competitive.
- (2) Land revenue assessed on the salt pans in some places and quit rent realized from others.
- (3) Duty levied in kind or in money on the produce of some private salt works.
- (4) Customs on import and export by sea.
- (5) Duty on the inland transit of the article.

On analysis of the above heads, we may, on the whole, say that the tax was partly transit duty, partly excise and partly monopoly gains from Government salt works.¹ For, it is not certain whether the receipt on account of rent was more of the nature of a deduction from surplus than of an exaction, and so far as the export duty was concerned, its incidence was, in all probability, on the foreign consumers. The import, too, was not appreciable enough to make the duty on it worth consideration.

It should further be noted that the freedom of the Government to obtain monopoly profits must have been from the nature of the case limited, and the excise duty, far from being general, was "of too trifling a nature"² even where it was levied. The transit duty was then the general form of salt tax so that inhabitants in the neighbourhood of pans consumed in most cases untaxed salt. It was chiefly in the interior that people had to bear the double burden of a tax and especially heavy costs of land transport in those days of miserable communication. The incidence of the transit tax showed wide disparities from locality to locality since the rates, to which the commodity was subjected, were not determined on any uniform and definite principle. It was not unoften in those days that a commodity in transit was subjected to duty more than once. It was calculated on a subsequent occasion that the duty on salt levied in various shapes came to about 3 as. 4 ps. per maund.³

It is not possible to estimate with any degree of certitude the total salt revenue of the Presidency during this early period. The figures that are available merely add to our confusion by their irreconcilably conflicting statements. In an Appendix to the First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons

¹ See Pedder's evidence before Select Committee on Finance, Q. 4142.

² Bombay Government's despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 18th June, 1823.

³ Final minute (6th May, 1826) of Mr. Bruce, a member of the Bombay Customs Committee, 1825, who fully investigated the subject of salt tax in the Presidency.

on Indian territories of the session of 1853, the total gross and net revenues are stated to have been Rs. 2,35,242 and Rs. 2,08,532 respectively. But the Salt Commissioner of 1856 was inclined to believe, from a consideration of various documents, that the figures represented only the proceeds of the import at private salt works or of what was then called the excise on salt. It seems that the transit duties, on an average, accounted for another two lacs of rupees.

III

From 1818 to 1836.

In 1813 the Company's Charter was renewed for a further period of twenty years. By the terms of the Charter the Company was deprived of its monopoly in Indian Commerce. The Industrial revolution was now in its full swing in England and the new class of industrial and commercial magnates that had grown up in the country were naturally very eager to have the benefit of the Indian market, which promised to absorb unlimited quantities of goods. The agitation had no doubt begun long ago and a strenuous but fruitless effort was made to secure this freedom of trade even at the time of the renewal of the Charter in 1793. But in 1813 a special concurrence of circumstances —the continental system of Napoleon which had shut England out from the European markets and the stress of the greatest of its wars that peculiarly demanded for the country “every possible facility for the exertion of its commercial spirit and the employment of its commercial capital”¹ were forces strong enough to sweep away all the arguments of the Company to the contrary.

The East Indian Company was reduced in its Indian commerce to the position of only one among several competitors

¹ Papers relating to East India Company's Charter, Letter to the Rt. Hon'ble Dundas, 13th Jan., 1809.

subjected to the payment of like duties and customs as the private traders. It now occupied itself in revising its existing customs regulations in order to equalise the public burdens and give every possible facility to the trade of India. But the completion of the necessary revolutions had to wait till the conclusion of the war and all the arrangements consequent upon the treaties of peace had been completed.¹

In the interest of their respective monopolies both the Governments at Bengal and Madras had pursued the policy of closed doors against importation of salt from other lands. No doubt Bengal had from after 1795 partially removed the embargo on import from Madras and in extraordinary years of flood when the domestic supply fell short of the need it had drawn upon other foreign sources such as Ceylon, regions bordering on the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, etc. But such import was for the service of the monopoly itself and its quantity depended upon the pleasure of the Government varying according to the success or failure of the home manufacture. Now that it was open to foreign merchants to export salt on private account into India, the authorities had naturally to fall back upon their powers to levy duties to safeguard their own monopoly revenues.

On the 10th May, 1816 the Select Committee of the Court of Directors addressed a letter to the Governor-General in Council asking the latter to prepare and transmit home without the least delay "a regulation imposing such a rate of duty on the importation of all foreign salt as shall have the effect of securing the revenue derived from that article."² Accordingly in 1817 the Bengal Government with the approval of the home authorities imposed a countervailing customs duty of Rs. 3

¹ See letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated 29th July, 1814. Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee, 1831.

² Letter from the Select Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 10th May, 1816, App. No. 17 to the Select Committee, 1831.

(sicca) per maund.¹ But the high duty on salt, be it noted, had to be adopted not from any dread of competition from English salt for its import into India was not yet thought of as a very probable contingency. It was adopted because it was feared that merchants who were permitted by law to touch and trade at Cape Verde Islands in course of their voyage to the East Indies, might throw into Calcutta markets cheaply produced salt brought from there.² In Madras the ban remained as before, on salt brought by land and on salt imported by sea was fixed a prohibitory duty of Rs. 350 per garce. Even Bombay contemplated the imposition of a prohibitory duty but the matter was postponed till fuller information could be obtained as to how far such a measure was necessary for the protection of salt revenue.

It was for long an oft-discussed question if it were possible to develop a profitable import trade into Bengal from Great Britain with advantage to both countries. Export of a whole cargo of salt from such a great distance, it is superfluous to say, could not be a paying proposition; it was possible only as ballast. Since the trade between England and India was one of large export of raw materials and other bulky goods from the former and import of manufactured articles from the latter, a large surplus of tonnage was available for the outward voyage so that salt might be taken merely as a dead weight to complete a cargo.

But it was realized that even in such circumstances was it not possible to export salt to Madras and Bombay which had extraordinary facilities for producing salt at trifling costs.³ It was probable, if at all, only in Bengal where the brine was

¹ Regulation XV of 1817, Regulation XV of 1825, Act XIV of 1836.

In ordinary circumstances the article like all others not expressly enumerated would have been held subject when imported by sea on a British or Indian built bottom to a custom duty of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 5% according to origin. British or foreign, and to a duty of 10%, if imported from a foreign country on a foreign bottom.

² See letter from Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 10th May, 1816, App. No. 17 to the Select Committee, 1831.

³ See evidence of Sir T. Pyeroff before the Committee on Finance 1871-74—his reply to Q. No. 3842.

excessively dilute owing to the enormous quantity of water poured down from the whole of the Gangetic range into the Bay of Bengal and the expenses of production were consequently rather high. So long as the company had the exclusive trade, the Government of Bengal was always reluctant to risk the secure profit of its monopoly having recourse to an untried alternative, especially since there was a strong prejudice of the native population in favour of the country salt which enabled it to command more than the average price in the market.

With the opening of India to free commerce the question naturally came to the fore. The Bengal monopoly became the target of attack from the first. A loud and persistent cry, growing from day to day in volume and intensity, went up from the Cheshire manufacturers and Liverpool merchants that the Bengal duty was prohibitively high and had been intentionally kept at that level to eliminate foreign competition altogether. But as recently as 1817 it was they who had urged on the English Committee on salt that sat in that year the necessity of a protective duty in order to safeguard the domestic manufacture. And yet it was till then open to serious doubt if English salt could have been laid down in the Calcutta market with normal profit.¹

Subsequent events had amply proved the utter hollowness of the above contention. Whatever might have been the intentions of the Company, the duty that was levied actually proved to have been rather a little favourable to the foreign importer. And judging from the gradually increasing importation there could have been very little room for doubt that it was far from being a protecting duty.

Still the English merchants had legitimate grounds of complaint. So long as the Bengal Government was not bound by

¹ At that time serious doubts were entertained by many if salt would prove as a suitable ballast. Some regarded coal as more suitable for the purpose. Salt, it was said, made the ship labour. Vessels carrying general cargo objected to taking salt lest it should have damaged delicate goods. Further, the question of available tonnage was somewhat uncertain.

any definite statutory price, there was always the danger that at any moment it might, with the express object of ruining the importers, use its power to throw a largely increased supply on the market and thus depress the price considerably below its usual level. Again, the sub-monopoly which the system was believed to have fostered was a standing menace to all genuine traders. Thus it was not the import duty but the uncertainty that attached to the Bengal system of monopoly which was the real obstacle in the way of proper development of the English trade with Bengal. In other words, the sting of the monopoly was in its tail.

But in the regular campaign that was started, the ground of attack was never confined to this or any other single point only. It is a stupendous, almost an impossible task to sift the bewildering diversity of arguments—an elaborate tissue of truths, half-truths, exaggerations, absurdities and gross falsehoods—that were marshalled against the monopoly.¹ Commercial jealousy put on the mask of the humanitarian and for the first time paraded an unbounded solicitude for the poor Indian ryots who were forced to live on dear salt.²

PARIMAL RAY

¹ Cf. ".....a monopoly of a prime necessary of life to the poor is established in a pestilential climate, carried on by faced labour, where lives are annually lost by disease and the attacks of wild beasts, the sole advantage of which is a large revenue to the Government." Rickards, India or Fact, etc., Vol. I, p. 647.

² Cf. "The monopoly is assailed in the House of Commons and at Liverpool, nominally because it is a grinding tax indefensible in theory, vexatious in practice—really, because certain great communities consider that a change in our system of salt management would make the markets of Bengal, wholly dependent for their supply upon the salt of Great Britain." Minute by H. M. Parker, Junior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, dated the 2nd November, 1835.

HOW DID JESUS INTERPRET HIMSELF ?

IV. The Galilean Ministry

" Now after John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, the time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe in the gospel." (*Mk.* 1.14, 15.) According to *Matthew*, Jesus repeats the message of John : ' Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' John had said that the Messiah of the Kingdom of Heaven would baptize in Holy Spirit and in fire, and Jesus may well have had these words in mind as he started to preach. There was hidden in his message, (as we read on) both the joyful power of the Holy Spirit, and the sacrificial play of fire; not only are the poor and meek happy (*Mt.* 5) and the disciples full of power and joy in doing Jesus' work after him (*Lk.* 10.17), but men are also called away from home to a life of rigor (*Mk.* 1.17), and whoever would save his life must lose it (*Mk.* 8.36). In the end, the fiery baptism will test the courage of the children of the Kingdom, and consume the disobedient. (*Lk.* 12.49-59.)

But Jesus knew his mission was different from that of John, and even different from that which John expected the Messiah to accomplish. For Jesus the idea of the Kingdom of God merged with the idea of the Will of God. The New Age of the apocalyptic writers was off in the future, and up in heaven. It would be imposed by physical force, wielded by God and His angels. The time of its arrival could be worked out by obscure calculation. Preaching was secret, and covered over with cryptic symbols. They were tabulators. But the Kingdom of God as Jesus knew it was a creation of his own mind working on the needs of contemporary life and the exalted ideals of God's moral prophets. It was within him—he was its chief exponent. ' I am the state ' said Louis XIV. Italian democracy lived in the ideals of Mazzini

before it was realized among the Italians. The old prophets looked with righteous wrath on the sin of the nation, and preached doom. The apocalyptic writers looked on sin and national helplessness, and advocated what seemed to them the only possible remedy—the evil old world must be magically replaced by a righteous new one. But Jesus looks out on sin and ignorance, and his heart swells with divine pity. With the prophets, he confronts those who cause the wrong; with the apocalyptists, he tells of a new age when wrongs will be righted; but he also feels within him *now* the impelling energy of the God of love which empowers him to rise above present despair, and go forth to preach immediately, ‘The Kingdom of God is at hand! It is within you’ (*Lk.* 17.21). The peculiar Kingdom of God that Jesus preached took its rise in himself, and from him as a source it spread into the hearts of those who were touched by his message. To Jesus as to Jewish thought, God always reigns potentially—his Sovereignty holds the earth and all therein. It is now to spread in actuality by leaps and bounds in the minds of men. In its completion and fulness, it will coalesce with the ideal Kingdom. The coming of the Kingdom of God is the reverse side of the diffusion of the sovereignty of God.

As the Kingdom was visualized most clearly in the mind of Jesus, so he was its chief source—in a word, its Messiah. But Jesus preached the objective Kingdom, and only incidentally and in veiled hints threw out the impression that he was its source and Messiah, when the nature of the situation led him to make an unpremeditated disclosure. (*Mk.* 2.10, 28 ; *Mt.* 11.4.) Yet Jesus felt himself to be the source of the Kingdom only as the jet is the source of the spray. The real source of the Kingdom was God—Jesus was his Messiah. As such, he must do what God would do—reach out to the people in love; comfort, warn, teach, heal, cast out the powers of Satan, become an active medium whereby God’s Spirit would burn through the people, arousing, encouraging and destroying, until his sovereignty was fully established. He himself might be destroyed in the task, when bitter opposition would

oppose the searching light, but God would not fail. Greater works would others do by his power, and the reign of God would spread by multiplication till its consummation would be sealed by the arrival of the Kingdom in power. In less than a year the method and manner of this consummation was conceived by Jesus rather clearly, but at the beginning of his ministry, he probably had vague glimpses into the future, while he applied his powers to the task at hand.

Accordingly, he sets forth to preach, teach and heal. His great aim is to bring God's message, as he feels it in himself, before the people. God's message is always an urgent one to those who sense him keenly. It was imminent, even immanent, to Jesus. The Kingdom is at hand—now or never, is the cry. Repent, turn, enter the Kingdom. Take it by storm. Meet God's requirements. Do you know what is demanded of the sons of the Kingdom? A righteousness surpassing and fulfilling all that has gone before and is practised now. It was because Jesus knew God so well that he could speak with authority on the requirements of the Kingdom.

From the time that he set out to preach in Galilee until his withdrawal to Tyre and Sidon, Jesus does not change his tactics. He preaches, teaches, heals, and feeds in a strenuous campaign to announce the coming of the Kingdom and sow the seed of God's rule that will grow and reproduce till men are ripe for the final consummation. Jesus calls men to follow him in 'fishing for men' (*Mk.* 1.17). His words and actions are new and joyful (*Mk.* 1.27; 2.19, 21). He is conscious of a mission to tour the villages (*Mk.* 1.38). He forgives sins with authority (*Mk.* 2.5). He comes to call sinners to repentance, rather than the righteous (*Mk.* 2.17). The seed he sows will not everywhere take effect, but in good soil, it will yield abundant return (*Mk.* 4.8). His disciples multiply his own work in preaching and casting out 'demons' (*Mk.* 3.15). God uses man to bring in the Kingdom, and soon, through this process of rapid, unseen growth, comes the harvest.

We notice two essential features in this campaign : (1) Jesus is intensely eager to sow the seed of the Kingdom, and (2) he assumes the highest authority. He speaks for God, and he speaks for the Kingdom. Who is it that can speak directly for God and the Kingdom but the Messiah? Can we imagine that, this answer never entered his mind? That he never turned his thoughts inward? Or that when he did, he could not see the Messiah there? The repeated questioning of his authority (*Mk.* 2.10; 2.28; 3.4; 7.5; 8.11), must have forced him to do so. From the beginning of his ministry Jesus felt himself to be the Christ.

Let us look further, and find the *content* of Jesus' conception of the Kingdom and his own Messiahship. As God's Messiah, Jesus was called upon to announce or preach the Kingdom; for not only was it coming, but it had already come in him and he knew it. Why did he regard teaching also as a function of his Messiahship? Since the Kingdom was that of a just and holy God, only those could enter it who obeyed God's will. But Jesus was keenly sensitive to the practically perverted presentation of the will of God, which the leading classes held before the people. They were blind guides leading the blind (*Lk.* 6.39). Hence he felt constrained to do the leading himself. Even the humble and willing could not enter the Kingdom unless they were taught, and led to accept with freedom the true will of God; moreover, they should know the ways of the Kingdom, if they were to be in it. So Jesus becomes teacher, seeking to strip off the meticulous and burdensome traditions (*Mt.* 23.4) and present the law of the Kingdom in all its freedom, depth and scope. He teaches the congregations in their synagogues (*Mt.* 4.23), his band of disciples in private rooms (*Lk.* 6.12.13), and the multitudes in the open air. (*Mk.* 4.1).

1. In the synagogue, his words come with authority, and often meet with opposition. (*Mk.* 1.22; *Lk.* 4.28.) In Luke 4.28, we are told that he proclaims a message of social deliverance, and likens himself to the ideal prophet of *Isaiah* 61. No doubt he

made a practice of taking some great theme and applying it to the contemporary situation.

2. Most of the teaching preserved in the Gospels was spoken to the disciples. As they were to be other selves for Jesus, they should have an adequate understanding of the nature of the Kingdom, and its relation to the life of the age. Nearly all of the maxims of Jesus arose out of the various events in the progress of the work; and as we read we can see the relation. (*Lk.* 9.47.) Only in *Matthew*, 5-8, and to a less degree, in *Luke* 6, does Jesus seem to deliver a long, formal discourse—the famous ‘Sermon on the Mount.’ This is due, it seems, to the author, rather than to Jesus. It is likely that on this occasion, Jesus did little more than tell his disciples what kind of people would be blessed and enter the Kingdom, and what was the deep significance of God’s laws in the Kingdom; in other words, the ‘Beatitudes’ and the ‘Higher Righteousness.’ All the rest of the passages in this collection of *Matthew’s* are either found in a different or more natural context in *Luke*, or can be easily and fittingly attached to some event now bare of verbal clothing. *Matthew’s* ‘Sermon on the Mount’ is clearly literary. Although the multitude is mentioned, yet it is to his disciples that Jesus speaks. (*Mt.* 5.1; *Lk.* 6.20.) Yet the group was probably larger than the Twelve.

As to the Beatitudes, whose account shall we trust, *Luke’s* or *Matthew’s*? This question bears upon our problem, because we want to know whether Jesus believed himself sent to any special class. Luke is known for his championship, both in the Gospel and in *Acts*, of the poor against the rich; Matthew for his tendency to moralize and reinterpret for the Christian community. But while these different views raise a problem, they solve it. Each elicits a truth. Jesus as well as Luke sympathizes with the poor against the rich. (*Mk.* 10.25; *Mt.* 11.5.) And yet Jesus with ‘Matthew’ refers not merely to the poor in worldly goods, but also to pious, simple folk who are more or less oppressed, unhappy, and disappointed, the ‘Aniim’ of the *Psalms* and *Isaiah* 61. (*Lk.* 4.18.) The ‘poor in spirit’ includes ‘poor’

but excludes the rich and arrogant oppressors. The rich, as a class, were not 'poor in spirit,' although an individual rich man might be, and so enter the Kingdom of God—'with God all things are possible.' (*Mk.* 10.27.)

Thus Jesus' mission, as he conceived it, was directed *mainly* to a special class, to all those who were held in bondage by economic and 'religious' oppression to those who need help and whose spirit is poor and humble because the need of God's help is felt, to the exploited, the outcasts, the 'sinners,' the childlike, the repentant (*Mk.* 2.17; *Lk.* 6.20; 4.18). It is a spiritual rather than an economic distinction, yet the humble are generally in poverty, and the proud in luxury.

In the discourse of the 'Higher Righteousness,' Jesus says that he comes to fulfil the law. What, then, was Jesus' attitude towards the Jewish law? Was his mission to destroy it or complete it? Undoubtedly he meant to fulfil it. He says so. (*Mt.* 5.17.) Moreover, not once during his ministry, does he condemn the Scripture or the law. For he regards the law as essentially spiritual: it is the *intent* that is in the mind of God. Therefore, Jesus can freely interpret one part of Scripture by another, in an unprecedented way, because he feels he knows the mind of God. The teachings of Jesus simply carry out the intention of the law to its ultimate reach, and so fulfil the law.

But practically, since the law was considered a fixed thing, and was used literally, such an attitude destroyed it. However this may be, Jesus taught the new (*Mk.* 2.22), but regarded it as fulfilling the old. The coming of the Kingdom of God with its supreme and searching law was something completely new under the sun, yet it was the fulfilment of the hopes of the pious.

In his several declaration here, and in his other teaching, Jesus takes the old law and applies it to the motive rather than the act (*Mt.* 5.22). He also extends its scope to include the stranger and the enemy (*Mt.* 5.44; *Lk.* 10.30). Furthermore he preaches non-resistance to oppressors (*Mt.* 5.39), stresses salvation through service and sacrifice (*Mk.* 6.31), and champions the oppressed

classes (*Mk.* 6.20). Whether these ideas can be found in Judaism before him is a barren question for our subject. It is emphasis that counts. Jesus concentrated upon the few great necessary principles of life, and rather ignored the rest. Ceremony was incidental. (*Mk.* 7.2a.) He stressed the 'permanently relevant.' His divergence from popular practice is an index of his originality. Two factors are necessary to determine a man's conception of his mission: what he says, and what he does. And Jesus practised the principles he preached. So we know that he conceived his mission as God's Messiah on earth to seek the lost in service and sacrifice, to love enemies and not resist them. This is a clue for interpreting his later journey to Jerusalem, and his death on the cross.

3. Jesus also taught the multitudes. While he drew no social distinctions, and worked with the rich as well as the poor (*Lk.* 8.23; 18.18, 24), his Messianic consciousness sent him especially to the common people, for they needed him and were open to his message. The divine pity in his heart mingled with the prophetic tradition in favour of the 'People of the Land.' "And coming forth, he saw a great multitude, and he had compassion on them, because they were as sheep having no shepherd, and he began to teach them many things" (*Mk.* 6.34). For the same reasons that he taught the disciples, he taught the common people. It was all one process—the disciples were his intermediaries. He presented the Kingdom in a way to make men want to enter it (*Mt.* 13.44), and also told them of its nature and growth (*Mk.* 4.26; *Mt.* 13.44). God's Kingdom was bound to come, but it was the rule of God in the heart, inner renewal in the highest morality. In fact, its coming could be hastened by a ready and enlightened acceptance of God's rule now, and Jesus was keen to arouse the *faith* that would bring the Kingdom in. Here we meet with the problem that underlies our whole understanding of Jesus' thought in this regard. Did he think of the Kingdom as John did—coming on the clouds of glory at some near

point of time but demanding an ethical repentance? Or did he think of it as growing gradually in the hearts of men till it should fill the earth? Both and neither. To Jesus this distinction would not have been valid. We see here two strands of thought, and if we were to choose the one that would best represent Jesus, it would be the latter, for in that, he was original, and therefore, most himself. But the conception was a unit in the mind of Jesus, and this unity was made possible for him by his Jewish conception of God. For God, on the one hand, is the Creator and Ruler of Heaven and earth, and he can do with them what he pleases. But, on the other hand, he is loving, just, and wholly ethical in his demands; and allegiance to him must be free. So then to Jesus the Kingdom was *bound* to come, and at its coming would transform the earth, judge the peoples, and usher in an everlasting age of righteousness. But the *process* by which it comes must be that of individual repentance, renewal and moral contagion—a process of spiritual growth and spread. This we learn from the parables of the Kingdom. These parables reveal Jesus' fundamental conceptions better than any other recorded material, for in their simple art, deep wisdom and originality, they are the most likely of all his sayings to be authentic. Moreover, they seem to be the heart of his popular teaching. Hence we should make them the norm in our estimate of Jesus' thoughts. In the parable of the seed growing of itself (*Mk.* 4.26), we have a simple, true, and comprehensive picture of Jesus' conception of the Kingdom. Jesus and his disciples, and any others who want to help (*Mk.* 9.40), sow the seed by preaching the coming of the Kingdom with its laws of inward righteousness, and by casting out the powers of Satan. But God brings about the growth which is both rapid and sure. 'When the fruit permits,'—when the spiritual, social growth has reached maturity, when the people have all been evangelized, when the humble and willing have accepted, and the haughty and wicked have rejected the message of the Kingdom—then comes the harvest, judgment or consummation. Nothing more is left to be done.

The sudden revelation of the Kingdom in its glory is the climax of organic growth. The parable of the mustard seed shows how an insignificant beginning quickly makes an imposing spiritual structure (*Mt. 13.31*). The parable of the wheat and the tares shows that good and evil will grow together till judgment. God alone can distinguish the good from the bad. To destroy the wicked now would be to harm the good, for persons are inextricably bound together in society. God will dispose when the good news has fully spread (*Mt. 13.24*). The key phrase 'when the fruit permits' shows that the coming of the Kingdom is not arbitrary, but contingent upon spiritual progress, upon the activity of men. Yet far be it from Jesus to think that the coming will be slow, with a chance that men may fail. Its coming is certain and speedy, for God wills it; it's *bound* to come; God's Spirit, working through his servants, is bringing it in. The teaching of Jesus was fundamentally ethical because he expected the growth of moral forces to bring about the glorious coming.

As Messiah, or representative of the Kingdom, Jesus would regard himself as a healer as well as a preacher and teacher in the giving of health, for the powers of Satan which cause sickness, demon-possession and death would be overthrown, and God's Kingdom established. These works of power Jesus did not regard so much as 'signs' or 'wonders' as simply the manifestation of God's Spirit, an evidence of the nearness of the Kingdom (*Mt. 12.28*). As such, they depended on faith and the sense of forgiveness. (*Lk. 5.20*.) He rejoiced that others as well as he could do these works (*Lk. 10.18*), and therefore sees 'Satan fallen as lightning from heaven.' In reply to the message from John the Baptist asking whether he is the Messiah, he sums up his healing work with satisfaction, and asks John to judge for himself. Yet he never liked to have his main preaching and teaching ministry entirely diverted by some individual needing attention. If he had yielded at all times to requests for cure, the spiritually hungry audiences would have degenerated into begging mobs. On the other hand, he could not turn away even the least; so he

healed, and enjoined silence, that his main or preaching work might not be thwarted.

As a preacher of the Kingdom, Jesus was aided by his disciples, and opposed by the Pharisees and Scribes. There was much good, no doubt in the Pharisees, but to the fiery, prophetic soul of Jesus, all their teachings merely obscured the main issues. "Leaving the commandments of God," he told them, "ye hold the traditions of men" (*Mk.* 7.8). There was not even ground for argument between Jesus and the Pharisees, they stood upon different principles : the Pharisees upon the law, and Jesus upon his prophetic sense of mission, as well as the vital needs of the 'People of the Land.' Conflict was inevitable. After each encounter, Jesus withdraws to a more fruitful situation (*Mk.* 2.13; 3.7; 7.24; 8.13). His aim is to get the message of God to the people. To this end, he gathers a group of regular disciples. (*Mk.* 3.14.) He needs them both to provide comforting companionship and to multiply his efforts as apostles of the Kingdom. But *Luke* 6 gives us another insight into his reason for choosing a definite group. He has just been in conflict with the Pharisees. "They were filled with madness, and conferred one with another what they should do to Jesus." Soon after, Jesus goes up into a mountain, and spends a whole night in prayer to God. Can we not imagine, that at this critical moment, when his life was threatened and the outcome of his work was uncertain, that he took measures to safeguard the continuance of his message by appointing a regular ministry. (*Lk.* 6.12, 13, 27.) Soon after, rejected at Nazareth (*Mk.* 6.6), he is convinced that more and more the burdens must fall upon the disciples. So he sends them forth to do his work. He has met persecution, and so he predicts it for them (*Mt.* 10.16). The disciples are to make a rapid, cursory and unencumbered tour to preach and heal in Israel, not in Samaria or Gentile lands. Neither the background nor the faith exists there to make the preaching worth while. But the foreign peoples are not to be excluded from the Kingdom; they are to share with Israel in the coming joy (*Lk.* 13.29). Thus,

Jesus conceived himself as a Messiah who on earth was at once a preacher, a teacher, a healer and an organizer.

V. Peter's Confession.

After the tragic death of John, Jesus seeks rest and retirement; he wants an opportunity to think over his mission (*Mk.* 6.31; *Mt.* 14.13a). He wants to get away both from the nagging Pharisees and the clamouring people, so he goes into 'heathen' lands. His words have not borne fruit in high places, among the leaders of the cities, where the ground is thorny; but the common people have heard him gladly. He does not depart because his mission is a failure; for indeed, the common people to whom he was sent were never so eager to hear him as now (*Mk.* 6.33); neither is there evidence that he flees from the Pharisees. But things are coming to a head: the people are more enthusiastic, the cities more obdurate and faithless, the Pharisees more bitter, and John, the forerunner of the Messiah, has been killed. Great changes are taking place, God's will is being done: so Jesus wants time to think, and to find out God's will more clearly. He desires to get into closer touch with his disciples and decide his future destiny. It is the first crisis of his ministry.

" And Jesus went out, and his disciples, into the villages of Caesarea Philippi. And in the way, he asked his disciples, saying to them, Who do men say that I am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; but others, one of the prophets. And he asked them, But who do ye say that I am? Peter, answering, says to him, You are the Christ. And he began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and the chief priests, and the scribes; and be killed; and after three days, rise again. And openly he spoke the saying. And Peter, taking him aside, began to rebuke him. But he, turning about and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and said, Get behind me, Satan, for you do not seek that of God, but that of men " (*Mk.* 8.27-33).

Jesus puts his telling question mainly in order that he may reply and inform his disciples more fully as to his mission which he has now come to see quite clearly as sacrificial. He no doubt is curious to know what men are thinking about him, but this is of small importance; spiritual discernment could hardly be expected from the untutored people or a hostile class. But the most wistful question is put to the disciples directly. "Who do ye say that I am?" They had been with him in his labours and intimacies. It is significant, that he had been in prayer (*Lk. 9.18*). No doubt, in this fresh experience of God, he had determined to set his face toward Jerusalem as the Suffering Messiah. His ideal shone vividly in his own mind, but he was the only one on earth who saw it; would it become objectified in the minds of his companions? Peter boldly acclaims him the Christ, that is, the Messiah. He strictly enjoins silence. Why?

He evidently held a deep reason for this behest. (1) It may have been chiefly due to his desire to follow God's guidance. God is the one who chooses and directs his Messiah, and the Son should wait upon the Father. Only when being convicted; and perfectly sure of the outcome, does Jesus declare himself. (*Mk. 14.62*). (2) The proclamation of such a secret would give rise to wrong views of his mission, and publicly pervert his spiritual desire. (3) Moreover, in one sense, he really was not actually Messiah (according to the accepted view of the office of God's 'Anointed') for he was not yet performing the functions of a Messiah, which should fall to him in the Coming Age after his death (*Mk. 9.9*). (4) But his main reason for the command of silence was to avoid death until his death should be *significant*. He wanted to remain master of his movements: not his opponents, but *God* should direct his life. There were special reasons why he should die at Jerusalem, the great capital and the Holy City.

Even after he declares himself to the disciples, he does not tell the people in general till the time of the Messianic entry. This is a further indication that he was conscious of Messiahship from baptism, but was able to keep it to himself. Peter has

reached up to the idea of the Christ, and Jesus begins to tell his disciples (what he has discovered through his thwarted ministry and meditation on those rejected of old) that this term must mean.

It was natural and fitting that Jesus should predict his suffering and death at this time. Later, the whole journey to Jerusalem of Jesus together with his disciples, the mention of fire and baptism (*Lk.* 12.49), and the cup they both shall drink (*Mk.* 10.39) presupposes the revelation of *suffering*. And the *time* of the revelation of suffering must have coincided with the revelation of Messiahship, for Jesus would not have let them hold a false estimate of His Messiahship, and he knew he was to suffer or else he would not have made the journey to the cross. That he really went up to Jerusalem to die there can hardly be doubted : a host of passages so testify. And yet the idea of a suffering Messiah was so wholly new that only after the resurrection could the disciples really accept it.

The *rising again* referred to by Jesus probably implies *exaltation as a spiritual Messiah*. Why? (1) He mentions it here in connection with the necessity of fulfilling his mission as Messiah. (2) In *Mark* 9.9 he tells 'the Three' (Peter, James and John) not to mention the divine sanction given to his course by the Transfiguration, until he shall have risen from the dead ; implying thereby, that they should not mention the *proof* of his glorious Coming till its *fulfilment*. (3) Soon after his death, his disciples come to believe in his exaltation as Messiah. The Resurrection was used only as a proof of this ; it was not sufficient to explain his heavenly power ; many men had risen from the dead, but were not Messiahs ; Jesus must have told them he was to be exalted. Indeed, various passages in the Gospels do indicate this, *the double idea of suffering and exaltation*. (*Mk.* 8.31, 20.22,23.) These considerations indicate that we should consider *Risen* as equivalent to *Exaltation as Messiah*.

Peter has reached up to the conception of the Messiah, but not to the spiritual height of Jesus' conception. We do not know whether Peter was thinking of a Davidic *king*, or of an an-

gelic *Son of Man*; but we may rightly infer that the element of suffering was not there. His conception was thoroughly Jewish. Impulsively he rebukes Jesus because such a description does not match with his life-long view of the Messiah, and in addition, he has the natural human feeling for Jesus, and does not want to see him suffer. Jesus turns about and rebukes Peter the more warmly, perhaps, because Satan through Peter is again bringing him the temptation to disobey the heavenly vision. (*Cf. Mt. 4.8-10.*)

It is likely that Mark thought of Jesus as the Christ or Messiah who was the angelic Son of Man of apocalyptic literature; but as one who suffered. In this double function did he fulfil the office of Messiah. *Mark* 8.31, 9.12, 9.31, 10.33, 10.45, 14.21, and 14.41 all point to a Son of Man who suffers.

What did Jesus himself think? In the first place, we must go over the fourteen cases where the term *Son of Man* appears in *Mark*, and see what the Aramaic original means. In *Mark* 2.10 and 2.28 it probably means 'this man,' or 'I.' *Mark* 8.31, 9.31, and 10.33 may be properly explained by having 'that man' refer to 'Christ,' reading, "And he began to teach them that 'that man' (referring to 'the Christ') must suffer." So with 8.38 and 14.62, where it may easily refer to a preceding concept. In Verse 9.12 it refers to Elijah. Verse 13.26 is in the doubtful apocalyptic passage; but it may be lumped with 9.9, 10.45, 14.21, and 14.41, where we have little reason to doubt that Jesus used the term 'the man.' He used it to designate himself. '*The Man*' equals *Jesus*. Jesus reproduced the office of *no one character* in Scripture or apocalyptic or tradition. *He was himself*, combining the deepest and truest elements that he found in his meditations on the Scriptures.

These verses in their totality point to a Messiah who suffers and dies for others on earth, and comes to rule in the New Age of the Kingdom of God as the exalted Messiah. This point of view is borne out by *Luke* 12.49,50 and 13.32, which also lay down the necessity of suffering followed by triumph. Indeed, Jesus

purposely seeks to teach this law of the coming Kingdom : Those who suffer shall rule : the first shall be last, and the last first.

If we want to find a prophesied figure most nearly resembling Jesus, we should turn to the 'Suffering Servant.' For he was 'A Man' of sorrows (*Isaiah* 53.3), he suffered (*Is.* 53.4,5, *Mk.* 8.37), he opened not his mouth (*Is.* 53.7, *Mt.* 26.63), bore the sins of many (*Is.* 53.12, *Mk.* 10.45), and comes in triumph (*Is.* 53.12, *Mk.* 14.62.) The *confession* of Peter did not suggest to Jesus that he might be the Messiah, and the *reply* of Peter was only partially true, having to be sternly and gravely corrected. *To a large extent, Jesus created his own destiny, and then proceeded to fulfil it.*

VI. *The Cross.*

The later ministry of Jesus, viewed from the outside, was probably little different from his preaching tours in Galilee. He still taught the gathered multitudes (*Mk.* 10.1, *Lk.* 20.1) and ran into conflict with the Pharisees. (*Mk.* 10.2.) According to *John*, he did not hesitate to enter Jerusalem twice. (*Jn.* 7.14, 10.22.) *Luke* tells us that Jesus sent out the Seventy disciples with practically the same message that he had given to the Twelve. There is no formidable reason to doubt the record that Jesus *did* send out the disciples to announce the Kingdom and cast out demons as before. The report of the disciples on their return, and the exulting reply of Jesus appears to be original. (*Lk.* 10.17, 18.20.)

It is significant to note that in spite of Jesus' new relation to his disciples, and his clarified vision of the future, he does not change his tactics : he is still the prophet and preacher of the Kingdom, seeking to arouse faith. More decisiveness however, enters into his speech : "Leave the dead to bury their own dead, but do thou go and announce the Kingdom of God." (*Lk.* 9.60.) "Go tell that fox, Behold, I cast out demons, and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected." (*Lk.* 13.32.) "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish!" (*Lk.*

13.5.) It is during this period that he says : " It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. (*Lk.* 18.25.)

Jesus had told the disciples that he must die and come again shortly as the exalted Messiah in the Kingdom of God. (*Mk.* 8.31.) They must go on as before, serving and praying to God with great faith that the Kingdom may come (*Lk.* 18.1-8a), but they must also *watch*. (*Mk.* 13.33 ; *Mt.* 25.13.) He likens his own departure to that of a nobleman going to receive a Kingdom and return (*Lk.* 19.12), and calls the disciples his stewards. Since the Kingdom is a moral growth, the coming of the Son of Man (Jesus) will, of course, be universal and unexpected ; they cannot foretell it, For only the Father knows the time. (*Mk.* 13.29, 32.) In the meanwhile, the disciples are to remember Jesus, and the fact that they, as friends of his and as servants of God, have a share in his sacrifice, and they look forward to the Kingdom meal of which the last Supper will be the pledge. (*Mk.* 14.22.)

To Jesus, the preaching of the Kingdom was having its effect : fire was being cast on the earth, dividing families and severing the just from the wicked. (*Lk.* 12.49.) His baptism of death was a part of the whole plan, the new law of *the last* who shall be *first* (*Mt.* 21.31), of victory through suffering. He will reign supreme because he serves and suffers most ; the disciples will also reign because they suffer too. The humble and especially those who serve (*Mt.* 25.45) will have a part in the Kingdom, while the others will be cast out. He enters Jerusalem as Messiah on a humble ass, in order to make the issue clear. He curses the fig tree for its unfruitfulness, a parable of unfruitful Israel (*Lk.* 13.6) and asserts the authority of God in the temple. He chooses the time of the Passover to force this conflict because the Passover is both a great feast and a sacrifice commemorating deliverance. He is to be sacrificed to deliver those of God—the true Israel.

To Jesus himself, his death has the following significance :—

(1) Through its dark baptism, he will be translated to a

spiritual life of freedom, 'receive the Kingdom,' and be ready to come again as the exalted Messiah.

(2) Since God's Messiah is a suffering servant (*Lk. 22.22*) the most intense, public, and fruitful death is an integral part of reigning in power.

(3) His death is the price paid for his championship of the humble, 'a ransom for many.' The Kingdom comes by arousing faith, but because of opposition, suffering is bound up with faith. The great servant and minister is to be slain because he is fearless. By this spectacular death, more faith will be aroused, the cleft between the good and the evil will widen, and the Kingdom will be brought nearer. "My servant shall make many righteous."

(4) Jesus regarded his death as inaugurating a 'new covenant' the Kingdom of God ; but he was not led to *suffer and die* by any prophecy as to a covenant, which indeed, did not mention blood. His death gave the covenant idea a new meaning, rather than *vice versa* : he sealed it with his blood, the blood of utter service in which his disciples would share.

In conclusion, we may say that Jesus interpreted himself as the Man appointed by God to preach in faith to the humble the good tidings of the Kingdom, with its joy, forgiveness and full righteousness; and through a life of love, service and sacrifice to attain the exalted Messiahship of the Kingdom in the Coming Age.

The problem of his self-interpretation arises because he said and did so many things that *seem* contradictory ; but as we think over his mission, we see certain clear principles which unify his message.

(1) He consistently followed *God's leading* from start to finish. Only under God's guidance did he define more clearly his share in suffering and glory. He always had a great objective in the Kingdom, and a great source of power in God.

(2) He consistently selected *moral values*. This accounts for his independent handling of Scripture and his prophetic word-pictures. He ever chose the noble and rejected the base.

(3) He consistently preached that *faith* would bring in the Kingdom. Never did he think that mere suffering or hope could be a *substitute* for this enterprising trust. His Suffering and hope were the *outcome* of his faith, and a stimulus to faith in others. The glorious coming of the Kingdom on earth would merely be the God-given reward and seal of the faithful work of the people.

(Concluded.)

WENDELL THOMAS

INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

As regards the funerary architecture 'although Susa would seem to have been the favourite city of the Kings of Persia, nothing has been found in the immediate neighbourhood that resembles royal tombs.' 'Persia counted thirteen sovereigns from Cyrus to Darius Codomanus, including the Magi Smerdis. It would appear that four sovereigns had no special monument set up to them in the necropolis. The internal evidence points to Xerxes, Artaxerxes Codomanus, and Darius Nothus as the princes that were entombed at Naksh-i-Rustem, whilst the younger cemetery at Persepolis was inaugurated by Artaxerxes Mnemon. There are then twelve princes and eight tombs, reckoning the Gabre.'

'All these tombs with but slight differences of detail, are as like one another as it is possible to conceive ; to describe one is to describe them all.'

'The total height of each is 22m. 50c. divided into three portions of almost equal size. (According to Coste the length of transverse limb of the façade at Naksh-i-Rustem is 18m. 63c., length of upper and lower limb 11m. The height of tomb No. 10 at Persepolis is given at 24·50c. ; middle portion, 17m., length of upper division, 10·50c.). The middle and longer compartment, in conjunction with the other two, forms what is called a Greek cross. The monument, properly so called, begins with the middle section, carved architecturally into four engaged columns and a lofty double recessed doorway, surmounted by an Egyptian gorge, and a row of dentels, so as to reproduce a palace façade. The upper portion of this doorway is solid rock, but the lower section is cut away, so as to provide an entrance to the vault excavated in the mass behind. The field contains a bas-relief of an essentially religious character : upon a stage the King is seen on a pedestal raised by four

steps, in the act of worshipping..... Above, between the King and the altar, floats the image of Ahura-Mazda, borne on huge wings, behind which a solar disc is roughly suggested.'

So far as the 'Tower of Silence' is concerned it can claim no architectural skill or beauty, because it was never meant to be visited by anybody except the vultures.

There is nothing like the Persian tombs in India. The Stupas¹ and the Chaityas² are entirely different monuments : their appearance, measurements and architectural details are fundamentally different from those of Persian tombs. The Stupas were erected as towers to commemorate some events or sacred spots ; as Dagobas they contained relics of Buddha, or of some Buddhist saints. For comparison in details the topes at Sanchi, Sarnath, Amaravati, Gandhara, Jelalabad, Manikyala, the Dagoba at Ajanta, and the temple at Buddha Gaya may be referred to.

According to Hodgson the Indian stupas in Nepal are known as Chaityas. But according to Fergusson³ the Buddhist Chaityas at Bhaja, Nasik, Ellora, Karle, etc., correspond in every respect with the churches of the Christian religion rather than to the Persian tombs. "Their plans, the position of the altar or relic casket, the aisles, and other peculiarities are the same in both, and their uses are identical, in so far as the ritual forms of the one religion resemble those of the other." But the Chaityas were much earlier buildings than even the Christian Church, because the ceremony of entombing sacred ashes and other relics is mentioned in the Vedas. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also the Brahmanical chaityas are alluded to. Later on Chaitya became a synonym for temple.⁴

The Avesta condemns in no measured terms the worshippers of the Daevas or Demons, and in a general way whoever

¹ For details see the Writer's Dictionary (pp. 705-707).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 199-203.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201, 199.

does not strictly observe the rules established by Zoroaster in that he exposes himself to pollute the sacred elements : fire, earth and water.

In the words of Herodotus (1.121) the Persians "have neither images, nor temples, nor altars ; these they consider unlawful, and impute folly to those that make them. This is because they do not believe like the Greeks (and the Hindus) in the personality of the gods. Their practice is to sacrifice to Zeus on the summit of the highest mountains, and under the name of Zeus they understand the whole circumference of the heavens." Cicero (De Republica, III, IX, 14 ; De Legibus, II, X, 26) by way of explaining the cause of Xerxes's burning of the temples of Athens, says, that it was to punish the Greeks 'for their sacrilegious in their foolish attempt "to shut up within walls the gods, before whom everything ought to be open and free ; the gods, whose temple and habitation were the whole universe.' 'The Avesta, however, 'contains no sign or token of the feeling imputed to the Persians by the Greek historian, and more explicitly the Roman orator.' The Persians burnt the Grecian temples probably 'to avenge the sacking of Sardes.' (Herodotus, vi. 96,100.)

King Darius claims, however, to have restored to the people among other things 'the temples that Gaumata the Magi had destroyed.'¹ The original term, of which 'temples' is the translation, is 'ayadana,' from the root 'yas' signifying 'to adore.' The proper rendering of the word should be 'sacred place,' 'place of worship' and need not mean temple at all.

But on the façade of the rock-tombs referred to above 'we have seen the King in the act of prayer, standing before an *altar* upon which the celestial fire is burning.' Up to the present nothing of this kind has been, however, found in Persia, though in many places monuments have been noticed to which the name of Atesh-ga (fire-places) is applied by the natives.

¹ Darmesteter, *Etudes Iraniannes*, tom. ii, pp. 129, 130. The passage belongs to the first column of the inscription.

But for their dimensions that are on a larger scale than those of the altars figured in the upper division of the royal tombs, crowned with sacrificial fire, they might be taken as replicas of these.

Even assuming the existence of altars in Persia they could never look like the Indian altars out of which the Hindu temple seems to have developed. 'The *Sulva-sūtras*, which are but the supplementary portions of the *Kalpa-sūtras* furnish us with interesting structural details of the large altars built of bricks. These altars were constructed in different shapes, first enumerated in the *Taittiriya-saṁhitā* (v. 4, 11). Following this enumeration Bāudhāyana and Āpastambha furnish us with full particulars. These altars were divided into ten classes according to their shape and other details : (1) Chaturasra-syenachit, so called because it resembles the form of a falcon and the bricks out of which it is composed are all square-shaped; (2) Kanka-chit, in the form of a heron is the same as the preceding one except the two additional feet ; (3) Alaja-chit, is the same except the additional wings ; (4) Prauga-chit, is an equilateral triangle; (5) Ubhayatah-Praugachit, is made up of two such triangles joined at their bases; (6) Ratha-chakra-chit, is in the form of a massive wheel without spokes, as well as with sixteen spokes; (7) Drona-chit, is like a vessel or tube, square or circular; (8) Parichayya-chit, has a circular outline and is equal to the Ratha-chakra-chit, differing in the arrangement of bricks which are to be placed in six concentric circles; (9) Samuhya-chit is circular in shape, and made of loose earth and bricks; and (10) Kurma-chit, resembles a tortoise and is of a triangular or circular shape.

' Every one of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together, came up to the height of the knee ; in some cases ten or fifteen layers, and proportionate increase in the height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks; the first, third, and fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second

and the fourth, so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form.'

'The first altar covered an area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *purushas*, i.e., $7\frac{1}{2}$ squares each side of which was equal to the height of a man (*purusha*) with uplifted arms. On each subsequent occasion the area was increased by one square *purusha*. Thus, at the second layer of the altar one square *purusha* was added to the $7\frac{1}{2}$ constituting the first *chiti*, and at the third layer two square *purushas* were added, and so on. But the shape of the whole and the relative proportion of each constituent part had to remain unchanged. The area of every *chiti*, whatever its shape might be—falcon, wheel, tortoise, etc.,—had to be equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ square *purushas*.¹

As regards the temple the worshippers of Fire (as an element) could hardly think of any because the god of fire was never idolised by them and the idol-worship only needs a temple proper.² Dieulafoy's description of a building in ruins situated in the Susian Plan, which Perrot and Chipiez quote but criticise,³ would hardly apply to a Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain temple. All we are really sure about is the *atesh-gah*, "the sole monumental type and representative of the religious architecture in Persia." This figured on the bas-reliefs of Persepolis and is encountered all over the country. On a coin posterior to Alexander is figured a monument, by the side of which a king stands in the attitude of prayer. "A glance suffices to show that we are in face of an *atesh-gah*. Three altars with very salient horns rise upon a block of masonry, whose base and entablature the engraver has indicated; between the pillars at the angle, two parallel flights approach laterally the landing place that let to the platform."

"If during the Parthian domination the Mazdian temple thus preserved its traditional form, it was not likely to lose it

¹ For further details see the Writer's Indian Architecture, pp. 7, 8.

² See 'Fine Arts' (pp. 212-215) by the writer, I. H. Q., June 1929.

³ History of Art in Persia, pp. 249-259.

with the Sassanidae, when Mazdaism became the state religion." Then Perrot and Chipiez conclude with the remark "that the notion of a temple built by a Sassanial prince must be abandoned as illusory. All we know is that the sacred fire continued to ascend to heaven throughout the duration of the second empire, precisely as it had done during the first."¹

' Religious beliefs which discountenanced inhumation had not favoured the development of funerary architecture, and the monotheistic tendencies of a cult whose sanctuaries at the outset were the bare summits of lofty mountains, had retained throughout, even when it could command the resources of a mighty empire, the elementary and primitive form of the temple, an altar set upon a plinth more or less elevated, rising on an esplanade open to sky. Such simplicity and uniformity as these were in perfect harmony with the spirit of Magism and in accord with the character of its rites.'

The principal effort of the Indian builder, on the other hand, was brought to bear upon the temples, which have been distinguished as male, female, and neuter ; as round, oval, rectangular, quadrangular, octagonal, and of other shapes; as running to seventeen stories ; as having ninety-eight, forty-five, and ten types.² ' They display an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else.' Even the most ardent advocate of Persian theory could not think of Persian influence upon Indian temples.

Sculpture is intimately associated with temples ; in the absence of the latter the former cannot naturally develop. ' As to the statues of gods and goddesses, it is well-known that they could not obtain in Persia until the fourth century B. C. when Ochus, affirms Berossus, set up statues to Anahita in the principal towns of the empire. But the traces of those simulacra have not been preserved.' ' A descriptive passage in

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 250, 252.

² See the Writer's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, pp. 830, 831.

the *Vendidad-sada* may possibly apply to the images of Anahita.¹

"No statuary has been found which might have served to decorate their (Persian) places."² But according to Plutarch³ statues were actually made in Persia ; he recounts that when the soldiers of Alexander entered the capital of Persia, they cast down a statue of Xerxes from its pedestal. But Perrot and Chipiez think that "the so-called statue may have been no more than an image carved upon a stela, like those of the bas-reliefs at Persepolis, representing the Kings for whom the palaces were built." 'As in Assyria, here also, bas-relief was the sculptor's favourite mode of expression.' Excepting small figures disinterred in the ruins of Susa all sculptures were in low relief. The only monument left to represent the primitive period of Persian sculpture is the Cyrus at Pasargadae; but its head, hands, and feet are "terribly defaced," so that "it is more especially," admit Perrot and Chipiez⁴ "from the costume that we surmise where the artist took his models."

'Simultaneously with the King, the soldiers and the tribute-bearers, animals too have become mere abstractions, and only interest the sculptor so far that they play a part in the festival given in honour of the monarch. To the lion is allotted the largest place in the bas-reliefs at Persepolis.'

"The fault of these representations resides in this, that neither King nor monster appear to fight in good earnest and for dear life. The attitudes of the conqueror and the vanquished are tame, conventional, and uniform."⁵

In India, on the other hand, we possess innumerable examples of sculpture, and bas-reliefs both high and low. There is also most elaborate literary evidence furnishing all details. As

¹ Zend-Avesta, translated by James Darmesteter, *Vendidad*, Ch. XXX, tom. ii, p. 82. See also Perrot and Chipiez, p. 385.

² Perrot, 376.

³ Alexander by Plutarch, XXXVII.

⁴ P. 426.

⁵ Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid.*, p. 436; see the details, pp. 436-439.

in the buildings so also in sculpture and painting 'an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail have been evinced in India. In the early Vedic age God is personified in natural phenomena, then He is given a human body, till at last He is conceived as having a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, and a thousand hands, etc. We see in the Pauranic age Brahmā is furnished with four heads, Śiva and other deities with three eyes, the goddess Śakti with ten hands holding various attributes, and the goddess of learning with a musical instrument and other objects, indicative of her profession. There are given in the treatises known as 'Silpa-Śastrās' the minutest measures of the several limbs of the images of not only the gods and goddesses but also of sages, ordinary man and women, of animals and birds of well known species, even of fish and insects.'¹

"The Hindu image-maker or sculptor," Hadaway observes, "does not work from life, as is the usual practice among the (modern) Europeans, but he has, in place of the living model, a most elaborate and beautiful system of proportions, which he uses constantly, combining these with those of observation and study of natural detail. It is, in fact, a series of anatomical rules and formulae, of infinitely more practical use than any European system, for the Indian one treats of the actual proportion and of the surface form, rather than the more scientific attachment of muscles and the articulation of bones."²

Although there has been undeniable Grecian influence on the Gandhara (and Amarabati) sculpture there can, thus, be no possibility of any Persian influence on the Hindu, Buddhist or Jain sculpture or painting.³

(To be continued.)

P. K. ACHARYA

¹ See the Writer's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, under Talamana, pp. 221-243.

² The Writer's Dictionary, p. 244.

³ The description of Yahuman can never correspond to that of Brahma.

THE PROBLEM OF A SECOND CHAMBER IN INDIA.

Before the Reforms of 1919, the Indian Legislature was a unicameral body. Nor was then a Second Chamber at all necessary for good legislation. The administrative system of the country did not leave much power in the custody of the Legislative Council. The executive kept still a tight grip over the legislative branch of government. In fact, the differentiation of legislative and executive functions was not yet clearly recognised. The Governor-General in Council was still in theory both the legislative and executive authority. The Legislature was looked upon as nothing but an enlargement of the Executive Council. And the members of the Legislative Council who were not at the same time in the executive cabinet were known as added members of the Legislature. This could only imply that the legislative function was really vested in the Governor-General in Council and it was only for greater efficiency that some other members were invited to join in the deliberations. Any way the functions of this wider legislative body were not so important and so great as to warrant the revision of a Second Chamber. Besides, in this Legislative Council, the elective element was in a permanent minority and the Government had therefore not the least necessity of a Conservative Upper House to check the radical Lower Chamber.

Situation, however, changed considerably when it was proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to strengthen the elective element in the Legislature and augment its powers and functions. They advocated in their Report¹ on Indian Constitutional Reforms that two-thirds of the total strength of the Legislative Assembly should be returned by election.

¹ Para. 273.

While, however, this popular majority was to be given to the legislature, the executive was to remain an irresponsible one as hitherto. Chances of conflict between an irresponsible executive and a representative assembly were therefore to be foreseen and faced. Occasions would inevitably arise when the Assembly might refuse the Government the supplies they required and the laws they needed.

Under these circumstances if “the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters” was to remain unimpaired, some device must be made to guard against such possible occasions of disagreement. Accordingly Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford proposed “to create a Second Chamber, known as the Council of State, which shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential.”¹ A measure deemed urgent by the government might be initiated in the Assembly and opposed and rejected by it. Nothing daunted, however, the Government would now approach the Council of State where it had a set majority and introduce the measure afresh as if nothing had happened. With its seal of approval which would be forthcoming as a matter of course, the Government would put it on the statute book and act on it at once.² The Council of State was thus to be a velvet glove covering the iron hand of the Governor-General in Council. It was only to be a cloak over the autocracy of the irresponsible executive.

When the Government of India Bill, 1919, framed on these proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford was referred to the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, the provisions with regard to the Council of State were to a great extent amended and recast. The Committee did not see the necessity of retaining the Council of State

¹ *Ibid*, para. 277.

² *Ibid*, para. 279.

"as an organ for government legislation."¹ It recommended its reconstitution "from the commencement as a true Second Chamber."² The Committee pointed out that if the Governor-General in Council wanted at all to promulgate a measure over the head of the popular Assembly he should do it openly on his own authority and responsibility without resort to any circumlocution. Accordingly it was recommended that the number of official members in the Council of State should not exceed one-third of the total membership.³ And under the Government of India Act, 1919, out of a maximum of sixty members not more than twenty-four can be officials.⁴ Of the remaining forty seats again at present thirty-four are elective.⁵ The elective majority in the Council of State is thus decided though not overwhelming as in the lower House. Under these circumstances the Council of State could not be expected to fulfil the special function intended for it by the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. Nor, as we have seen, from the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, was this function to be vested in it at all. It was not expected to be a pocket borough of the Government. It was meant to be a true revising Chamber. In actual operation however it is less a revising body to-day and more of a Chamber fulfilling the special duty assigned to it by the joint authors of Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Under the present constitution, if any Government measure is mutilated or rejected by either Chamber of the Indian Legislature, it may still be turned into an Act under special circumstances. The Governor-General may certify that the passage of the original Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity and interests of British India. If the certified Bill

¹ The Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill (Parliamentary Paper), p. 9.

² *Ibid.* p. 9.

³ *Ibid.* p. 9.

⁴ Section 63A, Sub-Section (1).

⁵ Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, *The Indian Constitution* (1926), p. 67.

has already been discussed by both the Houses, it then becomes an Act with the signature of the Governor-General. If, however, it has been discussed only in one House and negatived or otherwise undesirably modified there, it is, on certification, introduced in the other Chamber in its original shape. Accepted or rejected by this body, it is presented to the Governor-General and with his signature becomes an Act.¹ The Council of State with its elective majority was thus not expected to be an organ for Government legislation. It was not expected to put its seal of approval upon every measure forwarded by the Government. The methods of certification of a Bill by the Governor-General as embodied in Section 67 B presuppose the rejection of an official Bill by both the Chambers. In point of fact, however, all the certified measures of the Government have had an overwhelming support of the Council of State. The Bills opposed and rejected by the Legislative Assembly as antagonistic to the interests of the people, received warm ovation and approval when reintroduced on certification in the Upper House. The Princes Protection Bill of 1922 was regarded even by such a moderate Legislative Assembly as that of the first term of the reformed regime² as an unnecessary curb upon Indian public opinion and as an unworthy interference with the freedom of the Indian press. It was accordingly, refused even the formal introduction in that body. The Governor-General, thereupon, certified the measure and had it introduced afresh in the Council of State. Here it had a plain sailing. It was adopted without a division by this Chamber.³ Several months later, in 1923, the Assembly amended the Finance Bill to the effect that the tax upon salt, which affected so much the Indian masses, was slightly reduced. The

¹ Section 67B (1) (a) and (b) of the Government of India Act, 1919.

² The Congress people did not participate in the elections to the first reformed legislatures.

³ The Council of State Debates, Vol. III of 1922, p. 620.

Government, however, not satisfied with this verdict of the Assembly, approached the Governor-General, had the Bill certified, and re-introduced it in the Council of State. Like the Princes Protection Bill it got a warm reception in this Chamber and was passed by it without any division.¹ In 1924 again, the Finance Bill was rejected by the Legislative Assembly on political grounds. And in this step taken, the Assembly had the whole-hearted backing of the country. The Bill certified by the Governor-General was, however, far from being rejected by the Upper House, passed wholesale by it in course of two days only.² Similar was the attitude of the Council of State towards the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Bill of 1925. It was at first introduced in the Assembly which naturally took exceptions to this repressive measure. And when three vital clauses were negatived by this House, the Bill was not further pressed there by the Government. It was withdrawn with a certificate from the Governor-General to the Council of State. Here, of course, it met with practically no opposition and was passed by this body without a division.³ The Council of State evinced a similarly servile temper in connection with the appointment in 1923 of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India. The Legislative Assembly looked upon this appointment as a step towards the strengthening of the "steel frame" of the Indian bureaucracy. It was convinced that the result of this enquiry by the Commission would be nothing but greater emoluments for the Superior Services in India and a corresponding strain on the public purse. Accordingly a motion for adjournment was accepted by this body and an emphatic protest was entered against the imposition of this Commission upon the Indian people. A feeble attempt was also made by the Hon. V. G. Kale in the Council of State

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part II of 1923, p. 1397.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Part I, 1924, p. 732.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 1925, p. 751.

to condemn the appointment of the Commission on similar lines. But it met with little response from this House of Elders.¹ The late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee objected, in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee, to the establishment of the Council of State on the ground that “its first business, apparently, is to register the decrees of the Government.”² We know that Section 20, Subsection (4) of the Government of India Bill, 1919, which laid down the chief function of the Council of State and evoked this criticism from Sir Surendra Nath was later on modified. And the Council of State, as it emerged out of the Parliamentary discussion and as it is today embodied in the Government of India Act, is indeed characterised as a true Second Chamber. But, notwithstanding all the changes in its constitution and functions, it is a body still registering the decrees of the Government, and as such it is in serious conflict with the Legislative Assembly which stands on popular rights and is consistently opposed to the irresponsible executive imposed upon the country from above.

Now in view of the elective majority in both the Houses the conflict between the two Chambers is something to be explained. Nor is the explanation far to seek. In the Legislative Assembly, out of hundred and forty-four members hundred and three are elected and they are elected also by a comparatively wide suffrage.³ In the Council of State on the other hand the elected members have only a bare majority and even those elected are the representatives of wealth and vested interests.⁴ Hence while the overwhelming majority of Assembly

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part II, 1923, p. 586.

² Report of the Joint Select Committee., Vol. II, p. 67.

³ In Bengal people paying public works cess of not less than five rupees or paying Municipal tax of not less than five rupees or paying Chowkidary tax of five rupees or assessed to Income Tax on an income of not less than 5,000 rupees a year may vote.

⁴ In the Burdwan division in the Bengal Presidency only the people paying land Revenue to the tune of 7,500 rupees a year or paying roads and public works cess of not less 1,875 rupees a year or assessed to income tax on an income of not less 12,000 rupees a year are voters.

professes go-ahead politics and demands radical reforms in the constitution, in the Council of State twenty-six out of sixty vote at the dictation of the reactionary bureaucracy and most of the remaining thirty-four also pin their faith to the *status quo* and rub accordingly their shoulders with the Government nominees. It is not unnatural, therefore, that a deep gulf should yawn between the two Houses of the Legislature. At present, of course though the differences between the two Chambers are frequent, they have not led to obstruction and dislocation of public business. This is because the Legislative Assembly has no direct responsibility at present for the government of the country. That function is vested in the Governor-General in Council—a body not responsible at all to the Assembly. The anomaly of the position of the Council of State has not yet been brought out into clear relief as it might have been done in a responsible form of government. This Chamber now uniformly supports the Government measures and—as consistently—opposes those that do not obtain the approval of the executive. This no doubt detracts considerably from the merits of the Council of State as a revising Chamber. But this gives few opportunities of deadlock. In the future, however, this system of irresponsible administration is sure to change and executive responsibility to the popular House of the legislature is bound to be initiated. In that case the Governor-General in Council, instead of being guided by White Hall, will have to draw its inspiration from the Legislative Assembly. The policy of the Government will be shaped according to the political ideals of the majority of this body. This will make many of the Government measures at once anathema to the majority in the other House—a majority elected on a narrow franchise and professing narrow political ideals. All the liberal measures initiated in and supported by the popular assembly will hence stand the risk of being baulked in the Second Chamber. Nor will this power of thus obstructing liberal legislation be any way limited, if the present powers of the Council of State continue in the

future. At present, the two chambers practically enjoy a co-ordinate authority.¹ The Council of State, of course, has no jurisdiction over the budget-grants which are made by the Legislative Assembly.² Nor can the finance Bill be initiated in the Upper House. Beyond these limitations, however, the two houses are equal in status. The Council of State may reject and even amend the finance Bill.³ These wide powers in any second chamber would constitute a source of constant feuds and deadlock. They are still more a source of trouble when the two Houses are differently and antagonistically constituted. It is, therefore, time to lay down proposals for the constitution of the Second Chamber in the future legislature of India. But before the question of composition is taken up, we must determine the functions which this Upper House will be expected to discharge.

The future Indian Constitution is likely to be formed on a federal basis. Such a constitution would no doubt imply that a central law should not be passed without the consent of the majority of the people and the majority of the provinces constituting the federal union. In other words, the Houses of the central legislature should be co-ordinate in status and exercise equal powers. But however logical this plan may look in theory, in practice it is neither possible nor desirable to maintain the equality between the two chambers. This equal authority is especially undesirable in view of the ministerial responsibility to the legislature which will be introduced in India as in other Dominions. Nor can it be said to-day that the co-ordinate status of the Second Chamber is really indispensable in practice for the maintenance of the federal equipoise. The federal character of the Canadian Dominion has not been undermined in any way by

¹ Section 63 of the Government of India Act.

² Section 67 A, Sub-sections (6), (7) of the Government of India Act.

³ But exception has been taken to the power of amendment. See Sir Tej Bahadur Sepu, *The Indian Constitution*, p. 152.

the subordination of the Senate to the House of Commons. Nor will the Indian federation be at stake if the Second Chamber wield less authority than the first. Hence in determining the powers of the future Upper House of the Indian legislature, we cannot be accused of taking an anti-federal step if we do not make it equal in authority to the lower chamber. In fact, if we are to make the legislation efficient and at the same time easy and smooth, we should reduce the powers of the Senate. In most of the drafts prepared on the future constitution of India, we find advocated the ultimate subordination of the second chamber to the first. In that Draft Bill "to provide Self-Government for India," framed under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party in England, it is proposed no doubt in Section 46, to give equal powers to the two Houses of the Central legislature. No Bill, provides this Section, shall become an Act until it has been passed by both Houses of Parliament. The next Section of the Draft Bill, however, embodies a provision that—practically—makes the lower House supreme in the long run. If the two Chambers are not in agreement over a measure, the Governor-General must convene a joint sitting of the two bodies in the same session. The subject in question will then be discussed in this joint assembly and decided by a majority of votes. Now as the lower House will have double the membership of the Senate,¹ it will ordinarily win the day in the joint sitting. The view-point of the First Chamber will be upheld and that of the Senate will go to the wall. The recommendations of the Nehru Committee go even further as to the position of the Second Chamber. This Committee proposes to reduce the future Senate of India to the status of the British House of Lords so far as money Bills are concerned. Such Bills, passed by the lower House, will go to the Senate for discussion. This Chamber may recommend here and there some changes and

¹ In the fourth Schedule annexed to the Bill it is proposed to give two hundred and forty-seven members to the Senate and four hundred and ninety-four to the Assembly.

modifications in the Bills, otherwise it will not be empowered to amend or reject them on its own authority. With the recommendations, the Bills will come back to the originating House which will then pass it finally accepting or rejecting the recommendations from the other House.¹ This definite stand of the Nehru Committee with regard to the authority of the Lower House over Financial measures has been timely and in consonance with Indian aspirations. The equal powers over finance Bills which the Council of State now exercises cannot be left to that body without inviting danger in the future. The future course of social evolution in India, depends to a great extent upon the financial policy of the Government. And it will be surely short-sighted not to give the direct representatives of the people an untrammelled voice over the formulation of this policy. As to the other subjects of legislation, the Committee leaves equal authority to both Chambers indeed.² But as in the case of the Independent Labour Party's Bill, it also provides for a joint sitting of the two Houses if the Senate does not give sanction within six months to a measure passed by the lower House.³ This will furnish a clear opportunity to the House of Representatives ultimately to have its own way in legislations desired by it. For six months the Upper House may hold up a measure, but at the expiry of this period it will be a subject of discussion in the joint meeting of the two Chambers and decided by a majority vote which will in fact mean the triumph of the Lower House. Thus the recommendations of the Nehru Committee with regard to the power of the Second Chamber seem to be an improvement upon the provisions of the Independent Labour Party Bill on the same subject. When the monetary question is involved, it is better to be definite from the start and

¹ Report of the Committee presided over by Motilal Nehru and appointed by the All Parties Conference, to determine the principles of the Constitution for India (1928), p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

place unequivocally the supreme power in the Lower House. In other fields of legislation, the solution of a contested measure may be left to the tardy decision of a joint meeting. In the case of ways and means and supply it is better to be laconic and limit the authority of the revising Chamber definitely to the cutting of t's and the dotting of i's. Political thinkers and statesmen of to-day are rather inclined to give power to the second chamber to hold up a subject of legislation only so long as the people do not speak definitely either way about it. According to this standpoint a measure may be rejected by the Upper House if it thinks that the attitude of the people is doubtful towards it. If however that subject becomes an issue in the next general election and the people send the majority favouring it to the legislature, the Upper House must waive its objection and pass it as it comes from the Lower Chamber. The Upper House, in other words, is to act as the ally of the people and the interpreter of their real will. Now the provision that has been made in the two drafts on the future constitution of India with regard to the settlement of a disagreement between the two Houses does not involve any consultation of the popular opinion. Three years after a general election a controversial measure may be taken up and decided one way by the lower House. As it reaches the Upper Chamber it may be opposed and thrown out by that body as antagonistic to the interests of the nation and the country. The people, of course, have not yet spoken anything about the measure. And instead of applauding the action of the representatives in the Lower House, they may actually support the attitude of the Upper Chamber. Hence if next at a joint sitting the decision of the latter body is overruled and that of the Lower House affirmed, it will certainly be an act not in conformity with true public opinion. This is, no doubt, a drawback of the provision but it must be understood at the same time that members of the lower House will not generally undertake a legislation which has not been already certified to by the people. Besides if at all they take

a false step, there are other organs of public opinion including the newspapers which may tell them as to which way the wind blows. In this atmosphere if the measure is rejected by the Upper House there will be no pressure for the convoking of a joint meeting at all. Thus except in the case of a money Bill the two Houses should be given an equal authority and a co-ordinate position. But every measure which will be a cause of disagreement between the two Houses should be referred to the final decision of the joint sitting. This will give enough power to the second Chamber to revise and make improvement upon all subjects on the legislative anvil. This will even give full authority to that house to reject a bad Bill unwisely and hastily passed by the Lower Chamber, and what is more, it will give the Senate ample opportunity to check and frustrate the activities of any sinister combination in the House of Representatives. In fact, this will invest the Senate with all the attributes of a revising body and will withdraw from it all the powers that are of an obstructive character.

(*To be continued*)

NARESHCHANDRA ROY

A THOUGHT

If none were sick, and none were sad
What service could we render?
How could we offer (if we did not have)
Good deeds to God the Sender?

HENRY V. JALASS

SNOBBISHNESS

No right-minded person likes to be thought a snob. Snobbishness as a fault has this peculiarity that people who suffer from it, do not cherish it. If you tell a lazy inert man that he is a 'slacker' he acquiesces with a bored complaisance, secretly despising you for being energetic, or a curious one that he is inquisitive, and he says he "can't help wanting to know about things." The bad-tempered think bad temper an indication that one is not a milksop and delude themselves that it makes part of their strength. Few people would be absolutely faultless even if they could. Though everyone feels ashamed of their evil actions, no one is genuinely ashamed of their habitual misdemeanours. De Quincey was not, of being an opium-eater, however much he may disapprove of the practice. Limitations of character seem essential to our conception of our individuality, and it no more insults a man to accuse him of his essential failings than to tell him he is a lawyer or a blacksmith or whatever he is. People like when others see in them the personality they imagine themselves to be, even when they do not think themselves perfect—quite a different thing from liking to be told of the wrong acts they have done. A Macbeth would not object to being called ambitious, though he would resent being called a murderer. Strictly speaking he is not a murderer. He performs a murder from an ambitious impulse, doing something contrary to his real nature to gratify an inclination of it. Snobbishness is a habitual weakness like ambition. Since we can tolerate our own familiar weaknesses and those of our friends, if we do not suffer from them, why should snobs neither cherish their snobbishness nor like others to point out the failing?

Sincere snobbishness is a social quality not a personal one. Even gossip is not so essentially social. A social object may

excite the gossip but the impulse is pre-social. Curiosity, bad-temper, laziness, ambition belong to the non-social portion of our individuality ; they belong to us as part of ourselves, and no one resents this part of him being emphasised. Snobbishness is not part of one's *proprium*. It cannot exist without society, does not belong to the marooned individuality of a man. We dislike being called snobs because that fault like Macbeth's murder is not part of our sincere selves, but a means to an end, a dirty short-cut to the palace of our desire.

The natural attitude of men to fellow men is one of love or hatred, curiosity or indifference, admiration or disgust or amusement. Snobbishness is sincere only as a mob consciousness, a mob conscious of being different from another mob. It cannot arise until society divides into classes or kinds and until these kinds or classes bunch. A little beggar boy and a small millionaire can play together without the least class feeling or snobbishness until they go to school. There the small heir becomes conscious of a difference between his schoolmates and boys from a different class of school ; he looks on the others as 'outsiders,' 'roughs' even 'cads.' One could not very readily feel snobbish towards one's cook because the relationship between master and servant is not a class but a personal family one, the household being a domestic aggregate rather than a social one. But were one's cook to marry one's friend, snobbish resentment could arise by the introduction of an exception into one's society. When a specific likeness among a circle of people becomes evident, and is assumed and when someone without the specific likeness enters the circle and breaks the uniform consciousness, then the resentment or amusement is snobbish. The snobbishness lies in the consciousness of exception. It is as if any circle or society bound together by similarity, generated a white light compounded of the mixture of colours of its individuals. Their consciousness of the white light, or distinguishing mark, is inevitable and presumably legitimate. It is at least a sincere snobbish consciousness. But when an

individual in the circle carries about with him that consciousness of apartness, substituting as it were for his individual colour the white light of his circle, his snobbishness is not sincere. This pretence is the crime. The snob pretends that he lives in a special atmosphere, and keeps hinting it, usually because having once felt the special amusement at those who interrupt the uniformity of his society, he fears to be peculiar himself, and is afraid of showing his true colour.

There are all sorts of snobs. Anything that forms a society or a circle may create them from an intellectual cult downwards. Even beauty gathered together may except the ugly. And snobbishness enters into our opinions and our sense of values, and especially our tastes. The intellectual dislike for words like 'clever' rises from a feeling of revulsion from the unintelligent who use the word unintelligently. Much contempt for slang is snobbish. The scorn for 'ripping' results from a scorn for those who use it. Many crudities which hurt a sheltered sensibility are possibly half snobbish. A loud voice may give one a sensation of physical pain, and if one cannot escape from it, a headache, but we cannot be sure that this does not result from snobbish disgust till we know whether the trombones playing *fortissimo* in an orchestra have the same effect. Snobbishness may enter into our preference for blends in colour over contrasts, and certainly accounts for the humour that delights in promiscuous colouring in wearing apparel, a purple hat, a red coat, brown stockings and black shoes. It is not that we dislike mixtures in colours, even violent ones, or Turkish carpets and a gaily clothed organ-grindress would offend. Turkish carpets and Italian peasants are too remote and abstract to seem vulgar, and when we call anything vulgar, or 'common' we pronounce a judgment tinged with snobbishness.

THE IDEALISM OF THE SCHOOL OF DIGNĀGA

Unfortunately, we do not possess in Sanskrit a single work of the famous Buddhist philosopher Dignāga. He was so great that he is regarded as the father of mediaeval Indian Logic. Similar is the case with Dharmakīrti. Save and except the Nyāyabindu, a treatise on Logic, Dharmakīrti's other important works are all lost in Sanskrit. Almost all the works of those great men have been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. From Sanskrit, we know very little of their philosophy.

There is however no doubt that both Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were the powerful exponents of the Vijñānavāda philosophy. Dignāga was influenced by Vasubandhu's philosophy, and became a disciple of him. He built up his epistemological and ontological conclusions on Vasubandhu's idealism. Apart from the Chinese and Tibetan sources, our knowledge of Dignāga's philosophy is based on some fragmentary statements that have been preserved in the writings mostly of the Non-Buddhist philosophers.

Dignāga in the Ālambanaparīkṣā¹ proved that there is no external object. The whole of experience is the creation of imagination. The various forms that we experience in our daily life, come into being through the instinctive tendencies of the Buddhi.² There is no substance, no causality; these are but the fictions of the understanding. The forms that appear in our consciousness are really internal. They have no reference to any external object. But those very forms appear as if they were external. But from the point of view of truth, there is no

¹ It is lost in Sanskrit. We have got a Tibetan translation of the book. It is a small treatise consisting of a few verses.

² Tasmimśca vijñānavāde buddhyārūdhena rūpenāntastha eva pramāṇaprameya-phalavyavahāraḥ sarva upapadyate. Saṅkara B.S. Bhāṣya, Ch. II, p. ii, s. 28. See "Fragments from Dignāga" by Prof. Randle.

externality. The so-called external object is nothing but consciousness itself. The numerous forms of the world of experience have only one support, that is the *Vijñāna* or consciousness.¹ From the ultimate stand-point, there is only *Vijñāna*, nothing else exists. All other things are illusory in character. This is about the true nature of reality. But there is a world of experience. It cannot be wholly discarded. It has some sort of reality. According to Dignāga, the world of experience has a relative reality. So reality has a two-fold character. In its fundamental nature, it is colourless, there is no room for anything else. In its lower plane, it is not wholly a matter of imagination, though it has no absolute value. This admission of a relative reality has made it possible for Dignāga to construct a science of Logic. His theory of logical validity rests on the assumption that the ultimate truth has side by side another aspect which is manifested in the domain of experience.

Dharmakīrti's conclusions are almost the same with those of Dignāga. Dharmakīrti professed the *Vijñānavāda* philosophy although the theory of perception in the *Nyāyabindu* is admittedly written from a Sautrāntika's stand-point. Dharmakīrti, like Dignāga, discarded the theory of the existence of the external world. From an analysis of the contents of perceptual knowledge, Dharmakīrti concluded that for an adequate explanation of the facts of perceptual knowledge it is not necessary to postulate the existence of an external reality.² Consciousness is

¹ Acaryadignāgapādairālambanapratyayavyavasthārthamuktam

"Yadantarjñeyarūpam tu bahirvadavabhāsate

So'rtha (vi) jñānarūpatvāttatpratyayatayśpi ca " iti.

Tattva-Saṅgraha, Vol. I, p. 582.

² It is really a problem to determine the attitude of Dharmakīrti towards external world. From the quotations in the Non-Buddhist writers, it appears that he discarded external reality. But in the theory of perception in the *Nyāyabindu*, we find that he holds that external objects exist. They are the objects of perception and are unique in their nature. (*Tasya viṣayaḥ svalakṣaṇam.*) Moreover, he maintains that by unique characteristics he means those characteristics by the nearness or otherwise of which there is a distinction in the knowledge itself (*Yasyārthatasya sanvidhānāsanidhānābhīyām jñāna-prati-*

enough for that purpose. His famous argument that blue and the knowledge of blue are identical, because of the law of their being perceived together (*Sahopalambhaniyamādabhedo nīlatad-dhiyoh*) has been quoted by almost all the famous non-Buddhist writers. Some of the arguments of Dharmakīrti can be known from the writings of his opponents. It is generally believed that most of the arguments of the *Yogācāras* which have been preserved in the writings of the non-Buddhists have been taken from the works of the famous Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.

According to these writers there is but one ultimate reality, namely, *Vijñāna* or consciousness: The knower, the known, the act of knowing and the knowledge itself are all but different aspects of the same truth. The *Nyāyamañjarī* has given a fairly adequate account of the *vijñānavāda* philosophy from the writings of Dharmakīrti. The arguments of the *Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya* and the *Bhāmatī* have been taken from both Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. From a careful analysis of the account of *vijñānavāda* that is to be found in the Non-Buddhist writers, it is evident that Dharmakīrti was regarded as the representative writer of the *Yogācāra* school of Buddhist philosophy.

The conclusions of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are not very much different from those of Vasubandhu. But the chief importance of these writers lies in the fact that they established their conclusions on a surer foundation. By an analysis of the

bhāsabhedastat svalakṣaṇam). This unique object of perception according to Dharmakīrti is ultimately real. (*Tacca paramārthaścas*.)

It is equally an arduous task to reconcile this realistic position with his *Vijñānavāda* philosophy. Some are of opinion that the *Nyāyabindu* is written from the Sautrāntika stand-point. So it has nothing to do with the idealistic theories that are found in other works. This is a possible explanation. Others again have tried to explain the *Svalakṣana*-theory of the *Nyāyabindu* in such a way as to fit in well with the idealistic position.

This is a problem for a historian of Indian philosophy. We cannot expect to get a satisfactory solution at the present moment since almost all the works of Dharmakīrti are lost in Sanskrit. There is however no doubt that he was an adherent of the school of *vijñānavādins*. In the concluding lines of his *Santānāntara-siddhi* he describes himself as a *vijñānavādin* and also the account of the *vijñānavāda* attributed to Dharmakīrti by the non-Buddhist writers bears testimony to this.

theory of knowledge, they concluded that no objective world can be proved which is outside and independent of the knowing subject. After an analysis of the origin of perceptual knowledge, Dharmakīrti concluded that the object of knowledge is not different from the knowledge itself. Hence the final conclusion was that there is nothing but consciousness. Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were followed by a number of philosophers but none of them were so great. In a much later work—the Tattva-samgraha of Śāntarakṣita, we find an exposition of the Yogācāra philosophy. There is no doubt that he was an adherent of Vijñānavāda. In the concluding verse of his Bāhyārtha-parīkṣā he says—the theory of the Vijñaptimātratā has been purified (vimalikṛtā) by the wise. I have also followed that path in order to find out the nature of the ultimate truth.¹

In the examination of the Ātman-theory, Śāntarakṣita observes that the theory of the Upaniṣad is a little faulty because of their acceptance of the eternal character of reality.² What he means to say is this that his own theory of reality has much in common with the ātman-theory. His reality is vijñāna which is momentary as opposed to the eternal ātman of the Upaniṣad.

The most important point in the Vijñānavāda of Śāntarakṣita is that his vijñāna is not one, but there are innumerable vijñāna-santānas existing independently of one another.³ In this respect this type of vijñānavāda differs from the Laṅkāvatāra and the Vasubandhu schools. Śāntarakṣita's numerous vijñānasantānas may be compared to the theory of the many Puruṣas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

¹ Vijñaptimātratāsiddhīrdhīmadbhīrvimalikṛtā
Asmābhīstaddiśā yātam paramārthaviniścaye

Tattvasamgraha, Vol. I, p. 582.

² Tesāmalpāparādham tu darśanam nityatoktitab.—*Ibid.*, p. 128.

³ Tatra vijñaptimātramevedam traidhātukam, taceva vijñānam pratisattvasantānabhedādanantamavिशुद्धाम cānadhibhātā-tattvānām विशुद्धाम ca prabhīṇवरप्रपनाम pratikṣepaविशुद्धाम ca sarveprāṇabhr̥tāmojīyate, na tvekamevāvikāri yathopaniṣadvādināmiti vijñānavādinām bauddhānām matam.

According to Śāntarakṣita, Citta is the ultimate reality. The Saṁsāra or the world of experience is nothing but the Citta itself when it is perfumed by the Kleśas. When it is freed from the Kleśas, the world vanishes away. As regards external objects he maintains that such objects do not exist.¹ Only the unintelligent people think that they exist. The Citta when it is under the influence of Vāsanā, appears in the form of external objects. Similarly in many other places of his book, he maintains Vijñānavāda.

Śāntarakṣita's work is a large collection of many philosophical theories. He quotes from almost all the famous philosophers and refutes their theories in order to establish his own. "In the Prakṛti-parīkṣā, Śāntarakṣita dismisses the Sāmkhya theory of Prakṛti and holds that the doctrine of the existent effect in the cause (Satkāryavāda) or of the non-existence of the effect in the cause (asatkāryavāda) are both untenable, because there is no object existent in the world except the Vijñāna or consciousness, which is momentary."² In many other places he advocates the same view. He says that there is nothing beyond Vijñāna. It assumes various forms of objects which are really non-existent. As regards the origin of objects he says their forms are determined by the actions previously performed. As regards the continuity of the world process, he maintains that the previous appearance of objects in the mind generates similar perception in strict accordance with the previous forms that are deposited in the mind as impressions.³

The external objects such as blue and yellow, are really non-existent and knowledge cannot perceive them. Knowledge does not perceive any reality which is external and the so-called external reality can never be the object of perception. The

¹ Grāhyalakṣaṇasaṁyuktam na kiñcidihā vidyate.
Vijñānapariṇāmo'yam tasmāt sarvah samikṣyate.

T. S., p. 123.

² B. Bhattacharyya, Intr. to T. S.

³ T. S., p. 588.

objects of perception, such as blue, yellow, etc., do not really differ from the percepts of blue, yellow and the like. So he concludes that *Vijñāna* alone is the existent reality.

If the object given in perception, he continues, is supposed to be some external reality, then if it be a plurality, it must be identical with the *Paramāṇus*; if it be a unity, it must either be a conglomeration of atoms or some gross object having no relation with the atoms. Now the first position, *viz.*, the object is atomic in its nature, is untenable, for in our consciousness, there is no perception of the forms of atoms which are indivisible and many in number.¹ Knowledge always presents in our consciousness the form of some gross objects. Moreover, the *Paramāṇus* by definition are indivisible, which implies that they can have no form. So even if *Paramāṇus* exist we cannot know them. Hence the necessary conclusion is that there is no external object which is atomic in its nature.

Similarly, *Sāntarakṣita* proves that the external object cannot be a conglomeration of atoms. If we cannot prove the existence of a single atom, how is it possible that the external object is made up of these imaginary atoms? So this hypothesis also cannot stand scrutiny. In the same manner, *Sāntarakṣita* shows that even the third alternative, *viz.*, the external object is gross in its character, cannot be advocated.

Sāntarakṣita, then explains how it is possible for *Vijñāna* to assume various forms independently of any external object. In common experience, he says, we often find that *Vijñāna* arises even when there is no object. In dream or in mirage, the *Vijñāna* appears in the form of an object, although the object is really non-existent; these facts of experience cannot be denied. We may extend this principle to all cases. So he concludes that

¹ Tatra pratyakṣasiddho'rtha bāhyo bhavannaneko vā paramāṇuto' bhinno bhavet, eko vā tairārabdho'vayavī, sthūlo'nārabdho veti pakṣāḥ. Tatra na tāvadādyah niramāṇāmanekeśāmaqūnām mūrtānām grāhakasya pratyayasyāprativeditanāt. Nityānām sthūlākāra-syaiva jñānasayānubhūyamānatvāt.—T. S. P., p. 551.

if consciousness may arise in some cases where actually there is no object, there is no harm in admitting that it may take its shape in all cases without the help of any external object.

The forms which are in reality internal, owing to the maturation of vāsanās, appear in the Vijñāna as objects.¹ Moreover, he says that this world which is similar to a dream or mirage in character, derives its existence from the imagination which has for its support the appearance of the Vijñāna. He does not feel the necessity of admitting the existence of an external world. He cites the instance of a man who has some defects in his eye and of another who is suffering from jaundice, and points out that just as those men take a wrong view of the objects before them, in the same manner, all of us make a mistake in supposing that there is an external world. Besides, we cannot prove the existence of external objects by perception.² "The Vijñāna of perception must have for instance, a black form, because otherwise black objects cannot be reflected on it. If the form of Vijñāna is black and there is something else as a black object then there will be two cognitions of black which is absurd."³ So he concludes that Vijñāna only exists and manifests itself in the form of the world of experience.

Avidyā is the cause of the origin of this world. By Avidyā, Kamalaśīla, the commentator of the Tattva-samgraha, understands "the tendency of the mind surcharged with the conforma-

*Ababistattvarūpāpi vāsanāparipākataḥ
Vijñāne pratibhāsante svapnādāviva nānyataḥ.*

T. S., p. 539.

* Tathāhi pratyakṣato bāhyārthaśiddhiḥ syādanumānato vā, anyasya pramāṇasya sato'traivāntarbhāvāt. Tatra na tāvat pratyakṣataḥ, tathāhi-pratyakṣābhimatena jñānenā nirākāreṇa vārthasya grahaṇam syāt sākāreṇa vā. Na tāvannirākārepa, pratyāsattinibandhanābhāvāt. Dhiyo'sitādirūpatve sati sā dhi stasyārthasyānubhavaḥ kathaṁ bhavet, naiva bhavediti prāguktam. Atha sākāreṇa tathā nilādyākārasyaivai kasya jñānagata-syopalambhād bāhyo'rthaḥ parokṣa eva bhavenna pratyakṣaḥ. Na hi dve nile kadēcit samvedyete, ekam jñānapratibimbakamaparam tadarpakamityevam tāvanna pratyakṣataḥ siddhiḥ.—Tattvasamgraha-pañjikā, p. 574.

* Intr. to the T. S.

tion of previous births." So this world is made up of the vāsanās only. The world of experience is only a reflection that appears before us and by the use of words, we refer to these false appearances. When by constant meditation of the voidness of all objects, all the vāsanās will be suppressed, Vijñāna will become pure and there will be no more possibility of any seed being deposited in it and the world of experience with its subject-objects distinctions will vanish like a bad dream. This state of the Vijñāna in its absolute purity is known as Nirvāna or emancipation.

RAKESRANJAN SARMA

TO FAITH

Love me not, love me not, Faith,
For I have been since long, long dead.
Do love me, do love, Faith,
Only in thee let my corpse be laid.
Love me not, love me not, Faith,
For if thou lovest me I want to live.
Do love me, do love me, Faith,
Only for thee, I might hope to revive.
Love me not, love me not, Faith,
For I fear if I live, thou mayst die.
Do love me, do love me, Faith,
Only with thee, let me liye or lie.

CHI-HWANG CHU

IF I COULD HAVE MY WISH

If I could have my wish...

I would not ask for gold nor even gems;
But I should like to be one of the group
Of nine and twenty pilgrims riding forth
With Harry Bailey, host of Tabard Inn;
And, on that gray and April dawn when I
Would be asleep in Southwark's cosy Inn,
Old Harry would come striding forth to knock
At every door. But no doubt he would have
To punch and pound on mine, as he did on
The Wife of Bath's. He beat and banged upon
The panel of her door with the handle of
His whip; but even then he had to rap
Some more. He did not have to tap so hard
To rouse the Prioress and her nun; but, when
He reached the little room where those three men
Snored side by side, he kicked with force upon
Their oaken door : for gentle taps were not
Enough to wake up the upholsterer
Who slept beside the weaver and the dyer.
Old Harry knew his people well : some were
Awakened easily, while others seemed
To have no ears at all. But soon the guests
Of that old Inn were in the court below ;
If I could have my wish, I, too, would be
Among that charming, happy group. Their garb
Was gay, and no two dressed alike. But, more
Than their unique costumes, I would have liked
Their varied personalities ; and I
Would ride along and chat with them. The sun,
A scarlet disc, would flash its early rays
Against the windows ; and the villagers,
Still sleepy-eyed, would watch to see the crowd

Of nine and twenty pilgrim's ride away
Upon their frisking mounts. The bagpipes and
The larks would make some music good enough
For kings. Indeed, I would not ask for wealth,
But I should want to splash and jingle down
Old Southwark Lane that gray and misty dawn—
If I could have my wish.....

LOUISE A. NELSON

ASIATIC AND INTER-PROVINCIAL TRADE OF BENGAL IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

"Bengal from the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the natural history of the Hindoos, was always remarkable for its commerce."¹

(1) Asiatic.

She carried on a vigorous trade with the other Asiatic countries beyond the continent, and according to Dow, during the first half of the 18th century, "the balance of trade was against all nations in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return."² The exports of Bengal to the gulfs of Persia and Arabia were very great and she supplied Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Georgia, Armenia and 'the lesser Asia' with her manufactures and brought home annually coffers of gold.³ She had also a flourishing trade with the Eastern Kingdoms of Asia, the Malayan and Philippine islands.⁴ At least down to the year 1756 "the coasts of Coramondel and Malabar, the gulf of Persia and Red Sea, nay even Manilla, China and coast of Africa were obliged to Bengal for taking off their cotton,⁵ pepper, drugs, fruits, chank, cowries, tin, etc., as on the other hand they were supplied from Bengal with what they could not well be without, such as raw silk and

¹ Dow's Hindooostan, Vol. I, ciii.

² *Ibid.* cii.

³ Cf. "Its manufactures found their way to the remotest part of Hindostan and specie flowed in by thousand channels that are at present lost (1767) and obstructed. All the European companies formed their investments with money brought into the country; the Gulphs (*The two Gulphs of Mocha and Persia*) poured in their treasures into this river (Ganges), and across the continent, and inland trade was driven to the westward to the extremity of the Kingdom of Guzerat":—Letter from the Select Committee to the Honourable the Court of Directors, etc., dated Fort William, 26 Sept., 1757; *vide* Verelst's View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 39.

⁴ Dow's Hindooostan, Vol. I, cii.

⁵ It is important to note that Bengal had thus to import cotton from outside. Thus the native production of cotton (Rennell's Journals) was not sufficient for her extensive manufacture.

its various manufactures, opium, vast quantities of cotton cloth, rice, ginger, turmeric, long pepper, etc., and all sorts of gruff goods."¹ Sugar was also one of the most important commodities of trade between Bengal and these different countries. Thus almost every year bodies of merchants from the different parts of Asia poured into Bengal, while Bengal also sent her products and manufactures to them.²

But a variety of political circumstances, affecting seriously the destinies and internal conditions of those different states, gradually checked the progress of this vigorous commerce. Dow has summarised the situation in the following few lines :—

" Persia, about 30 years ago a great and flourishing empire, has been torn to pieces and almost depopulated by the cruelties of Nadir Shaw; and, since his assassination (1747 A.D.), by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants who escaped the rage of the sword sit down in the midst of poverty. Georgia and Armenia who shared in the troubles of Persia, share also her untoward fate. Indigence has shut up the doors of commerce; vanity has disappeared with wealth and men content themselves with the coarse manufacture of their native countries. The Turkish empire has long declined on its southern and eastern frontiers. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Basha, revolted. The distracted state of the former has almost shut up the trade by caravans, from Suez to Cairo; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by sea to all the ports of the Ottoman dominions. The rapacity of the Basha of Bagdad, which is increased by the necessity of keeping a great standing force to support his usurpation, has environed with terror the

¹ Causes of the loss of Calcutta by David Rannie, Hill's Bengal in 1755-1757, Vol. III, p. 390.

² 'Accordingly,' as Mr. Scrafton has expressed it, 'till of late years inconceivable numbers of *merchants from all parts of Asia in general* as well as from the rest of Hindustan in particular, sometimes in bodies of many thousands at a time, used annually to resort to Bengal with little else than ready money, or bills to purchase the produce of those provinces.'—Bolte's Considerations on Indian Affairs, p. 21.

walls of Bussora, which circumstance has almost annihilated its commerce with Syria.....Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Bussorah are ruined; and there were, last year, in the warehouses of that city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, which could not be sold for half the prime cost."¹ The trade of Bengal with the Kingdom and islands of eastern Asia was also on the decline, if it had not come to a standstill. The political crises and upheavals in Bengal had also some share in causing this decrease of her Asiatic commerce. No sooner had the storms of the Mahratta invasions blown over her and the tactful Nawab Ali Vardi had closed his eyes for ever, than she heard again the thundering of the cannon at Tanna's Fort, at Budgebudge, in Calcutta and on the fields of Plassey. The victory of the English at Plassey brought her face to face with the difficult problem of adjusting herself to new circumstances, while it increased the prestige and power of the foreign trading company to a considerable degree. Both at home and abroad her commerce came to be entirely transferred into the hands of the company's people.

In 1758 some of the ' free merchants ' in Calcutta sent a petition to Robert Clive, putting forth their grievances with regard to the trade in the Persian Gulf. This trade was on the downward path,² which was due, as they argued, to the heavy imposition of port duties at Surat and Bussorah. In 1755 a ship had sold at Surat to the amount of Rs. 54,481 upon which

¹ Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, pp. cxiv-cxvi.

² Petition of David Bannie, Edward Hardwick and others to Robert Clive, dated Calcutta, December 28th, 1758. *Vide Long, No. 405, pp. 169-173.*

³ " Within these twenty years there has been from this port eight to ten sail of ships to Surat and three, four or five to Bussorah in one season (though the French at that time were trading largely to these ports as well as we) and for the first three years of Mr. Wake's Government at Bombay we are well informed that his Surat consulage of 2 per cent. amounted from thirty-eight to forty-three thousand Bombay rupees annually, whereas Mr. Bourchier does not now receive ten. One to two ships with a small stock filled up with Moor's freights being all that now goes to Surat and of ships that go into the gulf of Persia few make any sales at Gamboon or Bussorah " *Ibid.*

the charges of merchandise (exclusive of commission and the ship's charges for ballast, water, etc.) were Rs. 6,390 which was nearly 12 per cent. of the produce ; Rs. 34,859 was invested upon which the export charge was Rs. 3,699 which was above 10 p.c. In 1754 some piece goods were sent in a boat from Bushire to Bussorah ; they were sold for 95,736 ' Mamoodys ' upon which the charges of merchandise were 9,352 Mamoodys or $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and this exclusive of commission ; " but had the goods been gruff or had the ship gone to Bussorah, the charges would have been greatly increased by the Bussorah's present house rent, etc., expenses, pilotage, etc." The British traders were not thus able to stand in competition with the French or the Dutch, as the latter had not to pay such duties by 3 or 4 per cent. at Surat or 3 p.c. at Bussorah but had only to pay 3 p.c. to the Turks. Especially the Dutch traders had great advantages over the English traders. The Dutch had settled and made a free port of the Island of Carrack (about 30 leagues from Bussorah River) where the charges of merchandise were lower and moreover, though they paid customs to the Turks, yet by " lumping with the country Government they scarcely payed 2 p.c. on imports, and as much upon exports, the whole about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 p.c." The English traders, on the other hand, paid $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. export duty on rice, 2 per cent. on all other goods and 1 per cent. upon all imports in all about $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{3}{4}$ p.c. ; the difference of $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that the Dutch paid more than the English was " a trifle when compared to the great advantages they reap by their trade from Batavia in the valuable articles of sugar, arrack, timber, rattans, pepper, etc., which we have not, at least not as they purchase them." Having all those arguments in their favour, the petitioners prayed that the following regulations might be passed, *viz.*, " that to trade to every Port in India where owners may choose to send their ships be free to all English vessels; that no further restraints nor duties be laid on trade anywhere in India, on the contrary that duties be considerably lessened at Bombay, Surat

and Bussorah for reasons already mentioned; also that the 3 p.c. advance duty on Malabar pepper be taken off at Surat because the Hon'ble Company get not a grain of pepper more by it at Tellicherry, and it only prevents an Englishman from trading in an article that every Banyan trades in; that proper encouragement may be given to retrieve the valuable manufacture of sugar, unaccountably lost in this place (which by causing a great export of rice, enhances the price of labour and consequently of all other gruff piece-goods and raw silk), particularly that no export nor import duties be levied upon Bengal sugar at any English settlement for.....years. That due encouragement be given for to manufacture sugar, arrack, etc., at Bengal for that place may soon be brought to rival Batavia and greatly increase trade. And lastly, that the following orders obtained from the Hon'ble Company many years ago (and since turned to the ruin of trade) be revoked, *viz.*, the order that no person without permission from the President shall remain in the rainy season at Surat nor at any subordinate factory in India, except the Hon'ble Company's servants belonging to the Presidency under whose direction the subordinate is. The order for all captains and supercargos at Gambron to reside in the Factory and sell their goods in presence of the chief. The order made lately at Bombay for no Englishman at Bussorah, etc., to apply to the country Government for recovery of debits, etc., but through the President.”¹

We do not know whether these regulations were ever passed, but gradually the British East India Company established its exclusive right of exportation of piece goods to the markets of Bussorah, Jidda, and Mocha. For the disposal of the goods of this joint concern, the Governor and Council of Calcutta fitted out ships generally known by the name of the ‘freightships’ on which the goods were first shipped, and the remainder of the tonnage was filled up on freight. All these affairs were managed

¹ Long, pp. 171-172.

by a Member of the Council, who was "acting owner" and kept a warehouse for this purpose generally known in Calcutta by the name of freight warehouse. Bolts has described the anomalies and abuses that this practice produced in the following language :—"Frequent instances have been known of the goods of private merchants, even Europeans, but particularly of those belonging to Armenians, Moguls, Gentoos, being in consequence of this monopoly, stopped on the public road, and by force carried to the freight warehouse and the proprietors of such goods have been obliged contrary to their wills to see their goods shipped on vessels they had not a good opinion of, and going on voyages whose destination and management were often contrary to their own private schemes of trade; in consequence of which unwarrantable proceedings, those merchants have frequently lost their sales, have had their goods damaged, and have sometimes lost even the goods themselves."¹ It is very difficult to say whether Bolts describes the actual state of things or merely gives vent to his vindictive and propaganda spirit. But this much can be accepted as certain that gradually the Asiatic trade of Bengal passed exclusively into the hands of the Company.

The different parts of India were commercially connected with (2) Inter-provincial. one another from very remote times, and about the middle of the 18th Century, the commercial relations of Bengal with the other provinces were as active and vigorous as before. "A variety of merchants of different nations and religions, such as Cashmerians, Multayns (Multani=people of Multan), Patans (Pathans) Sheikks,² Suniassys,³ Poggyahs

¹ Considerations, pp. 195-197.

² Perhaps it refers to the Moslems of Arabia settling in India. Gradually the use of the term became more and more general and it came to be used also for Moslems coming to India from other countries besides Arabia.

³ These refers to the Sanāsi (mendicant) traders, coming down in batches from Himalyan region, with finer forest products, such as pieces of sandal and alox wood, rudrākṣa beads, etc.

(?), Betteeas(?) and many others used to resort to Bengal annually in caseelabs,¹ or large parties of many thousands together (with troops of oxen) for the transport of goods from different parts of Hindustan,.....”² For many years it had been customary for the merchants of Kasmir to advance money at Sunderbund and provide molunghes to work the saltponds there.³ Similarly the merchants from Bengal visited the different parts of upper Hindustan, Assam, Cachar, Malabar and the Coramondel coasts⁴ and Gujrat. This has found expression in the pages of contemporary Literature in the following manner :—“Being a Vaiṣya, he maintains his family by carrying on a trade throughout the different parts of the world, such as Hastinā (Delhi), Karnāt (Arcot), Vaṅga (Bengal), Kaliṅga, Gurjara (Gujrat), Bārāṇasī, Mahārāṣtra, Kashmīr, Panchal (Rohil-khand), Kamboja (Tibet),⁵ Bhoja (Shahabad), Magadha, Jayanti (?), Drāviḍa (Southern India), Nepal, Kanchi (Conjeeveram), Ajodhya (Oudh), Avanti (Malwa), Mathura, Kāmpilya (Farukkabad District), Māyāpūrī (Haridwar), Dvārāvati (Dvārakā, Kathiawad), Chin (China), Mahāchin (Mangolia), Kamrupa (Assam).”⁶ There is another passage in a piece called ‘Candrakānta’ which tells us clearly that merchants from Birbhumi and Mallabhum (Bankura) carried on a trade with Gujrat, and exchanged their own articles with those of that place.⁷

¹ A kind of boat.

² Bolts' Considerations, p. 200.

³ A letter from Mir Casim to Vansittart, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 229-231; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 167.

⁴ Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. ciii.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Kashmiri and Armenian merchants carried on a trade between Bengal and Nepal and even went further up to Tibet.

Cf. “It is said that at the time, Gurgin Khan, having heard from the Kashmiris and the Armenians, who were in trade with Lasa, about the wealth of Nepal persuaded Mir Kasim to send an expedition to Nepal.” Khulāsat-ut-tawarikh, 106. (Khuda Baksh Library, Patna.)

⁷ Jaynārāyana's Harilīlā, *vide* Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Part II, p. 1498.

⁸ ‘My name is Candrakānta Rāy, and I am a Gandhavaṇpik by caste and an

The manufactures of Bengal found their way into the remotest parts of Hindustan, and “the low price at which salt could be conveyed through all the branches of the Ganges, rendered it an advantageous article of trade in the inland parts of Hindooostan. Great quantities were sent to Benares and Mirzapur from the markets of which the province of Oudh and Allahabad, the territories of the Raja of Bundela and of all the petty princes of the Kingdom of Malwa, were supplied.”¹ Vessels laden with betel-nut, tobacco, salt² and manufactured goods went to Assam through the Brahmaputra and the Meghna, and they brought in exchange silk, lac, mugga dhuties, ivory, timber.³ The traders of Bengal brought aloe wood and elephant’s tusks from Cachar⁴ and fir timber from Nepal.⁵ Merchants were used to send iron, stoneware, rice, and other things from Balasore to Calcutta and they brought tobacco and other things from Calcutta to Balasore.⁶ Holwell has mentioned

inhabitant of Mallabhum. Leaving my country I have come here with seven boats, filled with articles of exchange. I want to exchange my own commodities (with those of this place), and I can stay here if you can provide me with those.’ The king replied—‘ You will get as much as you want in exchange, if you stay here with me.’ Typical Selections, etc., Part II, pp. 1408-1412; Baṅgabhāṣā O Saḥitya, pp. 662-663.

¹ Dow’s Hindustan, Vol. I, pp. cxix-cxx.

² A letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart,—Vansittart’s Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 164-168.

Verelest makes the following note on the higher prices of salt in the interior of North Bengal and Assam at Gwalpara, Rangpur and Chilmariy :—“At Gwalpara the price of salt, after the establishment of the society (1765) was 400 Arcot rupees per hundred Assam maunds, which is full 1’d. 16-64 per lb. In the Rangpur and Chilmariy districts, the price was 250 Arcot rupees per 100 chilmariy maunds, which is 0 d. 53-54 per lb. These were also the average prices for many years before the establishment of the society ; but then they were the prices at which salt used to be engrossed by the rich, who sold it again at a considerable profit to the poor. These particulars I have from Mr. Baillie, who was agent for the society in the districts of Gwalpara, Rangpur, and Chilmariy.” A view of Bengal, pp. 116-117 (footnote).

³ Copy of letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board, dated January 10, 1753, Vansittart’s Narrative, Vol. II, p. 221 ; Dow’s Hindustan, Vol. I, p. cxv.

⁴ Proceedings, June 17, 1763 A.D.

⁵ Proceedings, November 1, 1762.

⁶ Letter from Natful Neheman, Thanadar of Balasore, January, 1751. Vide Long, No. 538, p. 250.

Balasore stone dishes and cups in the list of articles on which duties were levied in the Calcutta market.¹

But various causes gradually contributed to bring about a decrease of this inter-provincial trade of Bengal by the native traders. One of these lay on the gradual overshadowing of the Imperial authority by the rise of independent provincial governors, who framed distinct transit and custom laws in their respective states to the great disadvantage of the traders. So long as the Mogul Empire was an organised and united whole, the merchants from one part of it could travel with safety to another and were not severely pressed with heavy Chowkey exactions² while passing through the different provinces ; but "the number of independent kingdoms which have started up from the ruins of the Mogul Empire, has almost destroyed the inland commerce of Bengal with the upper parts of Hindustan. Every, prince levies heavy duties upon all goods that pass through the dominions. The merchants who formerly came down towards the mouths of the Ganges to purchase commodities have discontinued a trade, not only ruined by imposts, but even unsafe from banditti. The province of Oudh and Assam are the only inland countries with which Bengal drives, at present any trade."³ In the course of a few years, Bengal's Indian trade also passed into the hands of the East India Company's agents who had power and means, sufficient for combating with these disadvantages, and their behaviour totally closed⁴

¹ Indian Tracts.

² Consultations, Feb. 5, 1753 A.D. Consultations, May 30, 1751 A.D.

³ Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. cxv.

⁴ (a) "Then the trade, in such commodities as were produced and sold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives. They were either farmed out, where they were considerable enough to make an article, in the public revenues or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state by the duties gathered upon them." Hastings' opinion in the consultation of 1st March, 1763—Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 347.

(b) "Merchants have been strictly prohibited from sending gomasthas into the interior country to purchase and provide any goods, without a perwanah from the Governor of

the doors of that commerce for the common traders of the country.

KALI KINKAR DATTA

Calcutta. Without this perwanah, it would be in vain to attempt to purchase, notwithstanding a merchant should pay double what is called the Government dues; though in fact such perwanah when obtained, would in general be of no service to the country merchant, without some special private protection, as the bonds called hitchulcas, already explained, are in general taken by the company's Gomasthas, from the weavers and Dalals throughout the whole country.' Bolts' Considerations, p. 197.

(c) "In the perganahs of Cuddy-burry and Caloo-banboo-para, and my other jaheer lands, under the jurisdiction of Assam the revenues formerly amounted to forty thousand rupees, arising from the trade of salt, large timbers, and several other articles. The Government's people used to carry on the commerce there, and no other merchants were permitted to traffick with the mountaineers. Two years ago Mr. Chevalier went there and he has put an entire stop to the trade of the Sircar, and himself traffics with the mountaineers, from whence a loss arises to my revenues; and he forcibly seizes the talookdars and raiats of the aforesaid perganahs, to make them draw timbers by which means they are brought to the last distress." Letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart, Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 164-168.

THE ARTIST SUPREME

The artist in his besmirched smock
 Radiant as a scarlet tiger-moth!—
 Paints on canvas the warmth of summer
 The clear blue sky, turquoise blue,
 The laughing daffodils and quiet daisies, and
 The happy marigolds that girt the lane.
 He reproduces Nature's beauty with paint and brush
 The smock-frocked artist completes his work
 And lo! human praise is deep and genuine.
 He won a niche in the hall of fame!
 Yet there be but one Artist, true and supreme!
 In His heavenly studio He produces each year
 The seasons of Spring, Summer, Winter and Fall
 All human efforts are stencils of His great slate
 Reproductions they are, as the Passion Play of
 Oberammergau!

A writer of verse, paused to catch a thought
 A beautiful thought that flitted through his mind
 It came back to him in his pensive mood
 He wrote it down on paper, dispatching it to the world
 A feverish world of mixed emotions.
 A world that needed its thought directed
 Through an aisle of warm flower-deck'd words.
 The writer's book was published and read in every land.
 It was held between soft, shell-pink hands ;
 Held in rough brawny hands ;
 It rested between sheets on dreary hospital beds—
 To be picked up and read when strength came back again.
 It laid on warm laps, gently petted by soft finger tips—
 As a silver beach is fondled by the gliding lake waves;
 Waves that come to woo the beach on a quiet summer day.
 The world acclaimed the Writer for the Child of his brain !

Yet there be but one Poet one God of the Muse
 All Divine, yet human as man
 He gave to the world the nine liberal arts
 And each Thinker is dividing his gift from God
 Sharing it with his less fortunate fellowman.

HENRY V. JALASS

JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN CALCUTTA.

Juvenile offenders are Law-breakers, of either sex, under 16 or in some cases under 14 years of age. Minor girls, rescued by law, from undesirable conditions of life are outside that class. The related law is ameliorative and not punitive. It originated with the Bengal Children Act in 1922 which with its sister, the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, touches the high-water mark of like legislation in any country. They are likely to find a place in the front rank at Geneva. But minor girls, receiving the benefit of good guardianship legally provided, are not offenders and therefore left out of present consideration.

It is to be remembered that legislation for the benefit of juvenile delinquents, born in America, has travelled Eastward. The idea was first imported into England with great success by the celebrated English actress, Miss Olga Nethersole. And Juvenile Courts, at least in name, now exist in Bombay and Calcutta. But judgment is invited on the question, whether the law, like the witches in Macbeth, "keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope." It must not be forgotten that the idea budded and blossomed in a woman's heart and it will be presently found where, in this country, its fragrance is preserved.

At the outset it has to be observed that Juvenile Court as an independent juridical institution, does not exist in Calcutta. It is only a Court where Presidency Magistrates under the direction of the Chief or Police Magistrates of Sealdah sit in undress without the usual formalities of a criminal Court. The idea of its ameliorative character has not yet penetrated the mind of the criminal bar. In the trial of cases concerning a minor girl's right to the benefit of legal good guardianship, the

* Reprinted from "The Chaka" of the 8th June, 1929.

argument is often heard that like an accused in a criminal case she is entitled to the benefit of doubt for her discharge not from legal punishment but from good guardianship which the law provided.

Let the above serve as an introduction to the consideration of the principal classes of juvenile offenders and the agency, official and voluntary, for their well-being. Girl offenders must necessarily claim precedence in treatment.

Two cases stick to memory. A Mussalman girl was charged with indecent behaviour in a public place. The poor child used to lead about an aged blind beggar and was maintained out of the alms he received. When she confessed her offence the Magistrate himself was put on his trial. What was to be done with her in the absence of an Industrial or Reformatory school for girls? A messenger of hope was found in the Society for the Protection of Children in India. That Society came forward to take charge of her and placed her in an orphanage. No clear idea can be formed of her fate, when not long afterwards she was discharged from the orphanage.

The other case was somewhat strange. A Hindu girl, without friend or relation, was found on the street and a Hindu gentleman of North Calcutta took her into his family. In a little while she disappeared with some trinkets not her own. Found again on the street she received the same treatment at another's hand. Before long her second benefactor identified her as well as the trinkets kept secret by her with the description in an advertisement inserted by her former benefactor in a Bengali newspaper. Eventually she found her way to the so-called Juvenile Court and was taken charge of by the Society named. After many escapes and adventures she finally found her place in the Salvation Army Home for Criminal Tribes in the U. P. and has not been seen or heard of from the time of her disappearance from that Home.

The absence of legal provision for girl offenders is obviously to be attributed to their limited number—but it is to be doubted

whether the limited number is not due to the absence of provision for their suitable custody.

Boy offenders are very rarely Bengali Hindus, but mostly natives of Orissa or the U. P. leading to the probable conclusion that they are imported into Calcutta by designed persons. The largest number of them are beggars. The provision for their suitable custody is to be found in Section 27 of the Bengal Children Act which, but for an unrelated bit, is not in operation. In the House of Detention they get on an average two full meals—or more, if arrested on a Saturday. But the intelligent ones amongst them, get the knowledge that a thief can claim the benefit of the Reformatory or Industrial school which, however, is denied to a beggar. A beggar boy, armed with such knowledge, committed a theft and reported himself to the Police. This is the only benefit open to his class who as a rule on admission of their offence are simply warned and discharged, which does not in the least degree interfere with their constant reappearance in Court.

The next large class are road-obstructing hawker boys. There is very little doubt that they are in the employ of adults who remain in the background and pay fines for the boy offenders as a sort of license fee for their own trade.

The next in numerical strength are boys and girls who remove, without license, coal from the Kidderpore docks either for sale or for home consumption. Fines are invariably paid for them by their relatives or employers.

Is it unreasonable to think that if proper steps were taken to bring to justice the Count Alvas who fight the law from behind the barricade of juvenile offenders of different classes some good will come to the juvenile instruments of crime?

Juvenile offenders, under the general criminal law, appear also to be under the guidance of interested adults. A juvenile thief brought before the Court appeared to be of unsound mind and was placed under medical observation. After a fortnight the medical report came in, to the effect that the boy was not

insane but addicted to the cocaine habit of which he appeared to have been freed during the period of his detention. The boy related his story.—He was decoyed from his native village in Bihar by a fellow villager who was settled in Calcutta, under promise of luxurious living, away from home control. In Calcutta he was taken about in carriages and given delicacies of food, unknown to village life. At the same time small doses of cocaine were given to him until the habit was strongly formed. Then his daily dose was withheld unless and until some stolen property was brought in. Unsuccessful attempts were made to trace the parents of this boy and so he was sent to the Reformatory but his guide and friend remained unknown and unscathed.

Instances are not rare of fathers bringing false cases of theft against their sons under tyrannical pressure from step-mothers of the accused. In one case the boy's own mother produced in Court the very article that her son was accused of stealing. A similar case was recently closed by the transfer of the boy's guardianship to the Society for the Protection of Children in India with an undertaking on the part of the father to pay a fixed monthly sum for his son's maintenance and education, the juvenile accused being discharged in the absence of evidence against him. Another case was of a step-father. A Hindu widow with her son aged about 12 years became a Musalman and she took to herself a Muslim husband. The step-father of the boy put him to school and paid his schooling fee but no one took any trouble to see whether he at all attended school or what company he kept. He tried to steal the purse of a sleeping cook by cutting the string with the fragment of a broken soda water bottle. He was arrested and put up for trial, when the whole story came to light. To the credit of his step-father, the Court could make proper arrangements for his future.

At the present time there are two boys in the Reformatory school who belong to families of good position socially and financially. They committed thefts for pleasure and not for

profit. One of them used to be persistent in soliciting others to accept property, stolen by him, as gifts from himself.

In February 1924, Mrs. Kar, a Bengali Christian lady, at a Magistrate's personal request and without any official recognition, began visiting and talking to the boys in the House of Detention. An incident of her work of love seems worthy of record. In convincing a juvenile thief of the evil nature of his conduct, tears came to her eyes and the boy, with sobs, embraced her feet declaring that had he known his act would give pain to any one other than the person whose property he had stolen, he would never have done what he had done.

Mrs. Kar's stay in Calcutta was short. Since her departure and until last year when Miss Cornelia Sorabji and her associates openly and regularly took up the work, the juvenile delinquent was devoid of unofficial care and love. At the present time, they are objects of the sympathetic care of the Presidency Council of Women. Mrs. Flowerdew is on the Board of Management of the House of Detention and four Indian ladies, along with her, are working as Honorary Probation Officers.

For the beggar boys something like a Street Boy's Club is being started, near the Municipal Market. Its success must be sincerely hoped for.

To conclude with a question. Will not the knowledge of suffering induce the hand of relief to stretch out—each according to its capacity?

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

REFLECTIONS OF A WAYFARER

اشک چو پرده میدرده خلتو تیلان راز را
چند بدل فر خورم ناله جان گداز را

Shahi

1st January, 1930.—I sit down this morning to put a few of my thoughts on paper, but I do so with a feeling, never experienced before. In the past the last day of the departing year invariably struck a sad, pensive vein in me and the first of the new generally filled me with uneasy forebodings and misgivings. But not so to-day. Effort is stilled. Resignation is triumphant. I expect nothing. I fear nothing. I find fault with nothing. I have accepted the comforting philosophy of Shahi :

درین صحیفہ نخواندم خط خطا ز انرو
کہ هرچہ می نگرم نقش کارخانہ ارسٹ

and the self-annihilating wisdom of Rasikh :

امیری کیسی کیا ہے مرتبہ شاہی دنیزی کا
تو ای غافل شناسی مدارج ہو فقیری کا

Death itself will be welcome and the grave will, perhaps, be a pleasing shelter to the world-weary mind and soul. I have realised, as never before, that life is a growing renunciation and that its unhappy march is marked by so many milestones of deaths, sorrows, disenchantments. Our hopes wilt and wither : our schemes totter and fall ; our foresight is but a mockery : our free-will a mere piece of unreflecting optimism :

اتھام اختیاری نیز برسن کرده اند
در حقیقت در رگوبی اختیارم کده اند

At the end of the day when we seriously survey the past—to our amazement we find that what is, is *not* what we had expected or planned and that the reality is wholly unlike the dream we had so fondly nursed and so fervently sought to fulfil. Plans miscarried ; ideals shattered ; love betrayed; hopes that once stirred our languid pulses, dead or dying; those dear ones, from whom we could not be parted even for a day, without a pang and a wrench, taken for ever from our fond embrace ; coldness, neglect, unkindness ; malfeasance or misfeasance—ah, who is really happy, tell me who, in this vale of tears ?

Of late, I have become a fond frequenter of the graveyards. Possibly Mir Taqi is responsible for this extraordinary passion :

مسجد میں تر شیخ کو خوشان دیکھا
 میخانہ میں جوش بادہ نوشان دیکھا
 اک گوشہ عافیت جہل میں اے میر
 دیکھا تو محلہ خوشان دیکھا

There with the great Mir I find that divine stillness and sweet solace which I seek but in vain elsewhere. Those haunts of the dead irresistibly draw me and, when there, they hold me captive. Free from earthly cares, immune from physical disabilities, scornful of the petty interests which entangle the living—they have done with fierce midnights and famishing morrows. An unbroken sleep is theirs, and but for some stray visitor who comes to mourn or to bless the turf that wraps their clay—no footfall even disturbs their perfect repose. The sky, illumined by the Sun or bespangled by the stars, is their canopy ; the rustling leaves, their music; the soft breeze, their confidant ; lilies and roses, their companions. For us, indeed, every grave is a sermon on the vanity of human wishes :

سب کہاں کچھہ لالہ و کل میں نمایاں ہرگئین
 خاک میں کیا صورتیں ہونگی کہ پنہاں ہرگئین

Has not Pascal said : However well the play may have passed off, the last act is always tragic ? A handful of dust ! And there is the end of man. (I quote from memory.) And one of our own poets has expressed the same idea in language of unsurpassed excellence :

گور پر حسرت یہ کہتی ہے امیر

اُنے قبیل دنیا میں اس دن کے لئے

And among the numerous graves, there is one which irresistibly attracts and enchains me. It occupies a lovely spot, lovelier I have not seen. Encircled by emerald fringe, adorned by smiling flowers, shaded by fruit-laden trees, separate and apart from the rest—it struck me as the resting-place of some adored-one, the very incarnation of poetry and romance. Here I fondly linger—musing over the uncertainty of life and the nothingness of human achievements. The graves mostly bear some inscription or other. Some commemorate love for the departed ; some recall his virtue or excellence ; some again tenderly refer to the grief of those left behind and yet others contain commonplace effusions of conventional sorrow. But in them all the classical scholar misses those finer graces of thought and language which mark the Greek and, in a lesser degree, the Roman epitaphs.

But here on this grave, there was an inscription, conspicuous by its artistic taste and elegance. On a finely chiselled marble, in a superbly perfect calligraphy, I found the following memorial :

مرا عہد بست با جانان کہ تا جان در بین دارم

هوا دارئی کویش را چو جان خویشن دارم

" Pure and undefiled before God and man—here lies the mortal remains of one who, never once, during thirty-one years of closest partnership, ever wavered in love or loyalty. No floral

tribute but tears of a broken heart I bring to thee. Though hidden, alas, from view—thou art ever in my thought, never absent from my mind's eye."

محرومی کوتا برد از ما سلامی نزد یار
یا پیامی سوی ما از جانب یار آرده

This inscription, so simple, and yet so forcible, so unadorned and yet so effective, manifestly the token of a broken heart, set me enquiring. Whose grave was it? Who, the author of that inscription? Even in this hurrying, matter-of-fact world, romance apparently has not ceased—only, it seems, we have ceased to look for them. Truth, Beauty, Constancy, Love, everything, indeed, that lifts the soul and sustains the heart in its daily travail, exists, to be sure, but no longer in the open but in hiding places, away from the gaze or the intrusion of 'profanum vulgus.' We, moderns, are getting too self-centered. The self has overshadowed all and the pure commercial point of view has decidedly gained the upper hand. Self-interest and utility are the shibboleths of our time. Even Religion and Politics have not escaped their contaminating touch; for what are they to-day but mere cloaks for personal aggrandisement? Neither God nor the Country now claims or commands a sincere faith or an unalloyed attachment:

در لباس شیخ زاهد در حرم و میزند
من درین میخانه بدنامم که ساغر میزنم

To proceed—the grave, whose inscription I have just quoted, was, indeed, the shrine of a life-long love, tested by the vicissitudes of time and fate. I was right in my surmise. It was the grave of one who, for thirty-one long years, had borne the burden of conjugal partnership without an accent of complaint or an indication of impatience. They were first cousins, the

departed and the living, and the marriage between them was, as is usually the case with us, an arranged one. Their parents had sealed the partnership and their discerning judgment was ratified by the mutual love and devotion of the contracting parties. Years rolled on linking them closer and yet closer together. The one thought that never entered into their calculation was the thought of death ; for does not love scoff at the idea of finality and is not the lover insensible or oblivious of death or division ? But while life was gaily rolling on, a sudden thunder-clap was heard. In a few moments heavy banks of cloud swept across the clear sky and darkness descended upon that little home of faith and devotion. The darkness deepened—the sky became ominous—the loved-one hitherto deemed immortal suddenly lay in the grip of death. Prayers and vigils and gifts and tears were fruitless all—unrelenting was death, heedless the fates. The light was extinguished, the sun of love for ever set. What is this all ?—uttered the lover submerged in the tide of grief.

Prostrate, forlorn, stricken said he : Is this divine justice or the work of some malevolent spirit who revels in the misery of man ? Who can reconcile the mercy of God with the oft-recurring tragedies of life ?

حدیث از مطرب و می گو را ز از دهر کمتر جو
که کس نشود و نشاید بحکمت این معما را

Gone, she was gone for evermore. I pictured to myself the death-scene : the grief-steeped atmosphere of the room ; the utter despair of those in it ; the end of hope ; the victory of death. I thought of the beautiful Quatrain of Omar :

چون عہدہ نمیشود کسی فردا را
حالی خوش کن تو این دل شیدا را
می خور بنور ماه ای ماه که ماه
بسیار بجوابد و نیابد ما را

Heart-breaking was the final farewell when the funeral passed out of the house which she had adorned for years with sweetness and light :

پر قی نہ تھی جو پردہ نشین گھر میں بے حجاب
لش اس کی جائے ہے سر بازار ہائی ہائی

To the grave-yard where she now sleeps the eternal sleep of death, she was taken. And there, in solemn silence, with no roof except that of the heaven; in the cold, cheerless grave ; with no companion save the soft, sobbing breeze, mourning over the transitoriness of life, and the shining stars mocking at the earthly splendour—she was laid to rest.

The story filled me with sadness. I tried to imagine the feelings of one bereft of the one and the only joy of life. Did not for such an one Mir Dard compose the following couplet ?

هم کس ہوس کی تجھسے فلک جستجو کریں
دل ہی نہیں رہا ہے کہ کچھ ہے اُرزر کریں

The spring was taken out of his life—leaving it barren, dismal for evermore. Yes ! In silence we must all bear our cross. The heart will not yield its secrets—will not unveil itself to an unhallowed gaze.

تا بکی نا محرّم چاک جگر خراهم نموده
من که زخمش را نہان از چشم سوزن داشتم

I thought too of the feelings of the lover on that terrible night. Thirty-one years ago, almost to the day, he had led her home as a bride : young, beautiful, resplendent in bridal dress, a vision of delight. The world then was a paradise of loveliness. It had naught but joys and joys to offer and to reap. No sorrow or the shadow of a sorrow then fell across that festive board ; no fear or the apprehension of fear wrecked or threatened to wreck its spotless radiance. Life seemed one vast expanse of unsullied splendour. What brush can paint, in all the living hues of art,

the lover's dream ? What pen can portray the intensity of the lover's delight ?

And thus life rolled on from year's end to year's end—deepening, intensifying, mellowing love. And if such were his feelings on the wedding night—try, dear reader, to realise them on that mournful night when that chapter of romance was closed and that loved-one taken for evermore from him :

سنبلنے دے مجھے اے نا امیدی کیا قیامت ہے
کہ دامان خیال یار چہ روتا جائے ہے مجھے

And does not the distracted mind, in the throes of so shattering an affliction, forthwith revert to vanished days, clinging to old memories, seeking comfort in their unrobbed possession. The past unfolds itself ; time and distance are instantaneously annihilated ; what was, what is, torments, tortures the soul. Sheer helplessness and all-conquering despair alternate in calming or unruffling the soul. 'No thorn goes deeper than rose's and love is more cruel than lust.' The once radiant face, now wan and pale ; the silvery arms, crippled and motionless ; the lustrous eyes cold, expressionless ; the body, once surging with life and animation, still, breathless ; the bridal dress exchanged for the white, stainless shroud ; the agonising thought of eternal farewell —what heart will not break at this tragedy ?

مد حیف کہ گلرخانِ کفن پوش شدند
وز خاطر یکدگر فراموش شدند
آنها کہ بصد زبان سخن می گفتند
آیا چہ شنیدند کہ خاموش شدند

Often and often I have thought of this sad story, a story by no means unique or rare ; for is not life full of such tales of woe ? "Never morning wore to evening but some heart did break"—is no mere poetic flight but sober expression of ruthless reality.

زانکہ عشق مردگان پاینڈہ نیست
زانکہ مردہ سوئ ما آینڈہ نیست

wrote the great Jalaluddin with an ecstatic fervour. And is not that the teaching of all religions; the quintessence of all philosophy; the lesson borne in by all earthly experience? Everything beneath the " azure vault " passes away and alas! all too soon.

The fool's paradise is but a station on the way to the paradise of eternal Beauty and Truth. But it is not every pilgrim that reaches that fondly-coveted but distant goal. Steep and slippery is the path; difficult and perilous—the journey.

The only equipment for that toilsome march is the stern discipline of mind and body and, not infrequently, such a discipline results from some crushing sorrow or some divine light. Then and then alone the fetters, which chain us to this earth, are broken and flung aside. Then alone the soul is freed from its bondage and the body really brought under proper control. Then a new world of thought and deed is ushered in : a world where the highest wealth is the wealth of Righteousness ; the greatest distinction is the distinction of Self-effacement ; the noblest crown is the crown of Resignation, attainable by the humblest of mankind. There, in that liberated world, there is no hope to vex ; no ambition to tempt ; no disappointment to hurt or afflict the soul. There is but one Love there—the Love of Him who never dies and there is but one Rule of Conduct the Rule of Righteousness

And it was the discovery of this world which called forth a plaintive note from Hafiz :—

بچشم عقل درین رهگذار پر آشوب
جهان دکار جهان بی ثبات دی محل است

and a piercing cry from Kasim-i-Anwar

جز ازو نیست در سرای وجود
از خدا خواه دیده بینا

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

PART II.

Shelley writes to Hogg,¹ "I now most perfectly agree with you that political affairs are quite distinct from morality—that they cannot be united." *Ethics and Politics.*

His language becomes stronger when writing to Miss Hitchener;² he says, "I firmly believe that Religion, its establishment, Polity, and its establishments, are the formidable, though destructible barriers" to Virtue. But in another³ letter he adds "Political rights also ought only to be forfeited by immorality." A subsequent letter to her⁴ modifies the view expressed to Hogg and he adds "Southeby says Expediency ought to [be] made the ground of politics, but not of morals. I urged that the most fatal error that ever happened in the world was the separation of political and ethical science; that the former ought to be entirely regulated by the latter, as whatever was a right criterion of action for an individual must be so for a society, which was but an assemblage of individuals; 'that politics were morals comprehensively enforced.'" This new idea assumes a more definite form in Shelley's *Declaration of Rights*, Article XIX, which, as we have noted before, runs thus—

"Expediency⁵ is inadmissible in morals. Politics are only sound when conducted on principles of morality: they are, in fact, the morals of nations."

Shelley attributes the unparalleled progress in literature and the arts in the age of Pericles to a combination of moral and political circumstances.

¹ Letter No. 45 (of May or August, 1811) in Ingpen's edition of Shelley's Letters.

² Letter No. 61 (June 25, 1811).

³ Letter No. 81 (October 8, 1811).

⁴ Letter No. 118 (January 7, 1812).

⁵ Cf. "Not that I ever will abet expediency, either in morals or politics. I never will do ill that good may come, at least, so far." *Ibid, vide* Letter No. 127 (of 27th February, 1812, to Miss Hitchener).

Thus we note how Shelley's political philosophy is intimately connected with his ethical philosophy and how, therefore, by a natural process of evolution he passed on from consideration of political ideas to that of moral ones. We too have proposed to follow this trend in Shelley's development and have passed from a study of his political and social views to the question of Shelley's ethical ideas.

"Morals and politics can only be considered as portions of the same science, with relation to a system of such absolute perfection as Plato and Rousseau and other reasoners have asserted, and as Godwin has with irresistible eloquence systematised and developed. That equality in possessions which Jesus Christ so passionately taught is a moral rather than a political truth and is such as social institutions cannot without mischief inflexibly secure."¹

Having established the general principle of an intimate connection between politics and ethics Shelley goes a step further and makes² "the sinister influences of political institutions" responsible for that taint of human nature which theology calls original sin. Southey, he says, agrees in this matter with him and thinks these influences along with the prejudices of education to be "adequate to account for all the specimens of vice which have fallen within his observation."

Here Shelley shows the influence on him of Godwin's *Political Justice*, Book I, Ch. IV, Book II, Ch. VI and Book III, Ch. VII. Godwin very strongly condemns separation of politics from morality in Book II, Ch. I, of his *Political Justice* and dilates (in Book IV, Ch. VI, Appendix II) on the idea that "no question of morality can be foreign to the science of politics." According to Godwin political enquiry includes discussion of "regulations which will conduce to the

¹ I have changed the order in which these two sentences occur in "A Philosophical View of Reform" (1820), Chap. III, p. 70 (of Mr. T. W. Bolleson's edition of 1920).

² Letter No. 111 (January 2, 1812) to Miss Hitchener.

well-being of man in society" and these regulations may be, he holds, considered in two ways, the first being "those moral laws which are enjoined upon us by the dictates of enlightened reason." "Morality," he says, "is that system of conduct which is determined by a consideration of the greatest general good." * * * "In like manner the only regulations which any political authority can be justly entitled to enforce are such as are best adapted to public utility."¹ In Book IV, Ch. XI, Godwin attempts to establish that ideas of good and evil are as essential in politics as in morality.

According to Plato too the connection between politics and ethics is very close, at any rate in an ideal state. But Plato goes a step further and suggests an intimate relation between ethics and theology which Aristotle is not prepared to accept. Shelley had not yet come under the influence of Plato's writings and his attitude is still that of a rationalist and sceptic.

Shelley was, as it now appears to us, indiscriminately² charged by critics of his time with immorality. Ethics and Theology. Moral depravity was sometimes maliciously ascribed to the poet on some such principle as was laid down by Bishop Wilberforce that infidelity is due to moral degeneration. The French Protestant Pierre Bayle has, however, shown elaborately in his Critical Dictionary that so-called atheists like Spinoza are models of virtue as compared with an intensely religious man like King David, the man after God's own heart, who has to his credit a number of vices and many crimes.

In his Preface to *The Cenci* Shelley refers to "the combination of an undoubting persuasion of the truth of the popular religion with a cool and determined perseverance in enormous

¹ *Political Justice*, Book II, Ch. V.

² "I am told that the magazines, etc., blaspheme me at a great rate," says Shelley in his letter of July 12, 1820, to Peacock. The Quarterly Review was particularly bitter in its attacks on Shelley's character and charged him with being "shamefully dissolute" in conduct. Cf. also Shelley's letter to Southey from Pisa of August 17, 1820; to Charles and James Ollier of January 20, 1821, and of February 20, 1821; to Clara Jane Clairmont of June 19, 1821 and to Mary Shelley of August 7, 1821.

guilt.' After having dwelt on the difference between religion in Protestant countries and in Italy, he adds "it is (with an Italian Catholic) adoration, faith, submission, penitence, blind admiration ; not a rule for moral conduct. It has no necessary connection with any one virtue. The most atrocious villain may be rigidly devout, and, without any shock to established faith, confess himself to be so. Religion pervades intensely the whole frame of society, and is, according to the temper of the mind which it inhabits, a passion, a persuasion, an excuse, a refuge ; never a check. Cenci himself built a chapel in the court of his palace, and dedicated it to St. Thomas the Apostle, and established masses for the peace of his soul."

Shelley declares that "a proof of the existence of a Deity or even the divine mission of Christ, would in no manner alter one idea on the subject of morality."¹ "Morality, or the duty of a man and citizen, is founded on the relations which arise from the association of human beings, and which vary with the circumstances produced by the different states of this association. This duty, in similar situations, must be precisely the same in all ages and nations. The opinion contrary to this has arisen from a supposition that the will of God is the source or criterion of morality."²

Here Shelley is definitely intuitive as a moralist and has the support of writers like Cudworth with whom good and evil are immutable verities and Clarke according to whom moral obligations are independent of God's will. "I can by no means conceive," he says again, "how the loftiest disinterestedness is incompatible with the strictest materialism."³ "The just man made perfect I doubt not of : but to this simple truth where is the necessity of annexing fifty contradictory dogmas,

¹ Letter of May 16, 1811, to Janetta Philips.

² "A Letter to Lord Ellenborough, occasioned by the sentence which he passed on Mr. D. I. Eaton" (1812). Cf. also the next paragraph of that letter which is too long to quote here.

³ Letter of July 29, 1812, to William Godwin.

in order that men may destroy each other to know which is right?"¹

Shelley's attitude raises a very important question as to the relation between the moral sentiment and the religious sentiment. Morality has more or less sought the aid of the religious idea for its higher sanction. Shelley reduces the religious idea to a primitive human sentiment of a fear, or at best awe, of an inscrutable Power and in that view is not altogether unjustified in dissociating the two sentiments. But such a view of ethics is not accepted, for instance, by such modern writers as Wundt,² though Shelley has, no doubt, the support of Hume.

Before the rise of rationalism, as it is conceived by the Deists, an intimate relation between morals and religion as we find, for example, advocated by scholastic philosophy, is supposed to exist and sought to be established by philosophical arguments, and revelation is considered to be their ultimate foundation. Generally speaking, free-thinking is responsible for a practical separation of morality from religion. This may account for the fact that Butler's tendency in his famous *Analogy* is on the whole towards the doctrine that all morality is founded on the will of God. But Richard Price contended that even the will of God cannot alter the nature of things and therefore God could not make right what in its essence was not right. But according to Price, though not dependent on the will of the Deity, morality is inherent in His nature. Shelley was, as we have already noted, influenced by Price and the strong language used by Shelley in the passages quoted may have something to do with Paley's attitude in his "Moral and Political Philosophy" towards virtue as dictated by the will of God and exercised by man for the sake of everlasting happiness. The idea of such rewards and punishments was repugnant to Shelley (*cf.* Speculations on Morals, I and

¹ Letter [of November 20, 1811], to Elizabeth Hitchener.

² Wundt's *Physiological Psychology*, Vol. II, Ch 18.

ch. I). The vehemency with which Shelley passionately condemns expediency in several places may also be due to Paley's doctrine that "whatever is expedient is right."

Though slander and calumny did its worst in degrading Shelley's Moral Life.

Shelley in the eyes of his contemporaries and pursued him even in his quiet retreat in the paradise of exiles, his character has been sufficiently vindicated by the dispassionate judgment of later days. Mr. Brailsford puts very strongly the other side of the case when he says—"One may doubt whether a saint¹ has ever lived more selfless, more devoted to the beauty of virtue * * The doctrines of perfectibility and universal benevolence clothed themselves for him in the Godwinian phraseology, but they were the instinctive beliefs of his temperament." "Shelley followed in action the principles of universal benevolence." We know how passionate was his life-long love for his fellow-men. Medwin's is an eloquent testimony to Shelley's strong moral qualities even when he was very young and flared up with intense horror and indignation whenever he heard or read of some flagrant act of injustice, oppression, or cruelty. His hatred of tyranny, intolerance, vengeance, retaliation, war, commercial greed, aristocratic pride, luxury, selfishness, sensuousness, not to speak of sensual pleasures, falsehood and insincerity or hypocrisy is a remarkable trait of his noble character. Forgiveness was of the essence of his very nature as we find in his relation with Hogg. Philanthropy was the rule of his life and by disposition he was extremely charitable. "In no individual perhaps was the moral sense ever more completely developed than in Shelley; in no being was the perception of right and wrong more acute," says this very Hogg. "Love was the root and basis of his nature."² Shelley's antipathy to Lord Byron, for whose genius he had almost unbounded admiration,

¹ According to Hogg the purity and sanctity of his life was conspicuous.

² "Shelley" by J. A. Symonds—English Men of Letters, Pocket Edition, p. 31.

on account of Byron's mode of life in Italy, especially at Venice, is another proof of Shelley's high moral standard. Byron bears witness to Shelley's simplicity, delicacy, unworldliness, and disinterestedness. "He had formed," says Byron, "to himself a '*beau ideal* of all that is fine, high-minded and noble, and he acted up to this ideal even to the very letter." Helping whoever was in need and nursing the weak, helpless and sick was habitual with Shelley, especially when he was at Marlow. Self-denial forms a special feature of his character. In Trelawny's language "Shelley loved everything better than himself." Mr. Symonds closes his brief account of the impression made on Trelawny by Shelley with the memorable words—"True to himself, gentle, tender, with the courage of a lion, frank and outspoken, like a well-conditioned boy, well-bred and considerate for others, because he was totally devoid of selfishness and vanity." Shelley seemed to this unprejudiced companion of his last few months that very rare product for which Diogenes searched in vain—a man."¹ And again "Shelley in his lifetime bound those who knew him with a chain of loyal affection, impressing observers so essentially different as Hogg, Byron, Peacock, Leigh Hunt, Trelawny, Medwin, Williams, with the conviction that he was the gentlest, purest, bravest, and most spiritual being they had ever met. The same conviction is forced upon his biographer."²

In defending vegetarianism (which he practised)³ Shelley says, "all vice rose from the ruin of healthful innocence." He lived almost an ascetic life and strongly insisted on "abstinence from animal food and spirituous liquors." In his note on this topic (Notes to *Queen Mab*) he says, "I address myself not only to the young enthusiast, the ardent devotee of truth and virtue, the pure and passionate moralist, yet uninitiated by the contagion of the world. He will embrace a pure system, from its

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³ *Queen Mab* (VIII. 211-218); *Revolt of Islam* (V. LVI and LVII).

abstract truth, its beauty, its simplicity, and its promise of wide-extended benefit," displaying thus his intense moral zeal. The supremacy of this moral zeal in Shelley is an important factor in his attitude towards life and its problems in the early phase of his poetry. It is clear that his moral enthusiasm to a great extent eclipses his artistic instinct as a poet in *Queen Mab* and *Revolt of Islam* leading his critics to fasten on him the charge of didacticism. That Shelley at all succeeded in clothing in eloquent and melodious verse an immature but very earnest reformer's heterodox opinions on politics and religion so enthusiastically in *Queen Mab* was largely due to his inspiring moral fervour. Virtue is practically celebrated everywhere in this early production. The Fairy dwells on the "meed of virtue" and refers to the way in which wealth drives virtue, wisdom, truth and liberty (sec. II), speaks of the "consciousness of good which neither gold, nor sordid fame, nor hope of heavenly bliss, can purchase," adding that "the selfish vainly seek for that happiness denied to aught but virtue" (sec. V), spurs the human spirit "to the goal where virtue fixes universal peace," exhorting it to bravely hold its course under the guidance of virtue firmly pursuing the gradual paths of an aspiring change, for, the "fixed and virtuous will" never gives way before the conqueror, Time, and because

" Virtue shall keep
Thy footsteps in the path that thou hast trod,
And many days of beaming hope shall bless
Thy spotless life of sweet and sacred love" (Sec. IX).

Like Edgeworth's novels, Shelley's poems emphasize the promotion of human happiness as the *summum bonum* of life, thus making ethics in a way more important than orthodox religion. "I will publish nothing that shall not conduce to virtue, and therefore my publications, so far as they do influence, shall influence to good. My views of society, and my hopes of it,

Shelley's moral aim.

meet with congenial ones in few breasts. But virtue and truths are congenial to many. I will employ no means but these for my¹ object....” Again, “ I have often thought that the moral sayings of Jesus Christ might be very useful, if selected from the mystery and immorality which surrounds them; it is a little work I have in contemplation.”² Writing to Hookham, Shelley says, “ if the discovery of truth be a pleasure of singular purity, how far surpassing is the discovery of virtue.”³

His Platonic ideal of the pursuit of perfection makes necessarily of him, in the true sense of the word, a moral philosopher. All his biographers lay special stress on the decidedly moral bent of his mind. Like his great master, Plato, he combines bold and even reckless speculations with exquisite moral delicacy and refinement. Nay, as we have already remarked, this dominance of the ethical note in his writings full of moral fervour is to a great extent responsible for the charge of didacticism⁴ which is alleged to mar the beauty of his early poetical works. “ While he plainly expressed his abhorrence of the didactic manner, he held that art must be moralized in order to be truly great.” “ While he admired the splendour and inventions of Ariosto, he could not tolerate his moral tone.”⁵ Even in his theory of art as enunciated in the “ Defence of Poetry ” the moral excellence and value of poetry is sought to be established.

In his letter to Elizabeth Hitchener (December, 1811) he proposes the publication of a selection made from his “ younger poems ” claiming that she must give him credit for their morality. In the same letter occurs the remark—“ Every prejudice

¹ Letter of February 24, 1812, to William Godwin.

² Letter of February 27, 1812, to Elizabeth Hitchener.

³ Letter of March 6, 1813.

⁴ Mr. Sydney Waterlow in his ‘ Shelley ’ (The People’s Books) rightly says—“ Not for a moment, though, must it be imagined that he was a didactic poet.” (Page 50.)

⁵ J. A. Symonds, “ Shelley ” (English Men of Letters, Pocket Edition, pp. 111 and 112).

conquered, every error rooted out, every virtue given, is so much gained in the cause of reform." The next¹ letter in Mr. Ingpen's edition is to Timothy Shelley where the offending son says—"When convinced of my error no one is more ready to own that conviction than myself, nor to repair any injuries which might have resulted from a line of conduct which I had pursued." At the same time he very courageously and sincerely holds fast to his moral resolve never to promise to conceal his opinions in political or religious matters, because any methods employed either to hypocritically heighten the regret felt by him for having occasioned uneasiness to his father or to meanly concede what he considered his duty to withhold from him "would be unworthy of us both." How he indignantly spurned the hateful offer (called by him a bribe) meditated by his father and grandfather of granting him £2,000 a year, if forswearing his principles he would consent to an² entail of the family estate on his eldest son or his brother, is clear from the burning words suggestive of a high moral ideal occurring in that connection in his letter of 15th December (1811) to Elizabeth Hitchener. On no account even when hard pressed by severe want will Shelley reconcile himself to the loss of "conscious rectitude." His socialism strengthens here in his high moral resolve, for the property in question means "£120,000 of command over labour" which may be "employed for beneficent purposes" or the reverse. Equally significant is Shelley's refusal to accept Hogg's mad challenge to a duel on the grounds, first, of his having no right to expose his life or take Hogg's and, next, of Hogg's life being no fair exchange for his, for, Hogg in his relation with Harriet had failed to act consistently "with any morality whatsoever, whereas Shelley always acted up to his principles" (Letter to Elizabeth Hitchener of 15th December, 1811).

¹ Ingpen's edition of "The Letters of Shelley," Vol. I, p. 195.

² Paine too challenges the right or power of any description of men to bind and control posterity in his "Rights of Man" (page 12, Everyman's Library edition). Cf. Godwin's "Political Justice," Book III, Ch. II.

Referring to Scott's " Vision of Don Roderick " he says to Miss Hitchener (in his letter to her of June 5, 1811)—" I am not very enthusiastic in the cause of Walter Scott. The aristocratical tone which his writings assume does not prepossess me in his favour, since my opinion is that all poetical beauty ought to be subordinate to the inculcated moral.....that metaphorical language ought to be a pleasing vehicle for useful and momentous instruction."

This may sound apparently strange as coming from a person who later on, in the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, emphatically avers " it is a mistake to suppose that I dedicate my poetical compositions solely to the direct enforcement of reform, or that I consider them in any degree as containing a reasoned system on the theory of human life. Didactic poetry is my abhorrence ;¹ nothing can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse." But this, it may be urged, is Shelley in 1819-1820. He acknowledges, however, that he has " a passion for reforming the world." In the Preface to his *Revolt of Islam* too he admits—" I have sought to enlist the harmony of metrical language, the ethereal combinations of the fancy, the rapid and subtle transitions of human passion, all those elements which essentially compose a Poem, in the cause of a liberal and comprehensive morality...." There cannot be any doubt about Shelley's avowed moral aim and practice in his *Queen Mab*, portions of which are not only didactic but even rhetorical. There is a good deal of a sermonizing tone in that immature poem which Shelley vehemently disowned in later life. The simple fact is that practically up to the year 1816 Shelley was in a way more didactic than æsthetic. He wrote to the publisher John Joseph Stockdale on 18th December, 1810,—" I have in preparation a novel (which Mr. Ingpen supposes to refer to " Leonora "); it is principally constructed

¹ Cf. " A poem very didactic, is I think, very stupid." Shelley's letter of January 16, 1813, to Thomas Hookham (page 379 of Ingpen's Letters of Shelley, Vol. I).

to convey metaphysical and political opinions by way of conversation." Shelley's aim as an author in those days of immature enthusiasm is perfectly clear, from all such statements.

We learn from some of his letters of 1820 and 1821 how Shelley became somewhat disillusioned and disheartened by the reception the reading public gave him, will-nigh despaired of succeeding in improving the world by his poetry and even began to lose confidence in himself. Writing to Leigh Hunt from Marlow on December 8, 1816, he pleaded that he was not morbidly sensitive to the injustice of neglect. Yet says he—"I am undeceived in the belief that I have powers deeply to interest, or substantially to improve mankind....Thus much I do not seek to conceal from myself, that I am an outcast from human society; my name is execrated by all who understand its entire import—by those very beings whose happiness I ardently desire. I am an object of compassion to a few more benevolent than the rest, all else abhor and avoid me....Perhaps I should have shrunk from persisting in the task which I had undertaken in early life, of opposing myself in these evil times and among these evil tongues, to what I esteem misery and vice." These sincere and pathetic words are very significant. Possibly in this frame of mind Shelley wrote those lines in *Rosalind and Helen* (published in the Spring of 1819), ascribed to Lionel, which seem to have a reference to Shelley himself :—

" How am I changed ! my hopes were once like fire :
I loved, and I believed that life was love.
How am I lost ! on wings of swift desire
Among Heaven's winds my spirit once did move.
I slept, and silver dreams did aye inspire
My liquid sleep. I woke, and did approve
All nature to my heart, and thought to make
A Paradise of earth for one sweet sake
I love, but I believe in love no more :
I feel desire, but hope not. O from sleep
Most vainly must my weary brain implore

Its long-lost flattery now, I wake to weep,
 And sit through the long-day gnawing the core
 Of my bitter heart, and, like a miser, keep
 Since none in what I feel take pain or pleasure,
 To my own soul its self-consuming treasure."

This is, after all, a dramatic record and not strictly auto-biographical. It should not surely be read as a sort of recantation. We must not take these lines too literally nor press them too far. Yet they give us an idea of a valuable change in Shelley. His *Prometheus Unbound* with all its passionate idealism was yet to come. That his enthusiasm for the cause of morality had not at all abated in consequence of want of popular support is evident from his letter of January 26, 1819, to Peacock in which he says—"At present I write little else but poetry, and little of that. My first act of "Prometheus" is complete, and I think you would like it. I consider poetry very subordinate to moral and political science, and if I were well, certainly I would aspire to the latter.***"

Is it not very significant that when at the end of a bloodless revolution bringing about Jupiter's downfall, Hercules should be introduced as the agent to unbind Prometheus from his chains on Caucasus suggesting how power and strength must subserve a moral end ? A single short speech is assigned to this character who addresses Prometheus thus :—

Most glorious among spirits ! thus doth strength
 To wisdom, courage, and long-suffering love,
 And thee, who art the form they animate,
 Minister like a slave. (Act III, sc. iii.)

Shelley was, it will thus be seen, always eager to advance the cause of morality as he was zealously earnest to practise in his life virtue as he understood it. Without being a didactic poet, except in his *Queen Mab*, he always cherished a high moral aim in all his poetry.

It may be urged that when Shelley composed *Cenci*, a drama based on the model of Elizabethan play-writing, he shook off this predilection for the nonce as he himself claims in his letter to Hunt of September¹ 3, 1819, that "it is nothing which, by any courtesy of language, can be termed either moral or immoral." That was, however, due to his having "laid aside the presumptuous attitude of an instructor"² on this special occasion and it has reference to the manner of treatment but does not strictly speaking apply to the theme. His theme in *Revolt of Islam*, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Cenci* and even *Hellas* (which belongs to a later date, autumn of 1821) is in essence the conflict between good and evil in one shape or other and that, of course, is a moral theme. Even in his *Defence of Poetry* where we note a definite change in his theory of poetry, he deals at some length with the vexed question of the relation between art and morality. It is doubtful how far Shelley's claim that in its manner of (dramatic) treatment *Cenci* is more aesthetic than ethical can bear a close examination. At any rate Mary Shelley in her note to this drama refers to her husband's "desire to diffuse his opinions and sentiments with regard to human nature and destiny" as "the master passion of his soul" (*italics mine*).

The moral bias of his mind is clear also from his depreciation of Michael Angelo as compared with Raphael, for the former seems to him "to have no sense of moral dignity and loveliness."³

Most of his judgments on the Italian painters indicate to what extent they were influenced by the moral bent of his mind. His theory of art as enunciated in his *Defence of Poetry* shows equally the predominance of the moral cast of his mind.

"I am preparing," says Shelley in another⁴ letter, "an octavo on reform" and adds "I intend it to be an instructive and

¹ Ingpen's edition of *Letters of Shelley*, Vol. II, p. 713.

² *Ibid.* p. 690.

³ *Ibid.* p. 712.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 760.

readable book, appealing from the passions to the reason of men." Mr. Roger Ingpen suggests that the reference probably is to "A Philosophical View of Reform."

Speaking of the perpetual temptation he felt for translating the Greek plays and some of the ideal dramas of Calderon, he says to Hunt—"I have confidence in my moral sense alone ; but that is a kind of originality."¹

It is quite clear from the few facts of Shelley's moral ideal and of his moral life that we have put together as well as the moral aim of his writings indicated by the quotations made from his letters that though Godwin's influence on Shelley was immense still several writers on Shelley have overstated the case by trying to prove that Godwin alone or mainly shaped his mind and that Godwin's influence continued to exert itself to the end of Shelley's life. Godwin's philosophical anarchism is not at any rate applied by Shelley to his practical views regarding politics, society and morals. The nature and extent of that influence can be more properly appreciated by estimating rightly the points of resemblance and difference between the master and the disciple.

The letter to Lord Ellenborough as Shelley's protest against the sentence passed on Eaton in May, 1812, for Ethical Note. publishing Part III of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, is inspired by his passion for justice, impatience with intolerance, championship of innocence and fervent regard for truth that "vivifies and illuminates the universe."

He rightly observes that "volition is essential to merit or demerit;" but belief being "an involuntary operation of the mind" and an "apprehension of the agreement of the ideas which compose any proposition" should not be a matter for penalisation by law. His apology for addressing such a letter is lest the presiding officer of a responsible law court should even "inadvertently punish the virtuous and reward the vicious" and

¹ *Ibid*, p. 755.

he reminds the noble Lord that people submit to the authority of a court "on no other conditions than that its decrees should be conformable to justice," and that "policy and morality ought to be deemed synonymous in a court of justice."

He is indignant owing to Eaton, the publisher, being punished with imprisonment because as a Deist he has questioned established opinions—" You persecute him," Shelley says to the judge, " because his faith differs from yours" and then seriously asks, " Do you think to please the God you worship by this exhibition of your zeal ? "

(To be continued.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Sarva-Siddhānta-Samgraha—By Sankarācārya. Critically edited, translated and annotated by Prem Sundar Bose, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Visvabharati.

The Sarva-Siddhānta-Samgraha was for the first time edited and translated by Prof. M. Rangācārya, M.A., Rao Bahadur, of Madras Presidency College about two decades ago. The learned Professor endeavoured to make his book useful to scholars and lay-men alike and his glossary of Sanskrit technical words with their English translation and the informing introduction, in which he discussed the question of authorship, evidently added to the value of the book. The book of course had its shortcomings which are naturally excusable in a pioneer work. Prof. Bose has accordingly brought forward a fresh English translation with his annotations with a view to present to the learned world a thoroughly reliable English rendering free from the drawbacks of the previous edition. We have not yet got the original text as edited by him, which should be a necessary companion to the present book. Prof. Bose has succeeded in giving us a compact English rendering, in which the extra-textual additions of Prof. Rangācārya have been carefully dispensed with. But it must be admitted in the interests of truth that the major portion of these extra-textual additions was helpful for a convenient understanding of the Sanskrit text. It is naturally to be expected that the present book must be a distinct improvement upon its predecessor and in fact this is the only *raison d'être* of such reduplicated endeavours. Of course in several places the present book gives improved version; but in several other places the translation appears to be bald and inexpressive. Not only that, the obvious mistakes and errors of the previous translation have not unfrequently been repeated in the present translation, which could have been avoided if the present author cared to cultivate a first-hand acquaintance with the representative works of the several systems of philosophy, whose fundamental principles have been sought to be epitomised in the original work. We should take care to state specific instances in support of our position. Leaving aside the question of details, it must be confessed that the present work, which is attributed to the great Sankarācārya, the leading protagonist, if not the founder, of the Advaita Vedānta School, is

neither a successful epitome nor a dependable representation of the original systems of thought. Prof. Bose assures us that " Of all works of its kind known so far, the Sarva-Siddhānta-Saṁgraha seems to be the best as an introduction to Indian Philosophy." But this statement of his view will hardly be accepted as a tenable proposition. Not to speak of Mādhabācārya's Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha, which will ever remain as a monument of scholarship and fidelity to the various schools of thought, even the Śāddarśanasamuccaya with Guṇaratna's commentary is a far better and more reliable work than the present Saṁgraha, which does not possess a single feature of scholarship, far less of talent. From this point of view the present writer's labour seems to be a labour not usefully employed, particularly so when we have already in the field a critical edition and translation of the work, which has not outlived its usefulness despite its errors of omission and commission. Prof. Bose has not discussed the vexed question of authorship either in the Foreword, which is disappointingly brief, or in the notes. Apart from its intrinsic merits, which are not overwhelming, the original Saṁgraha seems to be the handiwork of an amateur philosopher, and whoever he may be, it is almost positive that he is not the great Saṅkara. The Saṁgraha speaks of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsa with the Devatākāṇḍa sandwiched between as one science, as one organic whole. But even a tyro knows that Saṅkara (or his school) would be the last person to subscribe to this position. The theistic schools have propounded this doctrine in support of their theory of Jñānakarmasamuccaya, which has been vehemently opposed by Saṅkara and his followers. In fact the burden of the Gītābhāṣya is a refutation of this doctrine, which cuts the very ground on which Advaita philosophy stands. Appayadikṣita in his Parimala has taken care to state in a context ' which may appear by a stretch of imagination to support the contrary view ' that though the expression ' dharma ' (duty) denotes the meaning of Vedic texts, the Dharma-mīmāṁsa should not be held to be a component part of the science of twenty chapters as alleged (ata iha tīkāyāṁ dharmaśabdasya Vedārthamātropalakṣaṇatvam vadadbhiḥ dharmajijñāsā-sūtram Vedārtha-vicāraparam vīṁśatilakṣaṇisādhāraṇāṁ aṅgikṛtam iti na mantavyam. Br. Sū. 1. 11). Saṅkara too has vehemently controverted the theory of organic relation between the two Mīmāṁsās. This, we think, is sufficient evidence to prove the present work as a spurious attribution. Again, the Vaiśeṣika philosophy has been unduly extolled and this is manifestly incongruent with the denunciation of the same in the Sārirakabhbāṣya, where it has been characterised as ' half-nihilistic.' Let alone this question of inconsistency, which may be ingeniously explained

away, the doctrine of three *pramāṇas*, accounted to the credit of the Vaiśeṣika, betrays an inexcusable ignorance of the philosophy which admits in common with the Buddhists only two *pramāṇas*, viz., perception and inference. The definition of Viśeṣa is hopelessly confused. The description of salvation as a state of eternal bliss as a Nyāya doctrine is a "Himalayan blunder," which even a novice is incapable of committing. The praise of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and that in a context of the Vedānta philosophy is too big a dose to be swallowed even by a credulous reader as the genuine statement of Saṅkara. Again, there is a reference to the polemic whether there is only one *jīva* (individual self) or many such *jīvas*, a doctrine which was hotly discussed by the followers of Saṅkara. But this question was in all probability a post-Saṅkara doctrine. It is a pity that both the translators have missed the purport of the ślokas which speaks of this doctrine (Sls. 77-78). Besides, the importance of the doctrine deserves a separate comment, which, however, is conspicuous by its absence. The style of the original work again suffers by comparison with Saṅkara's other works, both prose and verse. There are grammatical mistakes also. Vivarta is used as neuter and 'śonita' as masculine and this is impossible for Saṅkara.

As regards the translation, it is for the most part good in its own way; but it abounds in inaccuracies which should have been avoided. Considerations of space forbid us to go into detail and we must be content to state only a few outstanding instances.

P. 10, Sl. 11. The first line is an obvious mistranslation, *avicārata-saṃsiddhā* means 'accepted *prima facie* without an enquiry.'

P. 11. *Vicāritām* is 'discussed,' not 'maintained.'

P. 13, Sl. 6. The true import is misunderstood. The note 7 on pp. 81-82 makes a hopeless confusion of the Sautrāntika position with Yogācāra doctrine.

P. 14, Sl. 11. The reading 'apekṣā' is obviously a scribe's error for *upekṣā* and so the translation is wrong.

P. 20, Sl. 13. The sense is misunderstood.

P. 21, Sl. 23. 'ayoga' and 'anyayoga' are not happily rendered. A comment on these technical terms is necessary.

P. 24, Sls. 10-11, Unexpressive. The 'utkarsasamā jāti,' being a technical expression, should have been explained. The translation is hopelessly non-committal.

Do., Sl. 12. 'prasajyate' is not 'justified.'

P. 25, Sl. 22. The translation carries a wrong impression, being based on the reading 'Kāraṇādyaiḥ.' The reading in the footnote tat 'Kānā-daiḥ' should be preferred.

P. 29, 5. Misunderstood. The first quarter speaks of the plurality of souls.

P. 31, 5. Misunderstood.

P. 32, 13. 'aprayojaka' is not 'inapplicable.' It means 'devoid of logical bearing and value.'

P. 33. The first half of Sl. 19 is hopelessly misunderstood in both the translations. The meaning will be clear if in prāmānyeno'payujyate 'no'payujyate' is split off. The conjunction is evidently a scribe's mistake. The doctrine of the falsity of the individual soul and the affirmation of the 'universal soul' as the only reality and the description of mokṣa as 'supreme bliss' are too plainly Vedāntic to congrue with the Mīmāṃsā philosophy. At any rate it calls for a learned discussion but unfortunately it has been passed over by both the translators as if it were a commonplace doctrine of the Mīmāṃsā system.

P. 38, 17. 'Dambha' is rendered by 'arrogance' in both the translations. But this is never the sense of the word. It means 'humbug,' 'hypocrisy,' 'fraud.'

P. 38, 21. Misunderstood.

P. 44. 'Sattvaśuddhi' is not 'cleansing of one's being,' which is meaningless so far as the Yoga philosophy is concerned.

P. 47, 53. The order of Idā and Piṅgalā is inverted in the translation.

P. 50, 5. Not expressive.

P. 53, 32. The last sentence carries a wrong impression.

P. 58, 65. 'Lilayā' is not "graciously."

P. 60, 17. 'Vivarṭta' false appearance, 'adumbration' of Brahman' is hopelessly vague.

P. 61. 'apañcikṛtatanmātra,' is wrongly translated as "with the rudimentary elements yet unseparated" but this carries no sense. It denotes the uncompounded state of rudimentary elements in the fashion of Pañcikaraṇa, in which each element is mixed up with the other elements resulting in the emergence of the synthetic gross elements.

P. 66, 57. The translation fails to elucidate the meaning of the text.

P. 67. 'ancestral world' is a bad translation for 'pitṛloka.'

P. 69, 73-75. 'Jiva' should not be translated by 'self' which has been used as an equivalent of 'ātman' elsewhere. Jiva and ātman particularly in this context mean two distinct things. The doctrine broached here relates to the controversy whether there is one jiva, embodied soul or many. The doctrine of one jiva is solipsism. Both the translators' have misunderstood the meaning of the texts here.

P. 69, 76. The first line is misunderstood and the translation is absurd.

P. 70, 82. 'lakṣyate' is a technical expression. It means that 'it is understood by lakṣanā (implication).' The translation does not bring out the idea.

P. 79, 10-12. The note confounds the argument altogether. The argument is that there is no such thing as genus. The individuals alone exist and if genus were a distinct entity, it ought to be perceived as such as the back of the thumb is perceived distinctly (from the front).

The purpose of this rather long review is to draw the attention of the learned translator to these inaccuracies which should not go unchallenged. It is hoped that in a second edition these and other inaccuracies should be rectified and, if it is feasible, corrected notes may be embodied in an appendix, which can be annexed either to this or to the text portion, an edition of which, we believe, is forthcoming.

S. M.

The Pātanjala Darsana—By Babu Harimohan Banerjee, 5-1, Rasi Bose Lane, Calcutta. Price Annas eight.

This is an exceptionally interesting book bearing interpretation of the Pātanjala Sūtras, with a preliminary long Introductory chapter, bearing to light all subtle questions of the Yoga philosophy. It bespeaks the special parts of the author as a practical man in the way of the Yogic practices. There are many other interpretations of the same book, but none of them contains lucid explanation of spiritual ideas, and this is a book that is a free and full exposition of spiritual principles, imparting impressive ideas to the minds of readers.

In the first chapter of the book, the Samadhipad, the different forms of Samādhis known as Nirbitarka, Nirbichāra, Sampragñāta and Asampragñāta, so long not clear to the knowledge of men, have been clearly explained. In the second chapter, the Sādhanāpada, the ways and means how to

gain to the stage of Samādhi by the practices of Yama, Niyama, Prānāyāma, etc., have been well explained. In the third chapter of the book, the Bibhūtipāda, the particular attainments gained by Yoga practices, have been described. They are: how to have a perfect knowledge of the material world; how to study others' turn and temperament of mind; how to elevate the mind to the plane of space in the higher regions; how to attain to the Yogic excellences of Ānimā, Laghimā, etc. The fourth chapter, the Kaibalyapāda, deals with the firm location of the mind in its just place, the Chitta, explaining also how to do away with the tendency of the mind to deviate the Chitta from its just place to other places for which the mind has particular attachment; and firmly seated on Chitta in its just position, the mind rests in perfect peace in communion with the Supreme Being.

S. C.

International Statistical Year Book (June, 1929).—Published by the League of Nations.

Whatever might be the doubtful benefits of the League of Nations in the direction of establishing world peace on safe and secure lines, there is no gainsaying the fact that it has been rendering signal service in the securing of better economic conditions in the different countries of the world. The above book is the third edition of the International Statistical Year Book and the majority of the statistics are carried up to the end of 1927 or 1928. The relevant facts as regards area, population, migration movements, output of foodstuffs, minerals, manufactured products, freights, statistical facts relating to public finance and monetary statistics, rates of exchange and wholesale and retail prices are collected from the authoritative statistical year books, reports of public health departments, census returns, budget documents, and so forth. All agricultural statistics are collected from the International Institute of Rome. The International Labour Office has likewise collected all useful statistics on migration movements, unemployment, and retail prices. As a result of such co-ordinated action we find a set of highly useful facts and figures which can form the necessary material for accurate research.

B. RAMACHANDRA RĀU

Memorandum on International Trade and Balance of Payments, 1913-27, Vol. I (1928)—Published by the League of Nations.

Fuller and more precise statements with brief explanatory notes of the trade statistics under exports and imports, specie movements, invisible imports and exports and capital movements, etc., are gathered in this volume than in the previous one and these are prefaced by an intelligent summary of the results which arise from an analysis of the world trade conditions in 1927 (see pp. 6-9).

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Memorandum on Production and Trade, 1913 and 1923-1927—Geneva, 1929.—Published by the League of Nations.

Herein the growth of the population of the world between 1913-1927, the production of raw materials and foodstuffs and the growth of world trade are studied. The last chapter analyses the relative changes which have taken place in the prices of crude products and manufactured articles.

It would be impossible to indicate within the space of a short review the influence of these economic facts and tendencies. They rest on carefully compiled data. All research scholars must be obliged to the League of Nations for securing, analysing and disseminating the useful information concerning world economic conditions. Unfortunately the day has not yet arrived when the practical results of such information might be said to be exerting some influence on national or international economics. As a great variety of economic problems can be successfully studied with the help of these tables which cover a wide range of countries, we should be grateful to the League for presenting the material in a compact shape.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Political Philosophy of Rabindranath—By Sochin Sen, M.A., B.L. Asher and Co., Calcutta.

The present publication will be received with welcome as the author has made here a laudable attempt to group together the opinions of the poet on topics concerned vitally with the body politic. Politics is surely the most engrossing subject to-day, and one feels interested in what

Rabindranath has to say on Hindu-Moslem questions; ideals of education—an important item in any nation-building programme; the vexed question of land, labour and capital ; relations of man and woman; and last of all (is it because that is the only practicable proposition?), the charka as a means to the attainment of Swaraj. Rabindranath's observations on all these subjects deserve to be carefully noted, and Mr. Sen has done very well in presenting them to the public in a handy form. If this abstract of the poet's thought, in spite of minor blemishes of style and print, will help people to think for themselves, on these problems, it will have, we feel sure, served its purpose. There is no doubt that the book will be read with very great eagerness by the student both of Rabindranath and of Indian politics ; Mr. Pramatha Chaudhuri's thoughtful foreword is an additional inducement.

But with regard to the remarks that are collected here, there is so much which should be said on each item and which has not been said by the author, that we feel the omission very keenly. They require some discussion to be brought out in their proper implications ; the dish served before us is palatable no doubt, but it would have pleased more, had it been salted and seasoned a little with critical observations.

Those who try to understand Rabindranath will thank the writer of this handbook for having been the occasion of an article on the subject from the poet himself in the *Prabasi, Agrahayana*, 1896 B.S. There he says that some of the translations of the poet's observations in the book not being made by him, cannot give a correct idea of his own thought, that the book fails to give any organic idea of his political philosophy, that, though it is correct in parts, the *ensemble* is misleading. He, therefore, has given his own idea of the Indian politics, reviewing that idea historically as—says the poet—is strictly necessary for the right understanding of any human being whose train of ideas may appear at first to suffer from inconsistency but will be clearly understood if we care to observe the processes of growth at work. But we shall be going out of our way if we summarise or criticise the poet's view stated in that article, or for that matter, in the book under review.

P. R. S.

Ourselves

A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Subodhchandra Mitra, M.A., has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on

(1) On Modular Equations and Complex Multiplication
Maduli of Elliptic Functions.

Sub-Thesis—

- (1) on the Division of the Lemmiscate into 9 equal parts.
- (2) on the Complex Multiplication of Elliptic Functions with imaginary Maduli.
- (3) on the Expansion of the product of two parabolic cylinder functions in a series of parabolic cylinder functions.
- (4) on the roots of the confluent hypergeometric functions.
- (5) on a type of Modular relations.

* * *

DR. SUDDHODAN GHOSH.

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Dr. Suddhodan Ghosh, D.Sc., on the report of the Examiner on his third year's research as Premchand Roychand Scholar in Scientific Subjects for 1926 being accepted by the Syndicate.

* * *

THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN LITERARY SUBJECTS FOR 1926.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Literary Subjects for the year 1926, has been awarded to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., on his thesis entitled "The Influence of Western Literature in the Development of Bengali Novels."

THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN LITERARY SUBJECTS
FOR 1927.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Literary Subjects for the year 1927, has been awarded to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., on his thesis entitled "Development of Bengali Literature under the Influence of Western Culture."

* * *

MAHARAJA SIR J. M. TAGORE LAW MEDALS.

To award the Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore Law Medals, examinations will be held on Saturday, the 14th June, 1930, and Saturday, the 21st June, 1930, respectively, of the candidates who attended 75 per cent. of the lectures on (1) "The Fundamental Concept of Public Law" delivered in 1919 by Dr. W. W. Willoughby and (2) "The Development of International Law in the Twentieth Century" delivered in 1922 by Dr. J. W. Garner.

The candidates should state in their applications the name of the Law College where they prosecuted their studies in Law, and the year they attended the above mentioned Tagore Law Lectures.

No application will be entertained after the 14th May, 1930.

* * *

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for 1928 will be divided equally among the following candidates :—

- (1) Subodhchandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
- (2) Manmohan Sen, Esq., D.Sc.
- (3) Gurugovinda Chakravarti, Esq., B.Sc.
- (4) Subodhgovinda Chaudhuri, Esq., M.Sc.

MR. P. K. DAS.

We are glad to notice that portions of the paper on "New Light on Nature in the Age of Pope" written by Mr. P. K. Das, M.A., Professor of English, Krishnagar College, Bengal, have been published in the *Englische Studien* and also in the *Miscellaneous Notes of the Modern Language Review* (for April, 1928) and to announce that appreciative remarks on the paper have been made by such distinguished scholars as Professor C. H. Herford, F.B.A., Litt.D. (Cambridge and Manchester), Hon. Lit.D. (Vict. Wales), and G. C. Moore Smith, Esq., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Sheffield, Hon. Ph.D. (Louvain), Hon. LL.D. (St. Andrews).

* * *

"DIE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE" ANNOUNCES THREE NEW
SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS.

India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," whose object is to promote cultural relations and better understanding between Germany and India, is pleased to announce that through the valued co-operation of the educational authorities of the state of Wurttemberg, three scholarships have been secured for worthy Indian students, who are to carry on post-graduate studies in Agriculture in the Agricultural College at Hohenheim, Engineering in the College of Technology at Stuttgart and Physics in the University of Wurttemberg at Tubingen.

These scholarships consist of only "free tuition fees," which will amount to about 400 marks or 20 pounds sterling a year and nothing more. These scholarships are tenable for one year; and on special consideration may be renewed for another year. The scholars will have to bear all other expenses except the tuition fees. Over and above his tuition fees a foreign

student in a German University, who wishes to live very inexpensively will require at least 150-200 marks or 8-10 pounds per month.

A candidate for any of these scholarships must be a graduate of an Indian, British or American University and must have a *fair knowledge of the German language*. He should give a brief account of his academic career and file with the application at least one testimonial of scholarship from a professor and a certificate about his knowledge of the German language. All applications must reach the Honorary Secretary of India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," before the 1st of April, 1930. A committee of experts will select the three successful candidates—one for Agriculture, one for Engineering and one for Physics—and announce its choice on or about May 1st, 1930; and the winners of the scholarships will be promptly informed of the decision so that they will be able to make necessary arrangements to reach Stuttgart, before October 15th, 1930, to begin their regular college work from the winter semester of 1930. All Communications are to be directed to

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,
Honorary Secretary,
India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie,"
Munich (Bavaria), Germany.

* * *

THE COMMEMORATION VOLUME OF THE "BULLETIN OF THE CALCUTTA MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY."

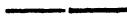
The Commemoration Volume of the "Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society" is likely to be out in April, 1930, and will contain the following papers :

- (1) J. Larmor (Cambridge) : The Transmission of Free Electric Waves in the Atmosphere, pp. 1-8.

- (2) H. Lamb (Cambridge) : On the Flow of a Compressible Fluid past an Obstacle, pp. 9-16.
- (3) L. Bieberbach (Berlin) : Zur Theorie der schlichten Abbildungen, pp. 17-20.
- (4) W. Sierpinski (Warswa) : A Property of Ordinal Numbers, pp. 21-22.
- (5) F. W. Dyson (Greenwich) : The Variation of Latitude, pp. 23-30.
- (6) L. Tonelli (Bologna) : Sulle Equazioni Funzionale del tipo di Volterra, pp. 31-48.
- (7) L. Fejér (Budapest) : Über einen S. Bernstein-schen Satz über die Derivierte eines trigonometrischen Polynoms und über die Szegösche Verschärfung desselben, pp. 49-54.
- (8) F. Riesz (Szeged) : Sur l'approximation des fonctions continues et des fonctions sommables, pp. 55-58.
- (9) T. Takagi (Tokyo) : On the Theory of Indeterminate Equations of the Second Degree in Two Variables, pp. 59-66.
- (10) T. Hayashi (Sendai) : A Problem on Probability, pp. 67-74.
- (11) A. R. Forsyth (London) : Geodesic Curves in some Triple Regions within Four-dimensional Flat Space, pp. 75-100.
- (12) G. Prasad (Calcutta) : Presidential Address, pp. 101-108.

- (13) E. R. Hedrick (Los Angeles) : On Certain Properties of Non-analytic Functions of a Complex Variable, pp. 109-124.
- (14) C. Caratheodory (München) : Bemerkungen zu den Existenz-theoremen der Konformen Abbildung, pp. 125-134.
- (15) D. E. Smith (New York) : Certain Questions in the History of Mathematics, pp. 135-138.
- (16) N. Lusin (Moscow) : Sur une propriété des fonctions à carré sommable, pp. 139-154.
- (17) G. Prasad (Calcutta) : On the Function θ in the Mean-value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, pp. 155-184.
- (18) M. Fréchet (Paris) : Sur un développement des fonctions abstraites continues, pp. 185-192.
- (19) R. Fueter (Zürich) : Zur Theorie der Relativ-Abelschen Körper, pp. 193-198.
- (20) E. T. Whittaker (Edinburgh) : Oliver Heaviside, pp. 199-218.
- (21) G. H. Hardy (Oxford) and J. E. Littlewood (Cambridge) : Some Problems of Diophantine Approximations.
- (22) A. Sommerfeld (München) : Über die Hauptschnitte eines polydimensionalen Würfels.
- (23) H. Hahn (Wien) : Ueber unendliche Reihen und Absolut-Additive Mengenfunktionen.

- (24) A. N. Singh (Lucknow) : Some Remarks concerning a Paper of Dr. Besicovitch.
- (25) N. R. Sen and N. N. Ghosh (Calcutta) : Contribution to the Theory of Gravitational Field with Axial Symmetry.
- (26) Bibhutibhusan Datta (Calcutta) : On Mahavira's Solution of Rational Triangles and Quadrilaterals.
- (27) E. Salkowski (Charlottenberg) : Zur Theorie der Affinminimalflächen.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1930

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

A pleasant episode in the discharge of my public duties is to preside as Chancellor of this University over its annual Convocation and to hear from the Vice-Chancellor the reports of steady progress made year by year. This occasion gives me the opportunity of meeting both those who have devoted their lives to the sacred task of the advancement of knowledge and its propagation, and those who have finished the first part of their education and stand expectant at the portals of active life.

I thank you for your welcome and assure you that I fully appreciate the honour which, being the Chancellor of this University, confers on me and the responsibility it entails. It is my desire to do everything I can to forward its interest and to secure its progress.

I listened with great pleasure to the Vice-Chancellor's speech and the excellent advice he addressed to those who have just taken their degrees, and I would ask them to accept my congratulations upon their success and my sincere good wishes for their future.

¹ Delivered at the Senate House, February 8, 1930.

I should like to remind you of a truth, which your own later experience may enforce, that the most important subjects are not included in the curriculum and the most significant lessons are learnt outside the class room. Your education will not have been to your best advantage, if you have not learnt from the world outside as well as from books, if beyond history or mathematics you have not gained some knowledge of the secrets of self-reliance and the art of living in a community. National prosperity depends amongst other things on a sound political system, a strong bond of unity and fellowship, a social order that provides fair opportunities for all and industrial and agricultural development. But the true greatness of a nation comes mainly through the character of its citizens. I trust you will take away from these precincts, as you leave them as students, not only that store of learning which you have gathered by your industry, but also high ideals and resolves and a happy recollection of the days you have spent here.

To the Universities, India must look for leaders—political, social and industrial,—and the task of direction demands with a pre-eminence in knowledge, a pre-eminence in character.

It is often said that the future must settle its own problems and we are apt to wonder what the members of the rising generation will do. What they will do depends upon what they are, and that largely depends upon what we of the older generation make them. In some respects we recognise our responsibility. We lavish our resources on educational work with considerable freedom, yet we sometimes seem to be more concerned with the machinery of education than with its main purpose of shaping character. But the whole responsibility cannot be cast upon educational establishments. The effectiveness of home influence in building sound character is one of the greatest needs to-day not only in India, but throughout the world and parents cannot delegate such tasks to others which are so essentially their own.

The function of a University in the State is a large and important one. It involves the provision of opportunities for, and the encouragement of, research and higher scholarship. I was glad to hear from the Vice-Chancellor of the remarkable achievements of Calcutta scholars in these fields and of the reputation they have won by their contributions to different branches of learning. It involves also the duty of training the minds and drawing out the intellectual faculties of the thousands of students under its charge and of equipping them for their several avocations and professions, so that they may readily find for themselves a place in the social order. But more than all else, it involves the forming of the characters of those who by virtue of their opportunities and qualifications should aspire to be the leaders of the community.

I agree with the Vice-Chancellor that these noble and important tasks cannot be properly fulfilled by a University, unless equipped with liberal resources in men and money. In the past, this University has attracted the generosity of wealthy and discriminating benefactors. We all regret and deplore the recent loss of two such benefactors by the death of Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwar Singh, of Darbhanga, and Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, and I join with you in your expression of sympathy for their families. But in Bengal, where this University is an object of just pride and affection, there must be many others who have the means to minister to its needs and enable it to extend its claim to the gratitude of its alumni and the province they serve.

The appeal made by the Vice-Chancellor for a generous provision for the needs of the University deserves full and sympathetic consideration. As is well known, the Government of Bengal dispose of a revenue, most of the items of which are inelastic and which, in relation to the population, is inadequate to the actual and growing needs of the province. Our resources are comparatively small: they are incapable of large or ready expansion, but from them we have to assume the responsibility

for assisting two Universities, a number of high schools greater than those of any other four provinces together, and nearly 60,000 primary schools. As a result of social and economic conditions, higher education has developed in Bengal more rapidly than primary education and established itself more securely, and it has naturally absorbed a large share of the funds available for education. The interim report of the Committee of the Statutory Commission on educational progress points out that while in Madras, of the total educational expenditure in 1927, only 9·7 per cent. was spent on Universities and colleges, 19·8 on secondary education and 37·7 on primary education, and in Bombay 10·1 on higher education, 19·9 on secondary schools and no less than 52 per cent. on primary schools, the corresponding figures for Bengal were 22·2, 32·3 and 17 per cent. More than half the available money was devoted to mass education in Bombay, while in Bengal we spent more than a fifth on Colleges and Universities and only about a sixth on primary schools. It is true that a large part of the expenditure was met from fees, but this applies equally to primary and higher institutions in this province. In 1929, a little over 25 per cent. of the expenditure of Government on education was spent on Universities and colleges and only 17 per cent. on primary education.

I do not cite these figures and make these comparisons to suggest that the financial administration of the University is extravagant or that the expenditure on higher education should be reduced. We have heard from the Vice-Chancellor's Report that a competent and industrious Committee has lately investigated the organisation and staffing of the Departments of higher study in the University; and I am sure that they have made their recommendations with due regard to economy consistent with efficiency. But these figures do show that in Bengal we are spending far too little on the education of the masses and that the need of primary education for money presents an incontestable claim. The uplift of the masses is vital to the well-

being and development of the country and should be a matter of the deepest interest not only to Government but also to all those who by their education should take an enlightened and liberal view of public affairs.

At the same time, as your Chancellor, I am anxious that the quality of the training imparted by the University should not suffer from lack of funds. Government have to compare and balance the claims of different grades and branches of education; but they will always be responsive to the just demands of an efficient system of higher education. In putting forward our claim to Government, I would suggest that the University will be well advised to go further than present a mere statement that money is required, and to indicate as clearly as possible the activities for which money is required with an explanation of the importance of the claim that each of these activities will have on Government's funds. My experience leads me to believe that this is necessary to compete successfully with the other demands on Government's resources. I would again express the hope that as in the past, the munificence of public-spirited individuals will come to the assistance of an Institution of such national importance and usefulness. The Vice-Chancellor has pointed out that any attempt to increase the income from fees by the admission of large numbers of students must involve a disastrous lowering of standards and with this view I think there is general agreement. But I should like to suggest for your consideration whether it may not be possible to achieve the same result by raising the rate of fees in the Post-Graduate Department. It is right that elementary education should be cheap so as to be available to all, however poor, but a University education, especially a post-graduate course, cannot be a cheap commodity and those who enjoy it may fairly be asked to contribute a reasonable proportion of its cost.

There is another matter to which I should like to refer once again, namely, the problem of what is termed 'middle class unemployment.' Every year it becomes more acute and affects

large numbers, but any effective solution still seems far distant. The Universities in India must be concerned at this difficult problem. A system of higher education cannot justify itself if it takes no account of the social and economic structure of the country for whose benefit it exists, or of what is to become of those whom it has educated. It must be a mistake when the whole atmosphere of a high school is one of preparation for the University. It might be better if there was some discriminatory diversion of boys obviously unfitted for higher work of University life to careers better suited to their capacity.

This is evidently a problem that asks for your most serious consideration. It has been suggested that the establishment of a University Employment Bureau, while it cannot provide a radical cure, may yet mitigate the extent of the evil.

Last year I referred to the importance of the University obtaining a suitable University playing field. I understand a search was made for a pitch on the Maidan, but one is not available. I suggest that such a place would not be suitable. The University should have a ground of its own which it can enclose. I should like to see this accomplished before I relinquish my position as Chancellor and I should be ready to give all the assistance I can to any scheme which is put up.

The educational difficulties that face us in Bengal are neither few nor simple. The lack of money, the backwardness of women's education, the wastage in primary schools, the scarcity of trained teachers, the low standards and inadequate equipment of many institutions of all grades, the absence of any considered and wide system of vocational training, the obstacles in the way of fostering a spirit of friendly activity and corporate fellowship in schools and colleges—these are only some of the more important. But there is no need to despair; a clear appreciation of the nature and magnitude of our difficulties must be an incentive to worry out a solution. We have not inherited perfect institutions or ancient traditions, we have had to create them and fashion them suited to the genius of the country.

We must not be daunted by our difficulties : let us take pride in surmounting them. But it will need our wisest thought and by learning even from failures we must ruthlessly discard whatever is ineffective or inferior. It will need courage, patience and good-will, but these will be forthcoming with a determination to consider only the welfare of Bengal and the ability of its educational system to give the best possible to the people.

V—MATHEMATICS AND AGRICULTURE¹

The Critical Spirit.

In this and the following article several applications to agriculture of elementary mathematical expedients are described. The choice of these has been determined by accident, by convenience, and by the fact that they have not been published as such before. Emphasis has elsewhere been laid on applications to medicine. Neither here nor anywhere is there any suggestion that a complete treatment is given; that would be possible only from a specialist in the subject. Nor is it suggested that mathematics has anything substantial to teach to any of the arts or the sciences. The sole suggestion is that we have entered into a heritage which obscures understanding and clogs progress to an extent that none of us yet appreciates. It is possible to replace this obscurantism by another. What we seek to do is to avoid this, and to find instead the apparatus and the media of representation that best suit the circumstances of our own day.

Routine Work.

The Agricultural Department of a Provincial Government has recently issued a "Bulletin" giving guidance as to the arrangement and the conduct of field experiments. A large section of this publication deals with the statistical manipulation of the results by methods which are mainly elementary. It seems a great waste of the time of any experts that they should have to try to do for their subordinates what could have been done better by mathematical teachers in a general course; for it is unlikely that the inner significance of these methods will be well appreciated when their application is restricted to but one type of problem.

This feeling, that there is an unfortunate, if at present necessary, duplication of effort in writing out such a special course in elementary statistics, is intensified by the appearance last year of an interesting book, "Secondary School Examination Statistics," which describes from the inside the machinery of examinations in England. A large part of this volume also is occupied with an exposition of elementary ideas in statistics, covering practically the same ground as the agricultural publication! How much less of a mystery these statistical terms would appear if they were first encountered in a large setting as part of a course in a normal education! The specialised treatment they receive at present makes a progressive American publisher express the reactionary desire for a book which would explain statistics in the everyday language of the business man, doing away with medians, modes and all such terms! The demand for light is a real one; but even an American is led to prefer rushlights.

"Controlled" Experiments.

This agricultural bulletin, however, raises an even more serious issue, which may recall Mr. Baldwin's chief fear referred to in the first article. In the bulletin repeated reference is made to "the demonstration point of view," and to the need for taking greater precautions in another part of the farm for the sake of "the more discriminating public." This may appear a clear enough demonstration of the truth of that hoary idea, most incisively expressed by the Public Orator of Cambridge University: "He that seeketh findeth"—he finds what he seeks, as we know from the use of quotations and statistics.

The point is perhaps a rather delicate one; for do we not still hear of professors of chemistry who think it legitimate to lend friendly aid to a demonstration experiment that seems not to be behaving properly? Similar justification may apply more cogently to farm experiments; for conservatism and submissiveness rule more firmly among the onlookers there, it is hoped,

than among students of chemistry. The issue becomes serious and difficult for us here in thinking of reform of the teaching of mathematics in that, if anything is sought as a result of a new presentation it is that it should help to waken the critical faculty in students, instead of its being smothered as it generally is at present. It should be made quite impossible for any student to answer as did a graduate in economics recently when an interpretation of certain figures was criticised; he objected that the opinion criticised was that of experts, and was given in a Report of a Royal Commission !

However, the threat to our ideal in discriminating between cultivators is not immediately alarming. The effects of the new power of discrimination may percolate through to the tillers of the soil, and be applied to crops and to experimenters. But by that time a second edition of the Bulletin will have been called for ! Mathematicians, even if they do come directly into the arena of economic life and teach what may be directly beneficial, would betray their tradition if they did not stand for explicitness and thoroughness, and for as rigorous thinking as may be possible in practical affairs.

Stock Rearing.

An even more striking example of the part a course in generalised graphs may play in agricultural science comes from England—indeed from Cambridge, the fortress of Mathematics. (But Cambridge has no repute as a stronghold of graphs, and so the circumstances may not be very surprising.) A professor there in discussing three years ago the rearing of farmstock, expressed regret that no graph could be drawn from which might be read off, against the *age* and the *weight* of an animal, the amount of *foodstuffs* it ought to be given. The matter abounds in technicalities, of course; but the nature of the difficulty may be sufficiently realised without diagrams if it is mentioned that the chief complication was that the number giving the weight

was to be raised to the two-thirds power; and so it seemed necessary to give detailed instructions for the calculation of the animal's diet—instructions which included the use of two ordinary graphs. To an outsider the rules to be followed seemed rather elaborate for even an intelligent practical farmer, but they were probably of considerable use to the workers in an experimental station. As a matter of fact, however, the desired graph may be drawn in several different ways and in the nomographic form nothing could be simpler—a thread stretched across the diagram from a mark on one scale corresponding to the *age* of the animal to the mark for its *weight* on a second scale passes through the graduation which shows on a third scale the *amount of food* to be given. (Nomograms continue the all-conquering march indicated for them in "Mathematics and Life." They are now common in wireless journals, they are beginning to appear in textile periodicals, and they are provided for the use of subordinates in the offices of irrigation engineers.) A considerably more complicated graph with the same idea for the growth of the human animal—more complicated in that it takes account of *height* as well as of *weight*—had actually been reproduced from a medical book as the first figure in the text book in which this new course was worked out in 1926. While the principles on which such graphs may be constructed are not generally known, waste through fumbling is inevitable. There can be no question but that an examination of these principles by all students should replace much of the exercise in geometry now in vogue.

VI.—MATHEMATICS AND THE SCIENCES.

Diagram-fitting.

In the preceding article medicine and agriculture were seen as in need of exactly the same graphical device. One more instance of the graphing of agricultural data should be given, in

order to exhibit an even more complete contrast between the sciences which may share the benefits of a particular type of graph. It refers to the results of analysis of a certain soil in the C. P. at different depths. One aim of the investigation is to describe how the amount of nitrogenous material in the soil varies from time to time during the year. The diagrams are simple in principle, but are not as easy to describe as a nomogram ; yet it may be possible even without their aid, to indicate the main point. Imagine the sets of six figures each, which at different dates give the quantity of nitrogen in the soil for every six inches down to three feet. In the original diagram these were represented by sets of six horizontal bars one below the other, in positions corresponding to the dates. This gave a very large diagram, which appeared clumsy and far from illuminating to the non-agricultural eye. With attention it was possible, however, to see how in the figure the nitrogen was represented as being washed downwards by monsoon showers. The hint for a better representation came from an investigation in *marine biology*! In a journal devoted to this science the variation from time to time in the number of diatoms at different depths below the surface of a loch in Western Scotland was found represented in a very illuminating way by what may be called *time contours*. Just as on a contour map it is easy to determine the number of feet above sea level corresponding to a given position, so from this diagram could be read the number of diatoms at a given time and for a given depth. This method of representation, applied to the figures for nitrogen in the soil, at once brought out the main facts with great clearness, suggested where there were probably defects in the analysis, and indicated other phenomena which seemed to demand an explanation. This device, it was found later, is much used in meteorology to represent changes at various heights in the atmosphere, and for other similar purposes.

Waste in Physics.

In the recent literature of other sciences instances of wasteful elaboration of truisms, of inept choice of graphs, or of failure to use appropriate devices are not infrequent. In a most excellent book on Biophysics, republished this year, a whole page is given to a graph for converting values of *pH* into concentrations of hydrogen ions. The graph is apparently felt to be clumsy ; for the author makes the suggestion that it should be redrawn on semi-logarithmic paper (which, by the way, cannot be purchased in Bombay !). But the result could be attained more easily and effectively by merely drawing the two scales on either side of one line, thus also effecting a considerable saving of space. In the same book near the beginning is given quite dogmatically a series of ten statements about the energy values of foods. These are the same as are shown much more clearly and more fully in the scalene triangular diagram described in the seventh of the " Mathematics and Life " articles. How much better had been the foothold of the student at the commencement of his struggle with biophysics, had it been possible for him to refer, without laboured geometrical explanation to a comprehensive summary of basal facts such as this graph gives !

Even in Physics, the connection of which with mathematical modes of expression is so intimate, instances of misfit and of waste may be found. For the latter we turn to a journal of the very highest standing where in an investigation into terrestrial magnetism it seems to be assumed that physicists are ignorant of the most elementary ideas of statistics. This paper itself is noteworthy as a specimen of lucid compression, due to the standardising of a system of symbols ; but much of the advantage of this is lost through failure to use the short cuts that have been standardised in statistical theory.

Efficiency in Economics.

To illustrate how unsatisfactory is the use sometimes made of mathematics in Psychology reference may be made to a journal issued from Cambridge, on one page of which is given what can be described, only with the greatest charity, as anything else than mathematical jargon. Sometimes there are signs in Economics as well that editors treat mathematical symbols used by their contributors as outside their purview. As regards loss due to the economist not seeking in a reasonable way the help of mathematics, we must let the expert speak. He compares the two main lines of development of mathematical economics, *viz.*, economic statistics, and theoretical work on index numbers, interest rates, currency and the price level, etc., with laboratory experiment and mathematical physics respectively, which must progress side by side. He then adds : " Incidentally this trend in economics is demanding more and earlier mathematics. The prospective economist who is not familiar with calculus before his second year is now at a disadvantage. Both in economic theory and in statistics *the rate of learning* could be *quadrupled* if all the students in the class could handle calculus, if texts were available assuming this condition, and, if the instructors were themselves able to take advantage of the situation. The economist has small use for conic sections or for drill in solving triangles, but he does need calculus...The graduate student who now so commonly turns aside from the subject of his choice to struggle with elementary mathematics is probably acting wisely, but the diversion of attention from his main interest must make the results less valuable than if his mathematics were already well enough consolidated to allow him to go straight ahead."

The Dawning?

It is more cheering to turn to the other side of the picture. A comprehensive review of Prof. Pigou's " Industrial Fluctuations " provided an opportunity to test how far the course of

elementary graphs and statistics here proposed might meet the demands of the modern student of economics. The reviewer, Sir Josiah Stamp, pointed out that only a modest use was made of Cambridge analytical methods. The mathematical ideas of importance for the future were instanced as amplitude, correlation, lag, ratio of dispersion, fullness of swing, concomitant variation, elimination of constant trend. All of these were found to have been considered in the scheme proposed though without reference to their applications to economics. This is as it must be, for the fundamental definitions of economics are too complex to be utilised at so early a stage. It may not be quite out of place to recall the attention of teachers of economics to the stages, described in the same place, by which students may be expected to attain a scientific point of view in economics—preparation, incubation, illumination, verification. Can they be related to the four years of College life? Certainly here we are concerned only with “preparation.”

As to chemistry, we merely note how in Mellor's great *Treatise on Inorganic Chemistry* it has been thought desirable to insert at the beginning of each volume, from Vol. III onwards, an explanation of the use of triangular graphs; but no hint is given of the adaptability of this device which was described in “Mathematics and Life.”

The number of ways in which mathematics is used in current scientific literature is most certainly increasing, and there are signs that the time is not distant when the most common devices will be systematised and made available for workers in all fields, e.g., the charts at the end of Lipka's “Graphical and Mechanical Computation” should be known to others than engineers. There are splendid examples already, such as A. V. Hill's lectures on our muscular and nervous systems called “Living Machinery,” where graphs are used in such a way as to open vistas along the new ways in which we are beginning to see the common things around us. There would be

clear gain in training the eyes of young students to gaze along these vistas, and later they may find themselves able to scan broader prospects in which the mathematical guiding marks have been lost in a richer interest.

JOHN MACLEAN

COULEUR DE ROSE ?

She is like wind swirling through an unfettered keyhole.

She is like the gold of luscious oranges when all
the pips have been cast away.

Golden is my girl, and silver and jade, amethyst,
sapphire and opal.

For opal, jealous of the rainbows, has all tints in one.

And my girl's red-hot fingers (scorched at the fire
of genius), play upon a harpsichord of coloured keys.

She is all I have imagined of delight.

Yes, I am in love with her !

(MRS.) GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

III

From 1818 to 1836.

In their general outcry of ‘down with the Company’s salt monopoly,’ they were further backed by the dominant philosophy of the day that had unbounded faith in unrestrained competition as the panacea for all evils. Truly was it said by a contemporaneous writer that the monopoly owed to its name half the ill-will exhibited towards it.

But the Bengal monopoly had to defend itself not merely against its enemies in England. At home it had to reckon with the growing discontent of the vast mass of subject population. The unwise policy of Cornwallis had borne its bitter fruits and the country was suffering from all its worst evils. From the platform and from the press began to be hurled forth invectives against the monopoly which was made the scapegoat of all evils, both real and imaginary.¹

The agitation was so strong and public opinion was moving against the monopoly so rapidly that the Governor-General had to propose in 1833 the publication of such documents connected with the subject as might be necessary “to meet and refute the unfounded assertions cast upon the salt department both in India and in England.”²

But it was hardly enough to be able to silence the critics at home and abroad for the Government was itself embarrassed by

¹ In a largely attended public meeting in Calcutta, speakers emptied forth their vials of righteous indignation against the monopoly. But differences of opinion there certainly were even then as they are always bound to be. It is interesting to note that the monopoly had in Mr. Dwarakanath Tagore, a foremost Indian of his time, one of its most ardent advocates.

² Separate letter from Bengal (No. 9 of 1833, dated the 14th October).

the "“trouble, the annoyance, the uncertainty, and the anxiety imposed by the system.”¹ During the period Bengal’s salt tax formed an important subject of anxious discussions in many a despatch from the Court of Directors. In 1821 they first adversely commented on Bengal’s management of the salt revenue.² And in 1827 the Bengal Government received from them a despatch wherein the auction system was discussed and its soundness seriously questioned. “ We however wish you,” wrote they, “to consider whether instead of periodical sales, the public might not be supplied with salt from the Government warehouses at a fixed price whereby the subordinate monopoly of the salt merchants,...would be prevented, and salt would not be liable to those excessive fluctuations in supply and in price to which the article is now subjected....” “We are most anxious,” they continued, “ that a limit should be put to the rate of this tax, and that the people should have the benefit in reduction of prices, of any increase of sale which the progress of demand may produce.” The Court of Directors had thus got into the heart of the problem.

But their advice remained a mere pious wish. The cherished opinion of the Bengal Board of Revenue that “no mode has been devised for collecting the same amount of revenue, which will be less burthensome to the community than that of periodical sales” died hard. The Government concurred in the opinion of the Board and expressed itself in favour of continuing the old system.

As the time for the renewal of Charter was drawing nigh, the discussions and controversies became more acrimonious than

¹ Letter of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to the Governor of Bengal, 30th November, 1835.

² Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, 8th August, 1821. “Taking in one connected view the whole of your proceedings in relation to the provision of salt.....we cannot fail to be struck by the very great fluctuations in the management of this branch of revenue which assumes much more the appearance of a series of experiments towards the discovery of an efficient permanent system, than a system itself.”

ever. As was usual, the grant of the Charter was preceded by exhaustive inquiries in course of which the question of salt tax naturally received a special prominence.

The Committee on Indian affairs of 1831-32 concluded that the total amount of revenue obtained from salt was "too large to be given up" and was at the same time not commutable "for any other tax less onerous to the inhabitants." So far as Bengal was concerned, the Committee found that it was not "expedient to interfere with the existing regulation on that head" for "the collection of an excise duty on salt manufactured for private account would not be easily carried into effect in consequence of the expense and difficulty of establishing an efficient superintendence." Since however it had evidence that "Bengal might obtain a cheaper supply of salt by importation from the seacoasts of Coromandal and Malabar, Ceylon, the gulf of Persia and even Great Britain than any system of home manufacture," it was in its opinion "desirable to adopt means for encouraging a supply of salt by importation in lieu of the manufacture by the Government." But the Committee realised at the same time that it would be ill-advised to abandon the home manufacture at once as there were still doubts about the large supply of imported salt. It therefore suggested the adoption, in the first instance, of a system of "contract for the delivery of imported salt into public warehouses." Under the system, the Committee believed, there would be "a gradual decline of home manufacture until so large a proportion of the consumption would be imported that it might be safe to permit the free import of salt, under a custom duty, the Government sanctioning the manufacture in such districts only (if any) where it could then be profitably carried on." And it was confident that this would mean a "material reduction in the price of salt."

The British salt merchants, determined not to be satisfied with anything short of the abolition of the monopoly, naturally received the recommendations of the Committee with chagrin. Their agitation, never relaxed, was now renewed with

greater vigour. It is well-known that the new Charter Act had forced the Company to divest itself of its commercial character altogether and, to part with its assets at a valuation. The fact was eagerly seized upon by those interested in order to discredit the salt monopoly as an infraction of the terms of the Charter.

Meanwhile, the salt proprietors and manufacturers, preparatory to presenting a petition to the House of Commons, proposed to supply to the Company two or three lakhs of maunds of pure refined salt to be delivered to Calcutta at the price of Rs. 90 per 100 maunds.¹ The object was to afford an opportunity to decide doubts entertained in certain quarters regarding the importation of salt from England. The Court of Directors on a full consideration of the proposal in all its bearings declined to accept the tender.²

A thorough and comprehensive *ad hoc* enquiry into the whole question, involving issues so complex and at the same time so far-reaching in character could no longer be delayed for the subject had soon become a constantly recurring theme

¹ Letter of 11th July, 1835, to the Secretary to the Court of Directors.

² Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 22nd July, 1835, communicated to the merchants and manufacturers in a letter, dated the 23rd July, 1835. We can know the reasons from the minute of the Judicial and Legislative Committee of the 21st July, 1835 (see App. to the Select Committee on Salt, 1836, No. 69). We quote it here *in extenso* : "The Committee fully considering the probable result of the experiment in relation to the probable pecuniary return, from which alone theyc annot anticipate any great or permanent benefit, but at most a profit which, if equal in any case to that of the average of the Bengal agencies, will still be dependent for its being so on the accident of a rate of freight too low, as the Committee conceive, to be built upon in prospective arrangements of such magnitude and further taking into view the manner in which the mode of supply may affect the Mobunghees of Bengal ; the manner in which it may affect the Indian interests employed in the coastal shipping, by which the deficiency of Bengal manufacture is at present supplied ; the degree in which the importation of any considerable quantity of English salt might lead to the extension of smuggling from the native manufacturers and the degree in which the English may be liable to greater uncertainty than the Indian supply and further considering that the present state of Indian finances does not admit of incurring the risk of an experimental innovation in a matter of such importance and in a system which has hitherto worked so well, recommend that the tender be declined."

of Parliamentary debate.¹ The House of Commons at last appointed in 1836 a Select Committee to enquire into the supply of salt in British India.

(*To be continued.*)

PARIMAL RAY

¹ "I observe that the question of maintaining or relinquishing the salt monopoly has lately been agitated in the British Parliament, that his Majesty's Minister for Indian affairs has expressed himself to the effect that this mode of raising one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum was quite indefensible (from newspaper report) and that a member for the country most interested in providing the people of India with Cheshire salt has given notice that he would bring forward a motion on the subject next session." Minute by H. M. Parker, Junior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, dated the 2nd November, 1835.

INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

The military and the civil architecture of a people are regulated by the local conditions. When by instinctive skill the bird builds its nest and the lion its cave to protect themselves from the inclemency of weather, etc., it is but natural that a people should invent its own defence. It is, therefore, not expected in most cases that one people should influence another in ancient times in the building of their villages, towns, and forts. Nor is this expectation falsified in case of Persia and India.

Like buildings referred to above the remains of the old Persian military architecture are but scanty for study and comparison. 'When Alexander invaded the country there were no walled cities.' 'No wall surrounded Ecbatana or Susa when Alexander entered them, but then, as now in those regions, every town kept its fortress in good order. Behind its thick friendly walls the King could take refuge and place his treasures in safety.' Of all the fortresses the best known and the most ancient was that of Susa. The notion gained by Dieulafoy respecting the Susian defences is summed up in the following words :—

"The fortification works consisted first of a deep broad ditch full of water, communicating with the Shaur and a double rampart. The external or first wall was massive and built of crude bricks, in width 23 metres by 22 metres in height. Against the inner lining of the wall—separated from the masonry by a trail of small pebbles or gravel—leant a mass of earth beaten into a compact mass, 27 metres thick and 18 metres high. On this platform stood two groups of buildings which served at once as barracks and walk rounds..... The second rampart, 14 m. 70 c. broad, was constituted by two walls of unbacked brick, in thickness 3 m. 50 c. to 4 m. 60 c., between which

damp earth was beaten down. Behind the second rampart ran a path..... Broadly stated, the enceinte was not furnished with bastions.... Towers had been distributed at the crenelated summits of the fortress, and its tracing had been so continued that the towers of the second rampart struck the middle of the curtains of the exterior wall.”¹ This would look like the scheme adopted at Babylonia and Assyria..

Both recent historians’ excavators and archaeologists have equally found out inaccuracy in Herodotus’s statement² about the seven walls encompassing Ecbatana, along the flanks of the hill at the summit of which stood the palace of Dejoces. Rawlinson’s attempt³ to seek the fortress with the sevenfold wall, not in the vicinity of Hamadan, but in Media Atropatene at a place called Takht-i-Sukiman has also not been successful.

In India, along with frequent mention of villages, towns and forts,⁴ cities with a hundred enclosures are, however, referred to in the earliest extant literature of the world, the Rig-veda.⁵ On this Muir remarks⁶ that although they are only alluded to as figurative expressions of the means of protection afforded by the gods, they no doubt suggest the idea of forts consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at that time.⁷

In Buddha’s time, in Northern India, “we nowhere hear of isolated houses : they were all together, in a group, separated only by narrow lanes. Immediately adjoining was the sacred grove of trees of primeval forest.....villagers united of their own accord to build mote-hills, and rest-houses, reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and

¹ See Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid.*, p. 370.

² Herodotus, i, 98.

³ The Fine Great Monarchies, ii, 268.

⁴ Rigveda, i, 58, 8; 144, 1; ii, 20, 8; iv, 27, 1; 30, 20; viii, 3, 7; 15, 14; 89, 8; 95, 1.

⁵ Rigveda, i, 166, 8; vii, 15, 14.

⁶ Sanskrit Texts, v, 451.

⁷ For further details see the writer’s Indian Architecture, p. 8.

even to lay out parks.....We are told of lofty walls, ramparts with buttresses, and watch-towers, and great gates ; the whole surrounded by a moat or even a double moat, one of water and one of mud.''¹

Full details are available in the *Silpa-sāstras* which are avowedly architectural texts. In the *Manasara* villages are divided into eight classes according to their plans—Dandaka, Sarvato-bhadra, Nandyāvarta, Padmaka, Svastika, Prastara, Kārmuka, and Chaturmukha. Every one of these villages is surrounded by a wall made of brick or stone ; beyond this wall there is a deep and broad ditch. There are generally four main gates at the middle of the four sides, and as many at the four corners. Inside the wall there is a large street running around the village. There are two other large streets, each of which connects two opposite main gates. They intersect at the centre of the village, where a temple or public hall is generally built. The village is thus divided into four main blocks, each of which is again subdivided into many blocks by streets which are always straight, and run from one end to the other of a main block.²

Towns are also divided into eight classes—Rājadhāniya-nagara, Kevalānagara, Pura, Nagari, Kheta, Kharvata, Kubjaka, and Pattana. The smaller towns are but an enlargement of the village differing mostly in matter of dimensions. According to the *Mānasāra* the dimensions of the smallest town-unit are 100 by 200 dāndas (of 4 cubits each), and the largest 7,200 by 14,400 dāndas. There are generally twelve large streets in a small town.³

Forts are first divided into eight classes known as Śibira, Vāhinī-mukha; Sthāniya, Dronaka, Saṁviddha or Vardhaka, Kolaka, Nigama and Skandhāvāra. There is a further division according to the strategic position—mountain fort, forest fort,

¹ Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, pp. 42, 45, 49, 64-65, Jataka I, 199.

² For further details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 180-186, and Indian Architecture, pp. 39-40.

³ For further details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 283-294, 259-262.

water fort, chariot fort, divine fort, marsh fort, and mixed fort. The mountain fort is again subdivided as it is built on the top, valley, or slope of a mountain. Everyone of the forts is surrounded with strong and high walls, and deep and broad ditches. The wall is made of brick, stone and similar materials. It must be at least twelve cubits high and six cubits thick. It is provided with watch-towers.¹

In Persia there appears to have been nothing like these so far as the Persian towns and forts can be judged from the scanty remains.

Of the civil architecture in Persia fragmentary information regarding certain palaces only are available. Even such information is entirely lacking in regard to the less imposing but decidedly more common buildings, where the bulk of the people used to live, and wherefrom alone the national life and habit could have been estimated for comparison with corresponding buildings in India. The historian divides these Persian buildings into three types, namely, the open throne-room, the walled throne-room, and the inhabited palace.

"Capitals, as Ecbatana, Susa, and Persepolis, were not alone in possession of royal palaces; there were houses also in lesser centres where kings stopped a few days, so as to escape from the extreme cold and heat. Polycletus² who has been cited by Strabo,³ and who was a contemporary of Alexander and well versed in all things pertaining to Persia writes, "on the summit of the mound at Susa every king builds a separate palace for himself, with treasuries and stores, a pile of building set apart receiving tributes levied in the course of his reign, and which must be kept as monument of his administration." "But this statement lacks confirmation. Susa certainly had palaces as fine, as vast and grand as Persepolis, but nothing now appears above ground; what subsists is buried under an

¹ For further details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 259-262.

² Fragments collected by C. Muller, Scriptores rerum Alexandri Magni, pp. 130-132,

³ Strabo, XV, iii, 21.

enormous accumulation of earth and rubbish, whence the English and French excavations have only disengaged the fragments.¹

According to Strabo² and Arrian,³ Cyrus after defeating Astyages built in Pasargadae palaces and treasures which existed at the time of the Macedonian invasion. The ruins at the village of Mished-i-Murghab are supposed to be the remains of these edifices. After clever restoration the general plan appears to be this : ‘ a four-pillared porch, with two lateral chambers, then comes a great hypostyle hall, divided into four aisles by two ranges of pillars which supported the ceiling..... the number of pillars is not large; their dimensions, together with those of the building considered as a whole, do not come near those displayed later at Persepolis and Susa, nor are the walls as thick as on the platform of the Takht-i-Jamshid.⁴ Of the “ small palace ” and the Takht-i-Soleiman (the stage of Solomon) little remains to give an idea of its plan.

At present the district where Persepolitan kings built royal palaces contains naught but villages. ‘ As to Persepolis, besides anonymous buildings in a poor state, four kings have left structures signed by them. Amongst all these edifices not two are alike. Again, neither the plan nor the dimensions of the colossal fabric, those we should call state apartments, throne-rooms, were uniform.⁵ Several important structures of Persepolis have been restored.

One of these is known as the platform : very little of it really remains, but contains four inscriptions and the signature of Darius. Its general plan is shown by a carriage-road winding round the southern face led from the plain to the platform; it (road) then went behind the edifice along the first slope of the hill, to approach again the esplanade towards the east angle, whence it mounted as far as the pair of tombs situated in the

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, pp. 257, 266.

² Strabo, XV, iii, 3, 7, 8.

³ Arrian, III, xv, iii, 10,

⁴ Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, pp. 268-269, 270.

⁵ Perrot and Chipiez, p. 257.

rock behind the level.¹ This level is reached by a "superb stair case" consisting not more than a hundred and eleven steps, which is very common in India.²

' Four distinct horizontal plans may be counted on the platform. The lower stage is narrow and insignificant: it does not seem to have supported any edifices. The second level is approached by the great stair-case, and takes up about three-quarters of the superficies of the platform; upon it were distributed the principal buildings—the Propylaca and the Hall of a hundred columns. Proceeding from north to south there is another esplanade, some three metres above this, which contains the relics of the most important and attractive of all the royal edifices, the hypostyle hall of Xerxes. Again, to the rear of this is reached the terrace which carried two buildings, the palaces of Darius and Xerxes. Lastly, a building at the south-east angle appears to have had its floor on the third stage.'³

Dr. Spooner could not find out such platform at Kumrahar, Patna. Nor does the high plinth at Sanchi, or the Buddhist railings in many places seem to resemble this Persian platform.

The Propylaea was signed by Xerxes: its principal remains are two great piers some eleven metres high, beyond projects in round boss, the foreparts of two quadrupeds, right and left of paved corridor 3 m. 82 c. broad. Even after restoration based on such scanty materials it can never look like any Indian building, such as the great gateways of temples (Gopuram).

The Hypostyle Hall of Xerxes also contains his signature. But very little of it really remains. Its general character has been indicated by Perrot and Chipiez: " Beyond the substructures is found the most important group of columns, of which three shafts alone remain." Originally there were seventy-two pillars, which supported the ceilings.

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 282-283.

² Compare for instance the grand stair-case at Sitakundu Hill, Chittagong, Bengal, which consists of more than a thousand steps.

³ Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 284, 287.

"The stone base that supported the pillars tell us plainly," say Perrot and Chipiez rather too emphatically, "what was the arrangement of the apartment. It was a hall 43 m. 50 c. square, and on its floor are found the marks of thirty-six columns, spaced equidistant from one another, as in the west and east porches." "All that is visible of another isolated structure are the foundation stones distributed in two ranges, which doubtless supported pillars. Their inter-columnation is 2 m. 50 c. In the absence of any fragment, sculptural or architectural, to throw any light on the subject, it is impossible to hazard a guess as to the probable use of this minor building."

The claim of this hall as a queen among other Persepolitan monuments is stated to have been established by "the imposing adjustment and the wealth of ornament displayed about the stairs by which it was approached, the extent of the ground it covered, the exceptional height and magnificence of its quadruple colonnade." The area covered by this hall is stated to far exceed that of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. But the site occupied by the central pavilion is not more than 2,500 m. square, whilst that of the Egyptian Colonnade is more than 5,000 m.; but counting the annexes the total area would be not less than 7,500 square metres. This was clearly a reception room of Xerxes.

The Hall of a hundred columns, also a reception, audience, or throne room, is but an enlargement of the hypostyle hall, around which chambers are distributed. It is called an anonymous building, as no inscription has been preserved of it, from which it might have been dated. It was walled on all its faces, with porchlike colonnade in front. In shape the built surface is a parallelogram 75 m. 82 c. from east to west, and 91 m. 16 c. from north to south. 'The principal facade was on the north side.....Counting the intervals between the bases, we get the number of pillars, which was sixteen, arranged in two rows of eight. Two great portals open upon the porch.

"By setting up in *imagination*, the original brick wall,

3 m. 25 c. thick which connected these minor buildings with one another, we get the whole area which it embraced,.... no bearing wall stood here. Of ancient structures nothing remains save fragments of bases, and when these fail, their foundations, the intercolumniations are about those of the portico, 6 m. 20 c., measured from one axis to another, whilst all the bases are uniform in shape." The number of the columns had to be 'made out' merely from the marks of bases left on the floor. They were distributed in rows of ten each, and upheld the roof of a square hall. Their disposition is identical with that of the central pavilion of the great palace of Xerxes.

In front of the palace we have *imagined* the soil furrowed by countless rills, masked by plants and shrubs which they feed into greenness, a contrivance still restored to in modern Persia to obtain the equivalent of our lawns."

"With data of this nature," declare the archaeologists, "to go by, it is easy to restore the edifice."¹

But with data of this nature no comparison with any Indian building will be convincing to the average reader conversant with the long past of India, despite Dr. Spooner's advocacy to connect this hall with the footmark of what he also imagined to be Asoka's palace.²

One other general important characteristic of Persian civil architecture is that "no trace has been detected of a second story about this (Palace of Darius) or any other Persepolitan edifice. To the present hour, Persian dwellings and palaces have but a ground floor, divided into apartments, the number of which depends upon the fortune of the owner. As to the great throne rooms (*i.e.*, the Hypostyle Hall and the Hall of hundred columns), their character excludes the notion of more than one story; each shell, being a perfect unit in itself, was in no need of dependencies, so that we cannot suppose any having existed

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 326, 341.

² See pp. 38-39.

here. Aught more whimsical than the restoration of Fergusson, who places a second order of pillars above the ceilings of the hypostyle halls with a fire-altar for the King to worship at cannot well be imagined, and will not bear the test of close inspection.”¹

In India even in the earliest Vedic period, which must precede the period of the Persian Halls by several hundred years, mention is made of a sovereign ‘who, exercising no oppression, sits down in this substantial and elegant hall built with a thousand pillars,’² and of residential houses with such pillars as are said to be ‘vast, comprehensive, and thousand-doored.’³ Mitra and Varuna are represented as occupying a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates.’⁴

There were such other buildings also: Atri is stated to have been “thrown into a machine room with a hundred doors, where he was roasted.”⁵ Vasishtha desired to have “a three-storeyed dwelling.”⁶

In the Matsya-purana⁷ halls are divided into twenty-seven kinds according to the number of columns they are furnished with, the largest one having 64 pillars, the next 62, one following 60, and so on; they bear significant and artistic names: (1) Pushpaka, (2) Pushpa-bhadra, (3) Suvrata, (4) Amrita-nandana, (5) Kauśalya, (6) Buddhi-saṃkīrṇa, (7) Gaja-bhadra, (8) Jayā-baha, (9) Śrīvatsa, (10) Vijaya, (11) Vāstu-Kīrti, (12) Srutiñ-jaya, (13) Yajña-bhadra, (14) Viśāla, (15) Suślishta, (16) Satru-mardana, (17) Bhāga-pañcha, (18) Nandana, (19) Mānava, (20) Māna-bhadraka, (21) Sugrīva, (22) Harita, (23) Karṇikāra,

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, pp. 337-338.

² Rigveda (Wilson), 11, 313.

³ Rigveda (Wilson), iv, 179.

⁴ Rigveda, ii, 41, 5; v, 62, 6; vii, 885; Atharva-veda, III, 12; IX, 3. Muir, Comments (Sanskrit Texts, v, 455) “this is but an exaggerated description of a royal residence such as the poet had seen.”

⁵ R. V., i, 112, 7, Wilson’s iv, 148.

⁶ R. V., Wilson’s iv, 200.

⁷ Chap., 270, verses 7-15, 16.

(24) Satardhika, (25) Simha, (26) Syāma-bhadra, and (27) Subhadra. In shape they may be triangular, crescent, circular, quadrangular or square, octogonal, and sixteen-sided.

In the *Mānasāra* and other texts where a very large number of halls and pavilions are elaborately described, various storeys of the halls are referred to : the storeys may vary from one to twelve.¹

In the *Mānasāra* the royal palaces proper are divided, with regard to their size, storey and other characteristic features, into nine classes and assigned to the nine classes of Kings—(1) Chakravartin, (2) Mahārāja or Adhirāja, (3) Mahendra or Narendra, (4) Pārshṇika, (5) Paṭṭadhara, (6) Maṇdalesa, (7) Paṭṭabhāj, (8) Prāhāraka, and (9) Astra-grāhin. Each of the nine types of the palaces admits of nine sizes. Every one consists of a certain number of halls, audience-chambers or throne-rooms. Thus the palace of the Chakravartin or universal monarch possesses up to seven halls, that of the Adhirāja or Narendra up to six halls, and so forth.² The chapter (XI), dealing with the dimensions of storeys varying from one to twelve in residential buildings and temples, concludes with the rule directing the number of storeys in edifices according to the social status of their occupants.³

In the Sabha-parva of the *Mahābhārata* are referred to several halls belonging to the Pandavas (Chap. I), to Indra (Chap. VII), to Yama (Chap. VIII), to Varuna (Chap. IX), to Kubera (Chap. X), and to Brahmā (Chap. XI). The description of every one of these lacks in the architectural details which are necessary for any fruitful comparison. None of the ancient Indian halls or palaces appears to have any substantial resemblance with the Persian open, walled, pillared, or unstoreyed halls.

¹ For details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 468-490, 580-587.

² For more details see the writer's Indian Architecture, pp. 57, 58, 59; Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, under 'Prasada,' pp. 396-430.

³ Indian Architecture, pp. 41-42.

The only point of similarity between this Pāñdava hall and the Spooner's Kumrahar hall which is ascribed to the King Asoka, is no more substantial than that Maya-Asura is stated to have built the former, while some unspecified genii are stated by Fa-Hien to have built the latter.

Thus Spooner seems to have hit upon a further discovery between the supernatural origin of Asokan building hinted by Fa-hien,¹ and the equally mythological description in the Mahābhārata of the hall stated to have been built by Maya-Asura, of which, however, no architectural details are available for a comparison either with the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes at Persepolis or with the foot-marks of the supposed Asokan hall at Kumrahar.² What Maya-Asura claims to have built for the Danavas (genii) may be given in Spooner's own translation “the palaces, pavilions full of pleasures and abounding in delights a thousandfold, delightful gardens, too, and ponds of various kinds; and wondrous vestments, chariots that moved at will, and cities far extended, with high rampart walls; also thousands of wondrous vehicles most excellent, and pleasing caves to every comfort joined.”³

¹ Fa-Hien's description of Asokan buildings at Patna is but mythical : “The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city (of Pataliputra), which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he (Asoka) employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work,—in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish.”

(James Legge, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 77.)

² J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 77.

For further discussion of Maya's hall see the writer's article 'Ahura-Mazda and Maya-Asma' (Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Vol. II, pp. 736-751), and his Indian Architecture, p. 166.

3

दानवानां पुरा पार्थे प्रासादा हि भया ज्ञाताः ॥
रम्याणि सुख्यगर्भाणि भोगाद्विधानि सहस्रशः ।
उद्यानानि च रम्याणि सरांसि विविधानि च ॥
विविधाणि च वस्त्राणि कामगानि रथानि च ।
नगराणि विशालानि साद्ग्रामकारवन्नि च ॥
बाद्यानि च मुख्यानि विविधाणि सहस्रशः ।
विलानि रमणीयानि सुख्यपुत्रानि दै भृशम् ॥

(Mahābhārata, II, i, 14-17.)

And for Kṛishna, Maya is stated to have built a Sabhā—“a Durbar Hall, or throne room” in the words of Spooner. But no details of this hall is given. It is simply stated that ‘there could not be any parallel in the world of the mortals, and whereon all heavenly ideas were depicted in bricks, stones (or wood). He declares himself as a great *poet of architecture* (a Ruskin), among the rivals of gods, and he is the Visvakarman who was the heavenly architect among the gods.¹

To Dr. Spooner Kṛishṇa’s so-called ‘throne-room’ has sounded a note of similarity to the Asokan hall and thence to the Persepolitan ‘throne-room’ of a hundred columns.

And the supposed supernatural origin of practically all the architectural objects in India has a prototype in the Fa-Hien’s ascriptions of Asokan buildings to the genii.

Further, by way of establishing to a certainty the Persian origin of Indian architecture Spooner imagined to have arrived at a number of wonderful discoveries, namely,

(1) That the architectural structures described in the Mahābhārata are of Persian model.

(2) That the palaces to which the Mahābhārata refers are those of Pataliputra (J. R. A. S., pp. 405-6).

(3) That the Kumrahar remains dug out at the cost of a Parsi millionaire are identical with Persepolitan structures (p. 71).

अह इविश्वकर्मा वै दानवानो महाकविः ।
यदि लं करुंकालोऽसि प्रियं ग्रिष्मवतां वर ।
धर्मराजस्य दत्तेय थाहशीमिह मन्यसे ॥
यां क्लानं नातुकुर्वन्ति मानवाः प्रेत्याचिहिताः ।
मनुष्यलोके सकले ताहर्यैँ कुरु वै सभाम् ॥
यत दिव्यानभिप्रायान् पश्येम हि ऋतांखल्या ।
असुरान्नागुणांश्चैव सभां तां कुरु वै मय ॥

(Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parvan, i, 5, 9-12.)

See further details in the writer’s Indian Architecture, p. 166; and his article on Abura-Mazda and Maya-Asura. (Proceedings of the 4th Oriental Conference, Vol. II, pp. 786-751.)

(4) That the temple at Bodh-Gaya was founded by the ancient Persians and that Gaya was an early seat of Magian worship (p. 411).

(5) That the ancestors of Buddha, the Sākyas of Kapila-vasta were of Zoroastrian origin (pp. 440, 441).

(6) That the Mauryas were Zoroastrians, the name having been derived from Persian Mōrva, and that they came originally from Meru which is stated to have been situated in Persia (pp. 406, 408, 409).

(7) That Chandragupta Maurya was a Persian : Persepolis was his ancestral home (p. 409); he probably came with Alexander and was left behind to occupy the throne at Magadha and made Persian architects build palaces after the Persian model, remains of which even with Persian mason's marks are fancied to have been explored at Patna (pp. 422, 427).

(8) That the name, Magadha, is Persian in origin, derived from Persian Mugh or Magi (pp. 422, 427).

(9) That a portion of the Atharva-veda¹ containing the term, 'Magadha' must be of Persian origin (pp. 420, 421, 422).

(10) That Brahmā is not an Indian god, but an echo (or imitation) of the Zoroastrian Arch-Angel Vahuman (p. 449).

The obvious object of these speculations was to establish an all-round Persian influence over the Indian culture which was no doubt older by several centuries. Spooner started with a prejudiced mind and over-enthusiasm has misled him from the field of archaeology proper to the subtle speculation of philosophy. It is needless to add that none of these theories has been worked out, and that none has found acceptance to any serious student of history.²

¹ (i) That the Garuda-purana also is of the Indo-Zoroastrian origin (p. 428).

(ii) That the Yoga system of Indian Philosophy was derived from the Persian mummeries.

(iii) That the Tantric system and the 'Sakti cult of the Brahmins of ' Sakadvipa which was the home of the Zoroastrian Magi (p. 447) were originated from the magic rites of the Persian goddess Ishtar (p. 435).

² For instance, compare V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 800-802.

Thus there appears to be no similarity between Persia and India in civil, military, or religious architecture. In the light of all the aforesaid facts the theory of Persian influence upon Indian architecture does no longer seem tenable. There is certainly a sort of similarity between a certain type of capital in India and Persia, but that is all. But the Indian pillar as a whole, we have shown elsewhere elaborately,¹ shows affinity with the Greco-Roman order. And the certain school of Indian sculpture bears the stamp of Grecian type.

In the light of all the facts briefly discussed above merely to deal with the questions as they concern architecture it seems impossible to think of any connection between India and Persia.

Let, therefore, Vahuman alone, and let Brahman, the same unknown god whom all civilized men of the world worship, remain as an Indian deity with four heads.

(Concluded.)

P. K. Acharya

THE DECLINE OF THE EARLY GUPTA EMPIRE

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. the empire built up by the genius of Samudra Gupta and Vikramāditya was fast hastening towards dissolution. Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-c. 467) was the last king of the Early Gupta line who is known to have controlled the westernmost provinces. After A.D. 467 there is no evidence that the Imperial Guptas had anything to do with Surāṣṭra or even Western Malwa. Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-77 to 495-96) was probably the last prince of the family to be implicitly obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmadā. The rulers who came after him retained a precarious hold for some time on Eastern Malwa and North Bengal. But they had to fight with enemies on all sides, and, if a tradition recorded by Jinasena (*Harivamśa*, ch. 60), is to be believed, their power collapsed in A.D. 551 (320+231) :

Guptānām ca śata-dvayam
eka-trimśa cca varṣāni
kāla-vidbhīr udāhṛtam.¹

The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (cir. A.D. 554)² and Pusyabhūti (family of Harṣa, A.D. 606-647) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj. Attempts were no doubt made by a line of later Guptas to restore the fallen fortunes of their family, but these were not crowned with success till after the death of Harṣa.

The causes of the decline of the early Gupta Empire are not far to seek, though a detailed presentation of facts is impossible in view of the paucity of contemporary records. The broad outline of the story is, however, perfectly clear. The

¹ Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Bhand. Com. Vol., 195.

² Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110-120; JRAS, 1906, 84ff.

same causes were at work which proved so disastrous to the Turki Sultanate of Delhi in the fourteenth century, and to the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth, *viz.*, outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without and dissensions in the imperial family itself.

Already in the time of Kumāra Gupta I., the stability of the empire was seriously threatened by a turbulent people whose name is commonly read as Pusya-mitra. The danger was averted by the crown prince Skanda Gupta. But a more formidable enemy appeared from the steppes of Central Asia. Inscriptions discovered at Bhitarī, Kura, Gwalior and Eran, as well as the records of several Chinese pilgrims, prove that shortly after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, the fierce Huns swooped upon the north-western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves master of the Pañjāb and Eastern Malwa.

The newcomers were long known to the people of India as a race of Uitlanders closely associated with the Chinese. The Mahāvastu I, 135, mentions them along with the Cīnas, while the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata (ii. 51. 23-24) includes them in a list of foreign tribes amongst whom the Cīnas occupy the first place :—

Cīnān Sakān tathā ch Odrān Varvarān Vanavāsināḥ
Vārsneyān Hāra-Huṇāmēca Kṛṣṇān Haimavatāṁstathā.

A verse in the Bhīṣmaparva (9. 65-66) brings the Huns into relations with the Pāraśikas or Persians :—

Yavanāś Cīna Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mlecchajātayah
S ekr̥dgrahāḥ Kulatthāśca Huṇāḥ Pāraśikaiḥ saha.

This verse is reminiscent of the period when the Huns came into contact with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.¹ Kālidāsa, too, places the Huns close to Persia—in the saffron-producing country watered by the river Vāṅkṣu, the modern Oxus.² Early

¹ Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 339.

² Ind. Ant., 1912, 265f.

in the reign of the Emperor Skanda Gupta they poured into the Gupta Empire, but were at first beaten back. The repulse of the Huns is mentioned in the Bhitarī Inscription and is also probably alluded to by the grammarian Candragomin as a contemporary event.¹ With the passing away of Skanda Gupta, however, all impediments to the steady advance of the invaders seem to have been removed, and, if Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, is to be believed, they penetrated into the Indian interior as far as Citrakūṭa.² They certainly conquered the Eran district (Arikīṇa pradeśa) in the Central Provinces. The principal centres of their power in India in the time of their kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Pavvaiyā (on the Chināb)³ and Śākala (modern Sīālkot) in the Pañjāb.

Next to the Hun inroads must be mentioned the ambition of generals and feudatories. In the time of the Emperor Skanda Gupta, Surāṣṭra was governed by a Goptṛ or Margrave named Parnadatta who was appointed by the emperor himself to the Viceroyalty of the West. Shortly afterwards Bhatārka, a chief of the Maitraka clan, established himself in this province as general or military governor, with his capital at Valabhī. He, as well as his immediate successor, Dharaśena I, was satisfied with the title of Senāpati, but the next chief Dronasimha, the second son of Bhatārka (A.D. 502 ?) assumed the title of Mahārāja. A branch of the dynasty established itself in Mo-la-po (Mālavaka)⁴ or the westernmost part of Malwa in the latter half of the sixth century, and made extensive conquests in the direction of the Sahya and Vindhya Hills.⁵ Another, and a

¹ Ind. Ant., 1896, 105.

² Bhand. Com. Vol., 216.

³ JBORS, 1928, March, p. 33.

⁴ Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 343.

⁵ Dharaśena II, king of Valabhī, left two sons, viz., Śilāditya I Dharmāditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen Tsang seems to suggest that in his time (i.e., shortly after Śilāditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Śilāditya, the other part, including Valabhī,

junior, branch continued to rule at Valabhī. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II of Valabhī married the daughter of Harṣa. His son Dharasena IV (A.D. 645-649) assumed the Imperial titles of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Chakravartin.

But the Maitrakas of Mo-la-po and Valabhī were not the only feudatories who gradually assumed an independent position. The rulers of Mandasor pursued the same course, and their example was followed by the Maukharis of the Madhyadeśa and the kings of Navyāvakāśikā and Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal.

Mandasor, the ancient Daśapura, was one of the most important Viceregal seats of the Early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of margraves who governed part of western Malwa on behalf of the Emperor Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. With the sixth century A.D., however, a new scene opened. Yaśodharman, ruler of Mandasor about A.D. 533, emboldened no doubt by his success over the Huns, defied the power of his Gupta overlords (Guptanātha), and set up Pillars of Victory commemorating his conquests, which, in the words of his court panegyrist, embraced the whole of Hindusthān from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendra or the Eastern Ghāts. After his death the Guptas figure again as lords of Mālava (Eastern Malwa) in literature and inscriptions of the time of Harṣa. But Western Malwa could not be recovered by the family. Part of it was, as we have already seen, included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Another part, *viz.*, Avanti or the district round Ujjain, the proud capital of Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya in the fifth century A.D.,¹ is found in the next

obeying Kharagraha and his sons one of whom was Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya or Dhruvabhaṭṭa, who married the daughter of Harṣa. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Śīlāditya VII (Fleet, c. i.i, 171f) which associates Derabhaṭṭa, the son of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains, while the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valsbhi.

¹ Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Bk. XVIII; Allan, Gupta Coins, xl ix n; Bomb. Gaz. I, 2-578.

century in the possession of Saṅkaragana of the Katachuri or Kalachuri dynasty¹ which gave way to a Brāhmaṇa family in the days of Hiuen Tsang,² which, in its turn, was replaced by the Gurjara Pratihāras in the eighth century.³

Another family which came to the forefront in the sixth century A.D., was the line of the Mukharas or Maukharis. The stone inscriptions of the princes of this dynasty prove their control over the Bārā Bankī, Jaunpur and Gayā districts of the United Provinces and Bihār. All these territories formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In the next century they must have passed into the hands of the Maukharis. The feudatory titles of the earlier princes of the Mukhara line leave no room for doubt that they occupied a subordinate position in the first few decades of the sixth century A.D. In or about the year A.D. 554, however, Isāna-varman Maukhari ventured to measure swords with the Guptas, and probably also with the Huns, and assumed the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. For a period of about a quarter of a century (A.D. 554-cir. A.D. 580) the Maukharis were beyond question the strongest political power in the Upper Ganges Valley. They anticipated to some extent the glorious achievements of Harṣa, the brother-in-law, and, apparently, the successor (on the throne of Kanauj) of their last notable king Grahavarman.

Like the Maukharis, the rulers of Bengal, too, seem to have thrown off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the sixth century A.D. In the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal undoubtedly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire. The reference to Samatata in Eastern Bengal as a *pratyanta* or border state in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription proves that the Imperial

¹ G. Jouvesu Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 82.

² Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii. 250.

³ Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Ep. Ind., XVIII, 1926, 239 (verse 9 of Sañjam grant); cf. Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 177 (reference to a governor of Ujjain under the Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla, II.)

dominions must have embraced the whole of Western Bengal, while the inclusion of Northern Bengal (Pundravardhana bhukti) within the empire from the days of Kumāra Gupta I to A.D. 543-4¹ is sufficiently indicated by the Dāmodarapura and Pāhād-pur plates. Samatata, though outside the limits of the Imperial provinces, had, nevertheless, been forced to feel the irresistible might of the Gupta arms. The Harāhā Inscription of Isānavarman, however, shows that the political situation had changed completely about the middle of the sixth century A.D. A new power, *viz.*, that of the Gaudas, was fast rising to importance in the valley of the Lower Ganges. Gauḍa was already known to Pāṇini (VI. ii. 100) and the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra (ii. 13). The grammarian seems to associate it with the East (*cf.* VI. ii. 99). A passage occurring in the Matsya, Kūrma, and Liṅga Purāṇas² has, however, been taken to mean that the Śrāvasti region was the cradle of the Gauḍa people. But the passage in question does not occur in the corresponding text of the Vāyu Purāṇa.³ In early literature the people of the Śrāvasti region are always referred to as the Kosalas. Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, writing probably in the third or fourth century of the Christian Era, refers to Gauḍa and Kosalā as names of distinct countries.⁴ Gauḍa in the Matsya-Kūrma-Liṅga MSS. may have been inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gouḍa in the same way as the term Madra-maṇḍala is employed to denote the Madras Presidency by some modern pāṇḍits of the Southern Presidency who are unacquainted with the topography of Ancient India. In the Central Provinces the name "Gond" is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa.⁵ Varāha-

¹ For the date see Ep. Ind., XVII, Oct. 1924, p. 345.

² Nirmitā yena Śrāvasti Gauḍa-deśe dvijottamāḥ (Matsya, XII. 30, *cf.* Linga, I. 65). Nirmitā yena Śrāvasti Gauḍa-deśe Mahāpuri (Kūrma I. 20.19).

³ Yaśī Śrāvastakorājā Śrāvasti yena nirmitā (Vāyu, 88.27).

⁴ For Kosalā see daśanacchedya-prakaraṇam; for Gauḍa see nakhacchedya-prakaraṇam and dārarakṣika-prakaraṇam.

⁵ Cf. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series, Central Provinces, p. 158.

mihira, writing in the sixth century A.D., places Gauḍaka in the Eastern division of India. He does not include Gauḍa in the list of countries situated in the Madhyadeśa. Mention is no doubt made of a place called Guḍa. But, if Alberuni (i. 300) is to be believed, Guḍa is Thanesar and not Oudh. The use of the term Pañca Gauḍa as the designation of a territory embracing Northern India as far as Kanauj and the river Sarasvatī, is distinctly late, and dates only from the twelfth century A.D. The term is possibly reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and cannot be equated with the ancient realm of the Gauḍas in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The distinct statement in the Harāhā Inscription that the Gauḍas were on the sea-shore, clearly suggests that the Bengal littoral and not Oudh, was the seat of the people in the sixth century A.D. In the next century, their king Śaśāṅka is found in possession of Karnasuvarṇa near Murshidabad. In the century that follows, a Gauḍa appears, in the Gauḍa-vaho of Vākpatirāja, as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. The zenith of Gauḍa power is reached in the ninth century when the Gauḍa dominion extends over the Gangetic Doab and Kanauj. About the early kings of the Gaudas our information is meagre. Certain copper-plate grants, discovered in the Faridpur District, disclose the existence of three kings—Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva—who are described as overlords of Navyāvakāśikā and Vāraka-maṇḍala, apparently in the present Faridpur District. The Vappaghoṣavāṭa inscription introduces to us a fourth king *viz.*, Jayanāga who ruled at Karnasuvarṇa. These kings are, however, not expressly referred to as Gauḍas. The earliest king, to whom that epithet is applied is the famous Śaśāṅka, the great rival of Rājya-vardhana of Thanesar and his brother Harṣa. The title Mahārājādhiraṁja assumed by the Bengal Kings mentioned above, leaves no room for doubt that they no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and set themselves up as independent sovereigns.

The uprising of the Puṣyamitras, the invasions of the Huns

and the intransigentism of provincial governors and feudatories, were not the only sources of trouble to the Guptas in the last days of their sovereignty. Along with foreign inroads and provincial insubordination we should not fail to take note of the dissensions in the Imperial family itself. The theory of a struggle amongst the sons of Kumāra Gupta I., may or may not be true, but there is evidence to show that the later kings of the line sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and convulsions of the period.¹ Moreover, they do not seem to have been on friendly terms with their Vākātaka cousins. Narendrasena Vākātaka, a great-grandson of Candragupta II through his daughter Prabhāvatī, seems to have come into hostile contact with the lord of Mālava. His grandson Hariṣena claims victories over Avanti. Inasmuch as the Guptas are associated with parts of Mālava as late as the time of Harṣa, some of the victories gained by the Vākātakas must have been won over their Gupta cousins.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that while the earlier Guptas were staunch Brāhmaṇists, some of whom did not scruple to engage in sacrifices involving the slaughter of living beings, the later kings or at least some of them (*e.g.*, Budha (Buddha) Gupta, Tathāgata Gupta and Bālāditya) had Buddhist leanings. As in the case of Aśoka after the Kalinga war and Harṣa after his intimate relation with the Chinese Master of the Law, the change of religion probably had its repercussions on the military and political activities of the Empire. In this connection it is interesting to recall a story recorded by Hiuen Tsang. When "Mahirakula," the Hun tyrant ruling at Śākala, proceeded to invade the territory of Bālāditya, the latter said to his ministers, "*I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them* (their troops); *by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass.*"

¹ Deva Gupta, for instance, was an enemy of Harṣa's family, while Mādhava Gupta was a friend.

Having said this he withdrew to an island with many of his subjects. Mahirakula came in pursuit but was taken alive as a captive. He was, however, set free and allowed to go away on the intercession of the Queen Mother.¹ We do not know how far the story is authentic. But it seems that Indians of the seventh century A.D., from whom the Chinese pilgrim must have derived his information, did not credit the later Buddhist rulers of the Gupta dynasty with the possession of much courage or military vigour, though they bear testimony to their kindness and piety. The misplaced clemency of Bālāditya and his mother helped to prolong the tyrannical rule of Mihirakula and gave Yaśodharman and the succeeding aspirants for imperial dominion, *viz.*, Isānavarman and Prabhākara-vardhana, an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage and thereby seal the doom not only of the Hun, but also of the Gupta domination in Northern India.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI

ELEGY ON AN INDIAN CHILD

Through the city's crowded streets I wended on my way,
Casting eyes on all around, though listless was my tread,
When a sight soon fixed my gaze—I looked upon the dead :
With eyes downcast a father held a piece of mouldering clay.

He held within a spotless sheet, knotted above, below,
The remnants of his tender son,—no tear his eye did show,
But with a look of ghastly woe, hied to the river's side.

There to place upon the pyre, the son he full did prize,
The little one who cheered his home, his joy, his hope, his pride.
What of immortal part remained where would it now abide?
A moment here, a moment there, and then—who can surmise?

Is this the end to which all come, by brief or lengthening day?
These be the glories man obtains, at last in earth to rest?
How fleet the pomp that mortals boast ! The noblest and the best
Alike with meanest wretches meet, the mud with miry clay.

The soul from circling glories comes, from that eternal shore,
Here but to move for one brief hour, then back to realms unknown,
As a bird chirps upon the bough, then straight away is flown,—
We wonder whence it comes and goes unseen for ever more.

The sceptre like the crook shall break, as every tinsel must,
Alike we reach the gaping grave, unto the trampled dust,
When the brief span of toil is o'er and ended is the strife.

What is immortal cannot cease; from off the shining main
Through many cyclic changes wheeled, it passes on before.
Doing what is ordained to do, nor less nor even more,
Whirling unto the gates of death, a joy restored to gain.

Place on the pan the greatest gifts the world can still afford,
In power or pelf, the mighty things which mortals do attain,
Higher than all the earthly goods, ampler than worldly gain,
Worthier than all that men achieve by pen or by the sword;

Greater than all the suns above,—a dazzling maze on high,—
Redoubled with the worlds unseen, makes not a living soul,
No scale can measure full the worth, no rood can gauge the whole,
Beyond all earthly covet, what rich treasures cannot buy.

Yet feeble as this child we came, when first it oped its eyes,
To grow while Hope the scene displays, now great, now greater
still,
Till ruthless struck, we sink in sleep, when Death proclaims his
will
Snapping the cord that life has spun, the soul with ardour flies.

Good for good's sake in all our lives,—no higher, choice reward,
Seeking not gain nor hope beyond, by good unceasing done,
Not for the laureled brow to strive, nor for the victory won,
As unto us we do expect, so others do toward.

This is the golden key to find, for all the suffering earth,
That opens to the path beyond, immeasurably high,
Leading unto eternal realms above the earth and sky,
Where lies the abode of endless bliss,—the single way or worth.

“ ‘Tis but a child that goes before ”—we judge as fellow men,
“ What is the good on earth achieved, what gloried, honoured
name?”—

We cannot judge, we cannot tell, for we are but the same,
Another marks the golden deeds, done every now and then.

Remembered by what we have done, dull sorrow's load to bear,
Lifting the burdens the others bore, upon our shoulders wide,
Helping upon life's dusty road those limping in their stride,
These shall a guerdon to us bring, a boon both high and rare.

Somehow, somewhere, we know not when, or how, or even why,
We pass beyond life's portals, through our many earthly needs,
But in life's garden we have sown or weeds or precious seeds,
The Reaper knows what last will sprout, the thorns or blades
of rye.

Thus musing on my wandering way, my soul found ready cheer,
For the sad scene had left a scent of memory sweet to me,
A message clear did clasp my heart, it set my spirit free,
My soul its bondage close in twain, freed from all doubt and fear.

H. W. B. MORENO.

PROGRESS OF BANKING IN INDIA

Banking, which is the root of our economic progress is in a hopeless state of neglect and one cannot dissociate the responsibility of leaving the resources of the country so insufficiently developed from those who are directing the credit and the banking policy of the country. Thanks to the Banking Enquiry Committee for their exertion in finding out the actual causes of weakness in our banking system, and let us hope they will find out ways and means to bring our system on a staple basis like the banking system of other countries. To review the present position may be somewhat tedious but the actual facts are to be recorded. Our banking system can be conveniently grouped under two heads :—(1) Banking under modern system (2) Banking under indigenous system. Under the head (1) we have :—

(a) *The Imperial Bank of India*.—This bank was formed in 1921 by the amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks. According to its constitution the Imperial Bank acts as Bankers to the Government of India and is the custodian of the Public Funds and Government Cash Balances of the Central, Provincial and of the Secretary of States in London. The Bank's business is regulated by a special act of the Indian Legislature. The control of the currency and credit policy is in the hands of the Government and the Imperial Bank. The Bank in co-operation with the Government exercises greater influence in the Money market through its Bank rate. In our country the Bank rate is more or less a whim of the Imperial Bank. There is nothing to show that the Bank rate to be increased or decreased at a specified percentage of the Imperial Reserve to outside liabilities. A glance of the Imperial Bank's rate from 1921 to date will convince the average reader the unsteadiness of the Indian Money Market. The fluctuations in the Bank rate and the difference between the highest and the lowest in any given period is very marked. This reflects more or less upon the

inadequacy of the Indian Banking and the want of a proper monetary organisation in the country. The Bank is prevented from doing Exchange business and cannot advance money for a longer period than 6 months. The Bank is not supposed to grant long term loans and it often recalls cash credits or demand loans granted to Industrial Concerns when the Money Market is tight with the result that the Industrial Concerns are forced to borrow money at a prohibitive rate for the repayment of loans to the Imperial Bank. There are nearly 100 branches of the Bank all over the country, some of the branches are not working on a profitable basis but their establishment was a part of the general contract with the Government. The Bank is doing at present more of Commercial Banking transactions with a view to earn profit for the benefit of its shareholders, and acts only to a limited extent as Bankers' Bank. The Bank can be freed from Commercial Commitments and be able to render more help for the advancement of general economic condition of the country.

(b) *Exchange Banks* are of foreign origin which have specialised in Indian Exchange business. They have no special attractions to local business but of late they do take deposits at attractive rates. In the matter of granting credit facilities to local businessmen they undertake sparingly. The fund they have are utilised in Exchange business and are remitted abroad to be invested in profitable securities when money is needed in the country to finance the Agricultural Industry. During the busy season they concentrate on exchange business and in the slack season they strengthen their investments. They generally keep their cash position low enough to the demand liabilities in India and in the event of a crisis they may not be in a position to reimburse their liquid assets in time. In the interest of the Indian Money Market and Indian Banking they must be made to keep a certain fixed percentage of liquid assets to the total deposits in India.

(c) *Indian Banks*.—Three-fourths of these are very small and are very little known outside the locality in which they do

business. They take only small deposits and grant loans on jewels and mortgage of lands. Their operation affects very little of the general money market. There are a few bigger banks established under Indian Boards of Directors and there are some under mixed Directors. The bigger joint-stock banks finance bulk of the Indian trade. They take deposits and offer attractive rates of interest. In our country we have more scope for Banking development on sound lines and for bringing the facilities for saving within the easy reach of the smallest depositor who wants only security for the money he deposits in a bank. In theory we have a multiple reserve system but in practice most of the banks keep the cash position too low and when a disaster overtakes any bank the depositor has no time to discriminate between a sound and a shaky institution but will run to get his deposit back from whatever bank he has deposited it in. He draws his funds when money is needed urgently to finance the trade and commerce of the country. In order to ensure confidence in Indian Banks the banks should be brought under certain legislation insisting upon a fixed minimum of cash to be deposited with a Central Bank which may come into existence after the present Banking Enquiry is over.

In the matter of increasing the banking habit of the people neither the Imperial Bank nor the Indian Joint-stock Banks have taken any steps to improve the same. The slow growth of banking habit can be seen from the total deposits which stood at Rs. 160 crores in 1917 and in 1926 at Rs. 215 crores, *i.e.*, 55 crores in a period of 9 years. Taking the extent of cheques used in banking operation it is in no way encouraging. We cannot expect a better figure when there are only 500 banking offices in a country of 2,500 towns and 7 lacs of villages. We are often accused that we do not put our savings in banks or invest them in Government loans or industrial securities. As things are at present there are facilities only to a small percentage of the population to having banking accounts. There are also some merchants in the up-country stations having very good business

who do not seek the help of banks, nor do they like cheques being paid to them in payment of their debts. This can be said rather that they do not trust the man who gives them the cheques or the banker on whom they are drawn. This may be partly due to the fact that they are ignorant of the English language. The vital importance of tapping the local resources of the districts is the use of cheques written in the vernacular of the place and the simplification of the banking business; the use of vernacular in drawing cheques may in the future open up a large field for the development of Indian Banking. The use of Cheque Books means considerable education. A depositor must be able to write his name and the amount of the cheque in his own language. Only 10% of the Indian population can read and write. It should be an enormous task if people are taught to deposit and invest their saving in the right direction. The Banking progress in England is increasing enormously. The Big Five are opening new banking offices every day in places where they are required. There are nearly 9,150 banking offices in that country. The immediate reason is that payments are made more and more by cheques only. What was neglected by Bankers sometime ago have now been introduced and they are giving all sorts of conveniences to the clients. If similar measures are introduced in our country we will not only improve our economic condition but will show to the world that we can move with the times.

In the matter of advances the Imperial Bank, the Exchange Banks and the Indian Joint-stock Banks are on the same footing. They, as a rule, do not grant long-term loans. In a country like ours with full potentialities for industrial growth there is not a single industrial bank or investment bank to grant long-term loans at a low rate of interest. The banking problem of Germany and Japan after 1860 was similar to that of ours at present. The long-felt want for loans repayable after several years was solved by the development of Industrial and Commercial Banking side by side. The German Credit Banks carried

on a thorough organisation and promotion of Industrial concerns. These concerns were kept under the care and guidance of their promoters, till they reached a dividend-earning basis. Then the shares of those concerns were offered to the public. Another improvement was that the Joint-stock Banks spread out a network of branches to attract the surplus funds of the public and at the same time acted as distributors of Industrial Securities created by the new flotation. If in our country Industrial Credit Banks are formed under the joint auspices of the Government and the public, it will be a better organisation to finance manufacturing as well as agricultural industry of the country. In the early stages they must be semi-Government institutions but gradually they can be made to stand independently. The Government should empower such banks to help Industrial concerns in times of difficulties so that the public who have put in money in Industrial undertakings may not get nervous.

(d) *Co-operative Banks*.—The Co-operative credit movement is a growth of the last 25 years. It is purely a re-organisation to unite our weak peasantry through cheap credits at reasonable rates of interest on the security of their lands. There are at present three kinds of co-operative banks, *viz.*, a village bank, a district bank and a provincial bank, all working to the benefit of the agricultural community. Village banks are being financed by the district banks who are in turn getting help from the provincial banks. The Provincial Banks take deposit from the public and obtain advances from the Imperial Bank as well as from the Indian Joint-stock Banks. The advances they take are the deposits they obtain are only for short-term and they cannot accommodate long-term loans which are required to meet the indebtedness of the agriculturists. An agriculturist requires three kinds of accommodation, *viz.*, a short-term loan repayable within the year out of the sale of produce, an intermediate loan repayable within three to five years, and a long-term loan repayable within twenty to twenty-five years. To meet out the third kind of accommodation special

types of mortgage banks to allow long-term credit on easy terms should be established under the joint auspices of the Government and the public. The Central Mortgage Banks can issue debentures backed by the guarantee of the properties of the borrowers to the primary societies (Village Banks) and transferred by them to the central banks.

(2) *Indigenous Banks*.—Indigenous Banks are working outside the provision of the Indian Companies Act. They are found in every part of India. These Bankers range from a Village Capitalist to a Wealthy Banking concern and we are told that their resources are far greater than the resources of the Indian Joint-stock Banks and the Co-operative Banks put together. They carry on business according to the age-old system. They do not publish statements of their affairs and as such no details are available regarding the capital they invest in their business, the expenses or profit they make. No doubt they finance the agricultural industry of the country at prohibitive rates ranging from 12 to 50% per annum on the security of the land and of the crops. They do most of their transactions on credit basis and these transactions are settled by means of *hundies*. In spite of the development of modern banking in cities their influence is in no way lessened. Some of them in the Mofussil towns and in Presidency towns open current accounts for their constituents issue pass books and cheque books. They offer attractive rates for the current as well as fixed deposits ranging from 7 to 12%. They have got their own market to fix the rates on deposits they take. All the Indigenous bankers are closely connected with each other in their business ; smaller firms are being financed by bigger institutions, who have special limits with the Imperial Bank of India or the Indian Joint-stock Banks. They have got dealings with Exchange Banks as they import bullions through them. They trade to the full limit of their capital and then go to banks for accommodation. The banker's only security is the signature of the endorsing Shroff on the *hundies*. The rates they pay to

the banks are 1 or 2% over the Imperial Bank of India's rate but they charge their clients two to three times more than the rate they pay to the banks. The agriculturists who pay abnormal rates set aside funds for a bare living, the surplus generally goes to the creditor. If the Banking habits of the people are developed and if wider use of cheques takes the place of currency notes and the Mofussil clients are brought within the reach of organised banks through cheap credits, the high rate in the bazar can well be brought under control. The bigger Indigenous Bankers can be liberated to do a special kind of discounting business as the London Bill Brokers and Discount Companies operate. The Discount Companies play a prominent part and their importance is largely due to the fact that holders of Bills of Exchange obtain cash for them and it is the Discount Companies that deal in bills. The Discount Companies are in close touch with all banks in England and have got enormous transactions with other banks and they get enough of credit from the Bank of England also. If our bigger Indigenous Bankers in India who do the *hundie* business establish Discount Companies at the Presidency towns they will not only regulate the supply of bills in this country but also the rate of interest in the bazars thereby bringing the bazar under the influence of a Central Bank. If Indigenous Bankers adopt themselves to the new conditions and rely for their profits on the turnover of their business they will not only do greater business but also will have greater connection with bankers in this country. If our banking system is to be established on a firm footing and the resources of the country are to be increased, the status of the Indian Joint-stock Banks should be improved, the business of the Indigenous Banks should be brought under certain regulation and a Central Bank for the whole of India, and a Money Market should be established. No credit system can be considered safe if it does not rest on the centralization of the Banking Reserves and the mobility of credit through Bills of Exchange.

O. S. Krishnamoorthy

POPULAR CONTROL OF THE PURSE—HOW FAR IT IS EFFECTIVE IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, U. S. A. AND INDIA

It would perhaps be a platitude to a student of constitutional history of any civilised country to say that much of the constitutional struggle centred round one question, *viz.*, control of the purse. The reason is quite obvious. The purse supplies the key to the whole administration. One who holds the purse-strings dominates the whole field of national affairs, although not actively participating in the administration of the various departments of national activity. As James Madison once remarked, "They who hold the purse, control the Government." So it is that the contending forces in a constitutional system—generally the Executive, the legislature and the electorate—try to gain control of the purse. In such fight, victory naturally is on the side of the people or their representatives.

The object of this paper is to show by an actual analysis of the system of financial administration of some countries, how far popular control over the purse has proved effective.

It would be perhaps quite logical and proper to begin with the English constitution—for like the English Parliament the English constitution may also be called the mother of constitutions.

To put the whole thing in a nutshell, the British financial system resolves itself into a simple process, *viz.*, the Crown as the head of the Executive to demand such money as may be needed for the public services, the Commons to grant it, the Lords to assent to it; then again the Crown through its servants to disburse the grants according to the directions of the Parliament and lastly the Auditor and Controller General to control expenditure and audit the accounts. In practice the process is not so simple as put above. The Parliamentary procedure

regulating financial operations looks like a labyrinth into which outsiders often get themselves hopelessly entangled. Like every English institution, this is also empirical, the result of a process of adjustment to circumstances as they have arisen. Much of the procedure devised at a time when the Crown was the motive force of the constitution, by way of hedging in the ever-widening authority of the Crown has become an anachronism, now when the centre of political gravity has shifted from the Crown to the Cabinet.

As Mr. Hilton Young has put it, "A check upon the Executive's power over the purse is still needed by the Commons as much as ever but the Executive upon whose power the check has to be exercised is now not the Crown but its ministers responsible to the Parliament. Procedure planned to check the Crown is out of date. It is a beautiful structure well worthy of a place in any museum, but it scarcely deserves the elaborate attention and praise which it still receives, because for any practical purpose in enforcing economy under modern conditions it is misdirected. What we need in our financial organisation in the twentieth century, is that the House of Commons should direct its attention to imposing checks upon the extravagance of itself and its own ministers..... When the Executive was not responsible to Parliament, there was a natural antagonism between the two which stimulated the Commons to act as the keen watchdogs of economy, to guard the people's purse against undue exaction and waste. It results that much of what is of most historical interest in the procedure of the House of Commons is now of least practical value, much that was not necessary while the House was struggling to control the expenditure of the Crown, now that the House is itself the motive force in spending, is much needed and is left undone."¹"

The main general principles regulating the financial operations of the Government of England may be stated as follows :—

¹ Hilton Young—*The System of National Finance*. pp. 51-52.

1. First the Crown—that is to say the King acting through his ministers who constitute the Executive. Government cannot raise money by taxation, borrowing or otherwise spend money without the authority of Parliament.

2. Secondly the power to grant money in Parliament including collection and appropriation belongs exclusively to the House of Commons. The Upper House assents to or may reject, under certain conditions, a grant of money but cannot initiate or alter a grant.

3. Thirdly, the House cannot vote money for any purpose or impose a tax except at the instance of, and on the responsibility of, the ministers of the Crown.

4. Fourthly, all receipts must be paid into, and all disbursements must be made out of the consolidated fund.

5. Fifthly, the English constitution follows the ‘Income and Expenditure’ system of accounting, that is to say, all accounts relate to a particular unit of time, *viz.*, the fiscal year beginning on the 1st of April at the end of which all accounts for the year are closed.

With these preliminary observations which have important bearing on the subject-matter under discussion we may set out in search of the element of popular control in the British financial system.

Initiative in financial operations has been given in England to the Executive. The start is given by the Treasury issuing a circular letter to the Departments asking them to submit the ‘estimates’ of the expenditure for the coming financial year. The estimates of all the departments in due course reach the Treasury which sets out in the work of minute scrutiny of the estimated expenditure under each and every service on the basis of last year’s accounts, figures for the current year as well as the financial prospect of the year under consideration arrived at by a comparison of the estimated receipts from various sources with the estimated expenditure on all the different services. Naturally enough in submitting the estimates the spending departments

keep a safe margin and the Treasury recommends 'cuts' under various heads of expenditure consistent with efficient administration. If the departments do not agree to the cuts the point in dispute is referred to the Cabinet where both the Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as the head of the department concerned present their cases and some final decision is taken. Considerations of economy are compounded with those of public policy and administrative efficiency. Here begins the first element of control over expenditure. But it should be noted that as yet the operations are carried on within the walls of White Hall and not exposed to public gaze. When the estimates are finally accepted by the Departments they come back to the Treasury divided into four parts according to the nature of the service—Army, Navy, Air force and Civil service. On the basis of the estimates of expenditure the Chancellor of the Exchequer devises ways and means for meeting them which he incorporates along with the estimates of expenditure in the annual budget.

The next step in the financial work of the Government is taken in Parliament. That no expenditure can be incurred nor any taxation imposed without the authority of Parliament has long become an established principle and so to say the charter of constitutional liberty of the English people with which every school boy in England is perhaps familiar. Hence when the administration has compiled the estimates the legislature must give them statutory authority before they can be acted upon. According to the rule (3) stated above the estimates are presented to the Parliament by one of the responsible ministers. Apparently it seems that this step is devised for giving the legislature control over the purse but only a superficial acquaintance with the actual procedure followed in this connection will disabuse one's mind of such false ideas.

First of all, the estimates are divided into two parts—one part of it, comprising what are called consolidated fund services, depends on permanent statutes and so does not come under the annual review of the House at all. With regard to the rest

which depend on the annual vote of the House no member can move for an increase of expenditure under any head nor any alteration in their destination but can only move for reduction. Even the motions for reduction are "not what they seem," in parliamentary practice they have been converted into methods of criticising and turning a searchlight on the administration rather than of securing economy; for the passing of any such motion in the House is interpreted as an expression of want of confidence in the ministry. Naturally therefore as an effective Control over the financial proposals of the Government it has proved quite abortive. As President Lowell has put it in his characteristic way, "Financially the work (of the House) is rather supervision than direction and its real usefulness consists in *securing publicity and criticism rather than controlling expenditure*. It is the tribunal where at the opening of the financial year the ministers must explain and justify every detail of the fiscal policy and where at its close they must render an account of their stewardship." (Lowell—Govt. of England, Vol. I, p. 288.) This will be patent to any one who has the least acquaintance with the system of financial administration in Great Britain. By a standing order of the House financial initiative, that is the initiative as regards all proposals for imposing taxation or incurring expenditure, has been given over to the responsible ministers of the Crown. Private members have been completely ousted as regards this important prerogative. When the proposals are actually submitted before the House either in Committee or in the Report stage the role of the members is practically confined to criticism and review of the administration rather than actual tampering with the proposals. They are not debarred from moving amendments for reducing or rejecting the amounts asked for but if they are moved from financial motives they are generally taken up as a challenge by the Government which marshal all its forces to defeat them. Alternatives can be made only with the wilful acceptance of the motion by the government. But as a means of criticising the administration,

ventilating grievances and securing publicity with regard to the financial policy of the government the debates in the committee or the House are quite effective. As President Lowell has observed in another place, "The real object of the debate in supply at the present day is not financial discussion but criticism of the administration of the departments, their work being brought under review as their estimates are considered," (Lowell—Vol. I, pp. 307). Messrs. Willoughby and Lindsay have remarked in their joint work, 'Financial Administration of Great Britain' (p. 130) Reduced to final terms the function performed by the House of Commons in considering estimates may be stated to be that of enforcing responsibility on the executive for financial planning through review, criticism and discussion but not of modifying the proposals of the Government. But even as affording a means of free discussion and criticism of the policy of administration their scope is circumscribed within narrow limits by the complete control of the ministry over the procedure and time of the House. So we may come to the conclusion with President Lowell, "The English system seems to be approximating more and more to a condition where the Cabinet initiates everything, frames its own policy, submits that policy to a searching criticism in the House and adopts such suggestion as it deems best; but where the House after all this has been done, must accept the acts and proposals of the Government as they stand or pass a vote of censure and take the chance of a change of ministry or a dissolution. The House tends to lose all powers except the power to criticise and the power to sentence to death."

The financial programme of the year is prepared by the Cabinet, laid before the House formally for their approval but really for their passive acquiescence at the point of bayonet, so to say. The programme must be accepted as it is or the Government would resign. Members of the House must choose between these two alternatives and worldly wise people will as a rule accept the lesser of the two evils which is the acceptance of the

budget in toto, of course with some amount of vituperation. The testimony of a veteran M. P. will not come amiss in this connection.

Writes Lt.-Col. Kenworthy, "It is a melancholy fact but it must be admitted that the most important of all Parliament's functions, the *control of finance has virtually disappeared*. The Great Civil War was fought in order that public expenditure could be controlled by the elected representatives of the people. There is no such control now. The Executive is all-powerful. —The so-called supply days are a farce.....During my eight years in Parliament I have missed few of these supply days and I shall not be challenged by any politician who knows the facts when I say that for purposes of *controlling expenditure* supply days are utterly useless and a pure waste of time.

Grievances are discussed, it is true, usually in a really empty House, but as soon as the voting takes place even a reduction of £100 is invariably resisted accordingly. The whips are put on and every member voting knows that the defeat of the Government will be followed automatically by a General Election. It has grown up into an established Parliamentary tradition that a defeat on supply means the resignation of the Government."¹

It would not perhaps be pertinent, so far as our present discourse is concerned, to enquire as President Lowell has done, how far this usurpation of the function of financial control by a cabinet is in consonance with the principle of complete cabinet responsibility or how far it can be relaxed or the Parliament may be given some voice if not in the actual determination of financial policy at least in effecting minor economies in the estimates consistent with efficiency in administration. The fact remains however that all effective control of the finances of the nation has slipped out of the hands of the representatives of the people in Parliament. The elaborate procedure employed in passing the financial proposals of the Government, so far as its original

¹ "The Decay of Parliament" by Lt.-Col. J. M. Kenworthy in Fortnightly Review, July, 1927.

purpose, *viz.*, check on the Executive is concerned, is a huge farce. Reality of popular control depends much upon the nature and degree of accountability that the Executive body at any particular time owes to Parliament and people. It is the constant vigilance of an everwatchful and exacting British public and press that keeps the cabinet from playing ducks and drakes with the public fund. We may now turn to other countries.

From the system of unified control and responsibility in England in respect of finance we may pass on, by way of contrast, to one of complete irresponsibility and disorderliness in U. S. A.

The fathers of the American constitution in their excessive zeal for separation of powers created a wide gulf between the Executive and Legislature, oblivious of the practical difficulties involved in the process. Necessary as some amount of co-operation is between the Executive and Legislature in the field of legislation and administration it is all but absolutely indispensable in the administration of finance. In the interests of uniformity and coherence in the fiscal system as also for the effective exercise of popular control it is desirable that the threads of the system should be gathered up at one point and responsibility should be concentrated. But unfortunately in U. S. A. both these essentials of sound finance have been completely lost sight of. In America there was erstwhile no such thing as "Budget" or a plan of financial administration embodying all proposals for taxation and expenditure for the whole year. Proposals for expenditure might come in, from any quarter of the House, the practice of "logrolling" being rampant. These proposals or bills embodying them did not pass through one common channel but were diffused among a number of committees to be considered piecemeal without reference to each other. So until all these committees had reported to the House, none could have an estimate of the total amount of expenditure or revenue for the year. Naturally the principle of cutting the cloth according to the coat—just the reverse of which is applicable to domestic finance—could not be applied. Measures of

taxation were devised from every other consideration but of "balancing the budget." But for the fact that U. S. A. is fortunately placed in respect of her finances, usually enjoying surpluses—thanks to her high protective tariffs and growing economic prosperity—the system of financial administration would have driven her headlong into total bankruptcy. The wartime experience with national expenditure soaring high amply brought home to the American people the defects of her fiscal system. The cry was raised for "efficiency and economy." There was a drift towards the English system. Some amount of centralisation was introduced by the "Budget and Accounting Act, 1921." It has been provided by this Act that estimates of expenditure as well as receipts for the coming financial year compiled by the heads of Departments should be laid before the "Director of the Budget" an officer appointed by the President without *Senatorial confirmation*, for an indefinite time. He should draw up something like a budget statement in collaboration with the heads of departments with an eye to the balancing of the receipts and disbursements. This is transmitted through the President to the House which again refers it without debate to the Committee of Appropriation. The latter body distributes different classes of proposals among a number of sub-committees which prepare bills embodying the proposals in the form in which they are accepted. The bills are finally reported back to the House to pass through the remaining stages of an ordinary bill. But unlike most other countries U. S. A. has given the Upper House substantial powers with regard to money bills. After the House has passed the proposals of the Executive, the Senate may effect changes in them through its "Budget" and Finance committees. From this brief analysis of the procedure, it would appear that though some amount of centralisation has been effected so far as the machinery for financial administration is concerned, yet responsibility has not been concentrated and necessarily therefore control is divided.

(To be continued.)

A MANX POET

(A Few Notes on T. E. Brown and His Poems.)

There are few more delightful places to spend a holiday than in the Isle of Man. The Manx folk are most interesting and congenial, and I have spent many happy hours among them. It was here, two and a half years ago, that I first made the acquaintance of T. E. Brown's poetry.

The Isle of Man lies midway between England and Northern Ireland. It is quite small, being only thirty miles in length by about twelve miles in width. By catching a fast boat from that famous English sea-port Liverpool I can be safely deposited in the Isle of man within three and a half hours.

Douglas is the capital town of the island. It boasts its own Parliament, and conducts its affairs in pretty much its own way, although, of course, it is controlled in all higher points by British Authority.

It was in Douglas, in the year 1830, the fifth day of May, that Thomas Edward Brown first saw the light of day, he was the sixth of ten children. His father, the Reverent Robert Brown, was incumbant of St. Matthews Church at the time of which we are speaking, but when young Thomas was two years old he was made Vicar of Kirk Braddan, which lies in the rear suburbs of Douglas.

It is not surprising that such a deep foundation of soulfulness was laid to Brown's poetry when we pause to consider the atmosphere and environment in which he was reared. The son of a reverent gentleman, he grew up to be a pure deep-thinking man with a soul ever responsive to all that is beautiful in life.

All that was good and beautiful in the character of the father was inherited by the son. When young Brown was old enough to be put to learning he was taken under the wing of the parish schoolmaster to be trained as a scholar, but it was

Brown's father who taught him the elements of Latin, and fired within him that love for beautiful literary style that hall-marked his career throughout. For many years after this Brown's life was almost entirely devoid of incident, until, at the age of fifteen, he had progressed so well at school that he was sent to King Williams College. In 1849 he left King Williams College for Oxford, where he was admitted to a servitorship at Christ Church.

This was a tremendous step to Brown. Christ Church meant a different type of procedure to the College at Castletown. After taking a Double First in 1853, which, he afterwards remarked, caused him much mental agony and an amount of bitter mortification, owing to the fact it was considered to act as a bar to his being elected a student, he reached the "summit of an Oxford man's ambition" in the following year when he was elected Fellow of Oriel. Shortly after having this distinction conferred upon him he returned to the little village of Castletown in the Island as Vice-Principal of King Williams College.

In common with many other poets Brown was passionately devoted to Music ; this was an art that he had cultivated from quite a young lad. He admitted once that he knew of nothing that gave him more pleasure than a quiet ramble over the Keys after an absence of two or more months.

In 1857 Brown married his cousin Miss Stowell, in Kirk Moughold Church, and for ever afterwards Brown places Kirk Maughold first in his sacred reminscences entitled *Epistola ad Dakyns*.

Four years after this happy event Brown returned to England and went to Gloucester where he was made headmaster of the Crypt School. He was never happy in this new role at the Gloucester School, and soon he was yearning for his native Island declaring himself as one of "the most patriotic exiles it could boast."

He spent twenty-eight years at Clifton, where he made

great friends of many that he met there, both masters and boys. In 1892 his health gave way, and he returned to his native isle where he recovered, to some extent his normal health again. Although he was certainly more happy in the environment of the Manx atmosphere, he confessed frequently that he still entertained a warm feeling for the languid beauty and the tranquility of Clifton, and he has left us many verses in proof of this ; his Lynton and Clevedon verses make very beautiful reading. It is hard to single out any one poem for notice, but the second verse of 'Lynton to Perlock' is well worth a perusal even if only for the deep fervent tone which the poet has employed :—

Sweet breeze that sett'st the summer buds aswaying,
 Dear lambs amid the primrose meadows playing,
 Let me not think !
 O floods, upon whose brink
 The merry birds are maying,
 Dream, softly dream ! O blessed mother, lead me
 Unsevered from thy girdle—lead me ! feed me !

Whilst the beautiful simplicity of number one of his Clevedon verses leaves nothing to the imagination, the peace, the loveliness, and the sacredness of a summer day at Hallam's Church is all there.

A grassy field, the lambs, the nibbling sheep,
 A blackbird, and a thorn, the April smile
 Of brooding peace, the gentle airs that wile
 The Channel of its moodiness.....
 While Joy, with busy fingers, weaves the woof
 Of Spring.

There are, as I have said, many of these English verses, all of which should appeal to readers of every type.

In the succeeding years of his retirement Brown demanded peace and freedom, so much so, that when he was offered the Archdeaconry of the Isle of Man in 1894 he refused it. "At some

cost," he said, "I have purchased my freedom, and I will not lightly part with it.....I must be free—free to do what I like, say what I like, and write what I like within the limitations prescribed by my own sense of what is seemly and fitting. Literature is my calling.....with this in view I need absolute freedom, freedom to go to church, or not to go to church, freedom to commune with local preachers, freedom to smoke a pipe in a Manx public-house...in short—absolute freedom!"

He had his freedom, and enjoyed it, but not for long. Quite suddenly on the evening of October 29th, 1892, he died whilst addressing the boys of a Manx school on the subject of "The Ideal Clifton," a subject to which, in later years, he had grown very attached.

His poem 'Poets and Poets' is only an attempt to display the great depths of his own heart, and as we read it we are at once aware of the wide range of vision that was his to scan at leisure :—

He fishes in the night of deep sea pools,
For him the nets hang long and low;
Cork-buoyed and strong; the silver-gleaming schools
Come with the ebb and flow
Of universal tides, and all the channels glow.
Or, holding with his hand the weighted line
He sounds the langour of the neaps,
Or feels what current of the springing brine
The cord divergent sweeps,
The throb of what great heart disturbs the middle deeps.

In the verses which he has entitled 'Clifton' we see the deep yearning for his Manx home that forever gnawed at him inwardly whilst he was away, and I think a few lines are worth repetition here :—

I'm here at Clifton, grinding at the mill
My feet for thrice nine barren years have trod;
But there are rocks and waves at Scarlett still,
And gorse runs riot in Glen Chass—thank God!.....

There is no silence here; 'the truculent quack
 Insists with acrid shrieks my ears to prod,
 And if I stop them, fumes; but there's no lack
 Of silence still on Carraghyn—thank God !

It would seem that Brown had a hatred of Clifton, or, indeed any part of England, but it is only characteristic of the man, that he should with the deep favour and pride of a Manx-man count all else beside his own wee country as naught. And it is only characteristic of him that after returning to the Isle of Man he should turn loving thoughts to Clifton and to other English villages and towns where he spent his time, and that these loving thoughts should be modelled and tenderly formed into exquisite verses.

There is much more that I could say about Brown's poems, and there are very many quotations that I could make for your interest, but I would prefer you to obtain the complete book and read them through at your leisure, it can be obtained from Macmillan & Co. who have branches in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

But before I close this little article on Brown and his poems I should like to say a few words about his narrative lyrics 'Mary Quayle : The Curates Story' and secondly 'Bella Gorry : The Pazon's Story.'

Nothing so interesting as these has come my way for a long, long time. The text is built up on so sure a foundation, that in the case of 'Bella Gorry' for instance, the glory and sacredness of womanhood is carried to a divine belief on the part of the poet to such an extent that it is consciously communicated to the reader, whilst its lyrical passion is the sounding of divine music. The commencement of 'Mary Quayle' opens in a way that commands the whole-hearted interest of the reader :—

We went to climb Barrule.
 Wind light, air cool.
 But when we reached the crest
 That fronts Cornaa,

A black cloud leaned its breast
 Upon the bay.....
 Then Richard said—
 “ This is the place—
 “ Long years have fled,
 “ But still I see her face.
 “ Just where you are she was—yes, just here—
 “ I had long thought she loved me; but you know the fear—
 “ Had thought—but now by that sweet word made bolder
 “ I cannot tell;
 “ Only her dear head fell
 “ Upon my shoulder,
 “ And she looked up into my eyes—and this
 “ Was our first kiss ”

And so he goes on to unfold the tragic story of Mary Quayle, who was betrayed by a gentleman visiting the Isle of Man. Then just a little bit from Bella Gorry to whet your appetite :—

.....Until, one night
 Passing among the bents, I heard a cry
 As of a child, and heard the murmured song
 Wherewith the mother sought to quiet it—
 And this was Bella Gorry. Round her rose
 The swelling sand-heaps; it was in September,
 A star-lit night. A fence of sods upturn
 Encompassed her; and she had hollowed out
 The sand, and made such shelter as she could.
 But it was cold and she had bowed her head
 Over her babe, herself to sleep inclined—
 And still the cry, and still the drowsy croom.

Bella Gorry is truly a beautiful narrative lyric embodying the true passions and thoughts of the Manx people. Neither of the narrative lyrics I have mentioned are without their touch of pathos, for they are both closely identified with human emotion and waywardness.

There still remain his Dramatic Lyrics to be noticed, of which ‘Peggy’s Wedding’ in my opinion stands out from the rest, although, of course, they are all good, written, as they are,

in the Manx style of language. I will content myself with a last quotation from 'Peggy's Wedding':—

" Aw dear! aw dear! aw the craythur! aw poor Peggy
 What's the matter with you now?
 Come in! come in! the sowl! the sowl: (the soul)
 What is it, Peggy, what? and where have you left Dan Cowle?
 Is he outside in the street? well where is he then?
 Did you call at the half-way house? did he get—aw bless these men!
Don't be foolish Peggy, we'll have a cup o' tea
 Then you'll tell us.
 Why Dan Cowle! Dan Ballabroo!
 A decent man, and well-to-do!
 Dan! Dan Cowle! dear heart!
 And the beautiful ye went away in the cart!
 And you've tuk and left him! left Dan!
 Left the man!"

In nearly all of his poetry Brown breathes the spirit of his country, it is inseparable from his character, and from his soul, and no man had a greater soul than Brown. He was beloved by all who were fortunate enough to come into contact with him. His voice was rich and deep, he possessed the most kindly eyes anyone could wish to see, along with a tender, though perhaps, ironical mouth. He loved rambling through the countryside above all things, although he was very fond of such sports as boating and bathing.

He possessed wild spirits and liked plenty of fun at the right time, but beneath his boisterous attitude there was a calm demeanour ever ready to show itself at the appropriate moment. He was very modest about his poetry, he knew its true value, and possessed a quite assurance of its future prosperity. He rarely spoke about his poems for he believed that they were but the words of God, not his own, and that he was the medium God had chosen to convey them to mankind, but, at the same time, he fervently hoped that they would be read and appreciated by all manner of people, irrespective of colour or creed.

THE PROBLEM OF A SECOND CHAMBER IN INDIA

II

Now once the powers of the future Senate are defined, we must see as to how it may be constituted. At present it has a bare elective majority and a strong minority of nominated and official elements. To give the permanent civil servants any seat in the legislature is inconsistent with the principles of representative democracy and the Parliamentary practice all over the world. It is an unhealthy anomaly in India which can be explained only by the present transition stage of its political evolution. Hence in the future constitution of the country this anachronism should be avoided and all permanent officials rigidly excluded from the legislative chambers. As to the element of nominated non-officials again, it may be safely said that it has not stood the test of experiment in any country. Nominated members whose only constituency is the Government House never show the candour and independence which are the real virtues of a parliamentarian. In Italy and in Canada the system of nomination has met with a miserable failure. And here in India it has incurred a specially bad odour about it. By whichever Government a man may be nominated, he is not to expect any confidence of the people. His independence would be impugned, his motive would be questioned. Even a nominated member of the character of Mr. N. M. Joshi, who has an invaluable record of public service behind him and whose conduct in the Indian Legislature has been uniformly efficient and patriotic, is not always trusted by the people. He is after all a nominated member. Tradition associates servility with Government nomination. It cannot be washed off so easily even by hard public work. Under these circumstances, it will be a folly to retain the system of nomination for constituting any

part of the future second chamber.¹ If this House is to have a useful career it must have the confidence of the public. And if it is to win this confidence it must be formed otherwise than by Government nomination. The example of Canada and the experience in India should be an eye-opener to us in this respect. The theoretical merits of nomination need no longer have any glamour for the framers of the future constitution of India.

The Senate of the reformed legislature of India will be an elective chamber. But how will it be elected? That is a problem which it has been attempted to solve differently. The lower House will of course be elected by universal suffrage. If the Upper House also is elected by the same voters, it may become merely a duplicate of the former and as such an unnecessary clog in the wheel of legislation. Again if it is elected on the basis of a narrow franchise there is the danger of its being constituted by "obscurantists and people belonging to special classes whose chief aim is to protect their own interests and obstruct all liberal measures."² "Direct election to the Senate can thus only result in either a replica of the lower House or in producing a reactionary body representing some vested interests only."³ Placed on the horns of this dilemma the Nehru Committee seeks an escape from it in the principle of indirect election. It recommends that members of the Senate should be returned by the legislatures of the provinces.⁴ In making this recommendation, the Committee seems to be conscious of all the merits of indirect election but it ignores all the pitfalls of the system which experience in other countries has brought out into relief.

¹ Sir Sivaswami Iyer is an advocate of a mixed system of election and nomination. He thinks the system of election will not bring the best men into the house. The presence of certain public men on the Senate may be desirable but they may not be persuaded to face the election. If, however, nominated, their services will not be lost to the public. See Indian Constitutional Problems, p. 141.

² The Report of the Nehru Committee, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

It takes into consideration the intelligent and select character of the electorate which is likely to choose the right kind of men for the Senate, "men who may not care to face the shouting and the tub-thumping which a modern democratic election with a wide electorate involves."¹ It also considers the fact that this electorate will be restricted, but it "will not be based on status or vested interests or class. It will presumably reflect the temper of the mass electorates in the country."² And finally it takes into consideration another advantage which will accrue from the system—an advantage that we should not lose in view of the federal character of the future Indian constitution. "Provinces as such will be directly represented in the central legislature and provincial view-points will be expressed in the Senate."³ The second chamber of the central legislature will, in other words, be a House of the provinces—a contingency desirable and essential in a federation. In the United States and Australia, election to the Senate is now direct. But to maintain the character of this body as a House of the States, the voters throughout a particular state vote as one constituency in the Senatorial election. This makes the constituency too large a body and the election correspondingly arduous and difficult. Unless the party organisations are rigid and perfect, it becomes almost impossible for a candidate to run his election campaign. In India, many of the provinces are far larger in size and greater in population than the Australian and the American States. The election undertaken on the same lines will hence involve greater expense and far greater difficulty in this country. Party organisations are not yet fully developed. Only one party organised to some extent on a modern basis is in the field. The candidates, run by this party will therefore command a great advantage over their opponents. It is even doubtful

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95. ² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

if they will have any rival at all.¹ Under these circumstances Section 28 of the Independent Labour Party's Bill does not commend itself to us. It provides that "each province shall be a single constituency for the purpose of the election of Senators." It, in fact, wants to introduce the Australian and the American System in India. But the experiment is not likely to succeed. The candidates run by the only organised party in the country will sweep the elections and the Senate will be nothing but a Committee of this party. The other political view-points will go by default. They will not have any chance of being represented in this chamber.

While thus the principle of direct election does not fit in with the circumstances of the country the indirect method, recommended by the Nehru Committee is also not without its dangers. Its advantages have been recounted but its pitfalls have been ignored. For one century and a quarter this principle of Senatorial election was maintained in America. The arguments with which the Nehru Committee now advocate this system seemed also authoritative to the fathers of the American Constitution. They thought that elected by the pick of the people only the pick of the candidates would be returned to the federal Senate. They were convinced as well that election by the State legislatures would bring out prominently the true character of the Senators as the representatives of the State and not of the people. All these theoretical arguments notwithstanding the system did not succeed in actual operation, and it had to be replaced by the present method of direct election. It is not unlikely that history may repeat itself and the same method of electing Senators may be attended with similar results in this country. Of course, the circumstances are not quite similar here as those in the U.S.A. In the latter country, the Senators hold the strings of patronage in their hands and are as such a

¹ Already in the elections to the Legislative Assembly where the constituency is a "Division" of a province or now and again two "Divisions," the non-Swarajist candidates suffer from a great handicap. In many cases they do not dare to face the electors.

source of authority and power to the party to which they belong. Senatorial posts, hence, were and are still looked upon as prizes by the political parties and they stake a good deal on the winning of these positions. In this country, however, the authority of the Senators is to be limited to their legislative functions alone. No other patronage and extraneous power will attach to their situations. It is therefore not expected that the interests of the provincial legislatures will be very much subordinated to the election of central Senators. The interests involved being minor, it is not likely that wholesale corruption of the American type will be transplanted to this country. The principle of indirect election advocated by the Nehru Committee may therefore be given a trial.

Next we have to consider as to what class of people should constitute the federal second chamber. Any and every body should not be at liberty to stand for Senatorial election. The candidates must have certain qualifications as to their age and residence. Nobody who is not a *bonafide* resident in a province should be allowed to stand from that province. As to the age of the candidates twenty-five¹ seems to be too low a limit for the House of Elders. In France no person below forty can by law go to the Senate and in the U.S.A. none below thirty can be a Senator. The Irish Free State has cut out a *via media* between these two limits and provided for an age limit of thirty-five for the Senators. This golden mean will also fit in with Indian conditions. In this country people have a veneration for age. Hence it will be unwise to send callow youths to a House whose chief merit will consist in sobriety and moderation. At the same time it must be remembered that in this tropical climate the efficiency of man deteriorates earlier than in Western countries. It will be therefore equally unwise to extend the age limit so far as to make indispensable the choice of men whose brain has already become soft.

¹ At present the age limit of the members of the Council of State is twenty-five

The next point with regard to the constitution of the Senate is concerned with the number of Senators to be allotted to each province. The federal system will of course demand an equality of representation. The principle that all the component parts should be equally represented on the Senate has been observed in the U.S.A., Australia, and Switzerland. That was, in fact, the *sine qua non* of the Union. The smaller states would never have agreed to enter the federation but for this safeguard. Thus to-day we find Delaware has as many representatives on the Senate as New York, and Queensland has as many members on the Australian Senate as New South Wales. In Canada, of course, this principle of equality of representation on the Federal Second Chamber has been practically given the go-by. True, the four naturally differentiated tracts of British North America have twenty-four members each on the Dominion Senate. But some of these tracts include within them provinces which are very unequally represented on the Senate. Almost all the drafts on the future constitution of India accept this unequal system of Canada; none of them give the provinces an equal membership in the Senate. "In view of the great difference in size and population of our provinces," observes the Nehru Committee,¹ "this principle of equal representation of all provinces may not be desirable." The unequal system has also been in vogue for the last nine years in India. The people hence have been to some extent habituated to it. Nor has any province demanded equal representation in this chamber. Besides, whatever might have been the attitude of the people of America, Australia and Switzerland at the inception of their unions, to-day they do not look upon the Second Chamber as the protector of the state-rights. The Senate, in fact, nowhere divides on state lines. The principle of equality has thus lost much of its force. It is now only an irrelevant historical survival. It will not be worthwhile to imitate this dead principle

¹ The Report, p. 95.

in India. "The extent of the representation granted to the different provinces must therefore be proportionate to their population."¹

Under the Reforms the central legislature is a bicameral body but the provincial legislatures are unicameral in structure. The joint authors of the Indian Constitutional Reforms discussed the possibility of a bicameral legislature in the provinces. But at the time (1918), they found the impediments to such a legislative organisation too many and too strong. They thought that proper materials were not available for the composition of a provincial Second Chamber. Only the landed and the monied interests might be represented in this body. They would, however, make the Upper House too effective a barrier against all liberal legislation. The joint authors hence decided against a double-chambered legislature for the provinces. But this they did not think to be the final solution of the question. They kept the door open for the reconsideration of the problem in the future.² Accordingly the Government of India Act³, 1919, provides for the examination of this question by the Satutory Commission which has now been appointed.

Now-a-days the Second Chamber no longer holds a place of sanctity as it once used to do. It is looked upon now more as a cumbersome addition to the administrative structure than as a shrine of political wisdom. It is at best now a necessary evil. Hence, unless its utility is proved beyond doubt, it should not be embarked upon. If it is proved that a unicameral legislature cannot properly discharge its business and if it is proved as well that the addition of an Upper House will not further complicate the solution, then only a bicameral body may be ventured upon. Otherwise it will be too costly a constitutional luxury. The provinces in Indian federation will never enjoy very wide power. It is now almost a universal belief

¹ Sir Siva Swami Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

² The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918), para. 258.

³ Section 84 A. subsection (2).

that the interests of the country will be best served if the allocation of power between the central and provincial Governments is made on the Canadian model. This will make the provincial Government as to-day the legatee of delegated powers only. The provincial legislature is therefore not expected to be overburdened with work. Its task will be comparatively light. For the discharge of these minor legislative functions, a double-chambered body is by no means essential. In Canada all the provinces except two have a unicameral legislature. Nor are the people there feeling at all the necessity of a revising House. A single legislative chamber has shown no less a sense of responsibility and moderation than the bicameral bodies. In India also, the provincial legislative Councils have been up to the task entrusted to them. They have no doubt thrown out the budgets and compelled the Governors to "certify" them. They have indeed refused assent to some Government bills and goaded the Governors to pass them over their head. But all these they have done, not overtaken by a sudden gust of passion.¹ These steps do not speak against the sober sense of the popular representatives. They were taken only out of a cool calculated policy. The Congress party in India looks upon the reforms as a hollow sham. It accordingly refuses co-operation with it. The powers of the Legislative Council are only imaginary and shadowy, while the Governor has been invested with all the real authority. This is a fact which must be brought home to the people and the position of the Governor in the provincial constitution should be brought out into clear relief. This has been the policy of the representatives of the people, a policy not hastily improvised but deliberately undertaken. It is by way of carrying out this policy that the Legislative Council in many places and on many occasions refused to vote the supplies and pass the laws as desired by

¹ A writer has alluded to these facts to prove that "gusts of passion have often submerged the sober sense of the representatives of the people." See the "Statesman" of Calcutta, the 26th October, 1928.

the Government. It deliberately left it to the Governor to restore the 'cuts' and certify the bills. It cannot hence be said that the Legislative Council acted in an irresponsible manner in these matters. Its sense of responsibility was, in fact, brought out in immense degree when some controversial measures were on the legislative anvil. When the Bengal Tenancy Act came up for amendment, radicalism was in the air. People were demanding from all parts of the province a complete overhauling of the tenancy system. If the Congress opposition in the Council lent any ear to this demand, the land-holding interest in the country would have been almost ruined. But an atmosphere of give-and-take was created instead in the Council Chamber and a measure was passed that improved the status of the ryot and maintained at the same time the interest of the zemindars. A similar attitude of compromise had been taken up by the Council several years earlier with regard to some provisions of the Calcutta Municipal Bill. Over the question of separate communal representation, the Bill almost met with ship-wreck. But soon reasonableness returned and a compromise between two opposing groups was arrived at. And the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, is now looked upon as one of the achievements of the reformed Legislature of Bengal. The above two instances point out clearly that given the real responsibility, the Legislative Council knows how to discharge it with care, good sense and moderation. Past experience does not point to the ghost of a chance of any injustice being done to any community or class. Nor does it yield any precedent of any radical legislation being hastily undertaken and carried through by the majority in a fit of passion. Where any controversial question is involved, hastiness has, in fact, never been the characteristic of the Legislative Council. People have rather sufficient ground of complaint against the tardiness of its action. The problem of Bengal Tenancy which had been hanging for quite a long time was taken up seriously by the Legislative Council only after eight years of the new regime had passed by. A Bill to

amend the tenancy system was no doubt introduced in 1925 in the Council by the late Maharaja of Nadia, then Revenue Member of the Government of Bengal. But some of the provisions of the Bill were taken exception to by a class of the people. Accordingly the circulated Bill was withdrawn and time was given to the people for a dispassionate consideration of this vital problem of the province. After about two years when it was supposed the thoughts of the people had settled down, a new Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill was brought into the Council. Amended and modified by the Legislative Council, it became an Act in 1928. Little opportunity was thus given to the play of passion and heat. There are some other problems like the spread of Primary education, reorganisation of the Calcutta University, reform of the moffassil Municipalities and District Boards, which demand immediate attention of the Legislature. Legislations on these subjects are hopelessly out of date. But during the past nine years, the Legislative Council made no progress towards solution of these questions. Twice during this period bills on the reconstruction of the Calcutta University were introduced in the Council. Nothing however, came out of them. A Primary Education bill was also initiated but met with a similar fate. They were all by nature controversial measures and the Council proceeded only at a snail's pace with them. It did not take any rapid decision in these matters lest any group representing any particular interest and viewpoint in the province should feel wronged and unjustly treated. If hence the Council erred, it must have erred on the side of tardiness and not of hastiness. It breathed more the spirit of *status quo* than the spirit of change. Now despite all this if another chamber was added to the legislature that will amount to a permanent veto over all change.

There are some people, however, who never see with eyes open. They scent dangers in places where nothing is possible. The British Indian Association of Calcutta demands a second Chamber in the provinces, the powers and constitution of which

"should be similar to those of the Council of State."¹ The Associated Chambers of Commerce² and the European Association of India³ also demand the institution of a revising chamber in the provincial legislature. All these public bodies represent special interests in the country. It is not unnatural that they should be a bit nervous as to the activities of the future legislature endowed with greater authority and power. It is intelligible that they should like to make the passing of a new law difficult by the creation of a checking and vetoing chamber. But in their apprehension as to the future, they take no stock of past experience. They forget that the addition of a second chamber will make the passing of a new law not only difficult but practically impossible. It will be in fact a stumbling block in the way of all liberal legislation. If, as the British Indian Association demands, the membership of the Upper House is recruited mostly from the landed and industrial aristocracy, it will be only a class body as the Council of State predominantly is to-day. It will think only in terms of the special interests it may represent and will resist the slightest attack upon them with all its fury and vehemence. This will take away considerably from the merits of this body as a revising chamber. The Upper House will look upon itself as the opponent and rival of the popular Assembly and as a result a constant tug-o'-war will ensue between the two parts of the legislature. Again, if the second chamber be a nominated body,⁴ it will be equally useless and mischievous. We have seen already that the principle of nomination, nowhere successful, is the least desirable in India. However constituted, the second chamber is sure to be a nuisance in the Indian provinces. It is only idle to think that "second chambers will on the whole

¹ Memorandum to the Simon Commission.

² Evidence before the Simon Commission.

³ Memorandum to the Simon Commission.

⁴ The Bengal Committee of the European Association wants a Second Chamber of thirty members nominated for life. (See its memorandum to the Simon Commission.)

be found useful as checks upon the undue haste of the popular Houses.”¹ If such chambers are unwisely set up at all they will only obstruct the legitimate duties of a legislature. In fact, all this bicameral plan “is too cumbersome for provincial Government.”² Even in federal Unions, where the component states enjoy the residuary powers, and the State legislatures have to discharge heavy duties, bicameralism seems to be out of fashion. It is a principle altogether discredited now so far as these legislatures are concerned. In Australia, the two legislative chambers in the States are constantly at feuds and it is only to get out of an eternal tangle that Queensland has taken to unicameralism since 1922. It will be, therefore, an unredeemed folly to transplant to India a principle that is being worn off as useless and mischievous by other countries.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY.

¹ Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Indian Constitution, p. 155

² Lionel Curtis, Dyarchy, p. 444.

KṢANĀBHĀNGAVĀDĀ

OR

THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINE OF FLUX (OR
MOMENTARINESS OF THINGS)

The whole universe of reals has been classified by the Niyāyikas under two exclusive heads, *viz.*, Kṛtakas (products or perishable) and Akṛtakas (non-products or imperishable). The Vātsīputrīyas, an independent school of Buddhism, however, have grouped all realities under two classes, *viz.*, Kṣaṇika (momentary) and Akaṣṇika (non-momentary). Whatever principle of classification be adopted, the conclusion is inevitable that non-eternal entities must be momentary, as they are perishable by their very nature and constitution. Now, if a thing is perishable by its very nature and constitution, it will perish in the very next moment of its birth independently of the service of an external agent. If, however, it is not constitutionally perishable, it must be imperishable and no amount of external force, that may be brought to bear upon it, can make it cease to exist, as a thing cannot forfeit its own nature and assume that of another and yet continue to remain the same entity as before. And there is no medium between momentary and non-momentary, the two classes embracing the whole universe of thought and reality. To suppose, therefore, that a thing may be perishable by its very nature and constitution and yet must be dependent upon an external agent to bring about its destruction, involves a necessary absurdity.

It has been urged that as a thing is seen to perish in a determinate place and time, its destruction must be contingent upon an extraneous cause and so long as this destroying agent does not appear, it will naturally continue to exist. The hypothesis of spontaneous destruction is opposed to

experience and hence unacceptable. There is no absurdity in supposing that a thing may be perishable by nature and yet may be dependent on an external cause for its destruction, quite as much as a seed, which, though possessed of a natural aptitude for producing a sprout, is seen to effectuate a sprout subject to its association with water, wind, soil, and the like and not independently. Experience also shows that hard metals like copper and the like are liquefied, when impinged upon by the flames of fire, but revert to their pristine condition of hardness, when the heat communicated by fire is withdrawn. A jug continues to exist until it is crushed by the stroke of a club. So the dialectic of natural constitution—that if a thing is perishable by its nature it will perish by itself—should be accepted with a qualification, in the light of experience, *viz.*, as subject to action by a destructive agent.

The whole argument of the opponent, however, is vitiated by a misreading of facts. The analogy of the seed is pointless as the seed *per se* is not the cause of the sprout, but the particular seed-entity, vested with sprout-producing efficiency, that emerges in the final stage immediately before the sprout is produced. The hard copper is no firm and obdurate entity but is in continual flux; and when associated with the subsidiary causes, fire and the like, it gives rise to another distinct entity liquid in nature and when other circumstances supervene, the liquid moments disappear and hard moments manifest themselves. The theory of an external, destructive agent, on the other hand, gives rise to logical complications. The destructive agent, requisitioned for the destruction of an entity, can be posited if it has any effect on the thing to be destroyed ; but this effect will transpire to be illusory on examination. Well, what can be the nature of this effect? Is it the production of another entity or non-existence of the previous entity? On the former alternative, a destructive agent has no useful function, as a thing is brought into existence by its own, proper cause, which is the immediate, antecedent entity. And to say that the

cause of a succeeding event is the cause of the destruction of the previous entity is to say that destruction is self-caused and spontaneous, which is our position. The second alternative that the destructive agent causes non-existence of the previous entity is equally untenable, as only an entity can be produced and non-existence being produced will be an entity—which is absurd. And if this supposed non-existence is identical with the thing that is produced, the cause of destruction as distinct from the previous entity need not be postulated. Moreover, the destructive agent must be supposed to produce an effect on the thing to be destroyed. And is this effect something distinct from the thing on which it is produced or not distinct? If distinct, it will not destroy the thing, as there is no relation between the two. On the latter alternative, it is useless as nothing new is produced. Aviddhakarṇa, an old Naiyāyika, whose opinions are frequently quoted in the Tattvasaṅgraha, but who has been entirely forgotten by the later Brahminical writers, has taken strong exception to the Buddhist position that destruction is spontaneous. He argues, destruction is neither contemporaneous with, nor antecedent to, an entity, but a subsequent event occurring in the next moment, as the Buddhist would have it. And so being an event occurring at a determinate point of time it must have a cause and cannot be spontaneous.

Uddyotakara has attacked the Buddhist position in the following arguments: if destruction is uncaused, it will be either non-existent like a barren woman's son or an eternal entity like ether (*akāśa*), as no medium is possible between the two. If it is non-existent, all entities will be eternal, as they will not be subject to destruction and consequently the conception of perishability of all composite bodies will be an unfounded myth. If it is eternal, it will co-exist with all entities—an absurd position, as existence and non-existence, which is the connotation of destruction, are mutually contradictory. If co-existence is denied, there will be no birth, as eternal destruction will preclude all production.

All these objections, the Buddhist rejoins, proceed from a confusion of the meaning of the word, 'destruction.' Now, this word, 'destruction', can have two possible meanings—in the first place, it may mean the fluxional nature of all entities ; in the second place, it may connote absolute cessation of existence (*bhāvasvarūpa-nivṛtti*). Destruction in the first sense does not connote any negative idea; it only implies that things are in a state of continual flux, that an entity endures only for a moment, yielding place to another entity emerging into being. So if destruction means the fluxional nature of an entity, it does not militate against our position, as we also admit it to have a cause, but as the cause is inherent in its own constitution and nothing foreign to its nature, we style it uncaused. But this fluxional character is nothing distinct from the entity itself and as such cannot be regarded as a subsequent event in regard to its own self, although there is nothing to prevent it from being conceived as a subsequent event in regard to the immediately preceding entity. Destruction in this sense exists and accordingly the conception of the perishability of composite bodies (*samskṛta*) is not an unfounded illusion.

Destruction, in the sense of absolute cessation of existence, is, however, an unreal fiction. Pure negation is an abstract idea and has no existence and so cannot be an event, which means the coming into existence of an entity which was previously non-existent. It is as unreal as a sky-lotus and to affirm existence, previous or subsequent, of it is an absurdity. When we say that there is a cessation of existence, we only mean that a thing passes out of existence and not that non-being exists or occurs. It is a meaningless expression. What we seek to establish is that cessation of existence in the sense of pure non-being cannot be an objective category. So the contention of Uddyotakara that the negation of non-being will entail eternal existence of all entities falls to the ground, because all reals being fluxional in nature will pass out of existence

in the second moment without any gratuitous help from an external entity. The whole contention of Uddyotakara proceeds on the assumption that negation is an objective category, but, as we have seen, it is only an ideal fiction and not a concrete fact, as the Nyāyavaiśeṣika school postulates.

The whole allegation of Uddyotakara, that all uncaused entities are either eternal verities or non-entities and negation being an uncaused fact will be eternal, has no force against the Sautrāntika Philosopher. The Sautrāntika does not admit any eternal, uncaused category. The Vaibhāśikas, however, allege that there are three eternal verities, *viz.* ākāśa (space) Pratisaṅkhyānirodha (dissociation of the mind from impurities effected by transcendental knowledge) and Apratisaṅkhyānirodha (non-emergence due to absence of causes).¹ But these Vaibhāśikas are not regarded by us as the true followers of the Buddha. They are grouped along with the other heretical schools of thought, *viz.*, the Naiyāyikas and the like. The Sautrāntikas, who maintain the doctrine of universal flux, have no place in their scheme of realities for an uncaused category. These so-called eternal verities are ideal fictions (*sāmvr̥tas*), pure and simple. Uddyotakara in fathering this doctrine upon the Sautrāntikas only betrays his inorgance of the Buddhist position.²

As regards the so-called non-perishable entities such as space, time, God and the like, they are mere fictions of imagination and do not exist as objective realities, as the connotation of reality is causal efficiency (artha-kriyākāritva) and no causal efficiency is predictable of them. And if these be real entities, as you claim, they must be momentary existents, as causal efficiency is predictable only of things that are momentary.

¹ The import and nature of these three eternal categories of the Vaibhāśikas will be elucidated in the chapter on Nirvāṇa.

² 'Yaccoktam akāraṇam bhavato dvividhā nityam asacceti, tat para-siddhēntānabhi-jñatayā, yato nyāyavādināṁ bauddhānāṁ akāraṇam asadeva.....ye ca Vaibhāśikā ākāśādīvastu sattvena kalpayanti, te yuṣmatpakṣa eva nikṣiptā na ēākyaputriyā iti na tanmatopanyāso nyāyāt'—Kamalaśīla pañjikā, p. 140, Tattvasaṅgraha.

No other definition of reality except causal efficiency can be logically sound. Let us examine the definitions of reality as proposed by the Naiyāyikas. Sattāsambandha or sattāsamavāya (participation or co-inherence in universal existence) is not a tenable definition, as samavāya is a form of relation and all relations are unreal. And even if it is allowed, universality (sāmānya), particularity (viśesa) and co-inhesion (samavāya) which do not participate in the universal, will have no existence. Nor is the attribution of a *sui generis* existence to each of them a clever hypothesis, as this means too many different types of existence. Moreover, these tentative definitions are confuted by the following dilemma : Is this *sui generis* existence (svarūpasattā) something different from existence as such or not different? In the former alternative, it will be non-existence and the categories concerned will be unreal. In the latter, the *sui generis* existence will be unmeaning, as there is nothing to differentiate it from existence as such and the categories will be lumped into one. So also with regard to the other categories, *viz.*, substance, attribute and action. If they are identical with existence as such, there is no excuse of their being regarded as separate categories and if they are different, they will have no existence of their own. So we see that the very categories of the Naiyāyikas are reduced to unreal fictions by his own definition.¹ The poor Naiyāyika finds himself in the predicament of defining existence as one that is 'existence,' which amounts to a confession of failure.

But what does demarcate such unreal fictions as a rabbit's horn and the like from things which are real ? Well, it is causal

¹ The universal (sāmānya) cannot participate in any other universal, as this will lead to infinite regression. The universal too cannot be attached to particularity, as in that case the particular will cease to be particular, if it becomes universal in any form. Co-inherence is regarded as one, indivisible, eternal relation obtaining between the universal and the particular, substance and attribute, part and whole. There can be no universal relating to this entity, as the idea of the universal presupposes a number of concrete individuals sharing in it and as samavāya is one, the question of its universal cannot arise. See Tarkāmṛta.

efficiency alone and as these fictions cannot possess any causal efficiency, they must be set down as unreal. An objection has been raised that reality cannot be supposed to consist in causal efficiency, as causal efficiency exists even in such unreal fiction as a sky-lotus and the like. These fictions certainly generate an impression in the mind and thus have causal efficiency in that respect, but they cannot be accepted as real on that account. Moreover, in dreams and illusions, unreal things are seen to have practical efficiency. The false snake in the rope is as much a cause of trepidation as the real one, and sometimes a man is seen to develop all the symptoms of poisoning and on some occasions to die, because he was falsely persuaded that he was bitten by a snake. And a dream-elephant is seen to be as powerful as a real elephant of our wakeful experience. If you make causal efficiency the sole test of reality, you will be painfully obliged to accord reality to those fictions.

The Buddhist replies that predication of causal efficiency relates to an objective reality and does not include subjective fictions. In dreams and illusions the objects, that are experienced, are not real, objective facts, but are evolved from the imagination. The contents of these experiences are but the objectified memory-impressions and have no existence, outside the experiencing mind. It will be a sheer perversion of facts to apply to these mental fictions the standard of reality, which belongs to objective facts. Such unreal fictions, as sky-lotus and the like, are purely subjective facts without any objective reference and as causal efficiency has been postulated as the test of an objective reality, it cannot have any application to these fictitious representations of the imagination. When we deny causal efficiency to those ideal fictions, we deny it in the sense of their being objective realities. All these objections could be enforced if we held with Kumārila and the Naiyāyikas that illusions and dreams were conversant about realities.¹ But

¹ Kumārila holds that even memory and dream-experiences contain an objective reference like perception. The contents of these experiences are real, objective facts,

according to our theory these experiences are purely subjective and are absolutely devoid of any objective reference. Causal efficiency therefore stands unrefuted as the test and definition of reality, as reality cannot be real, substantive facts and not subjective fictions.¹

And causal efficiency is exercisable either in succession or simultaneity and as simultaneity and succession are incompatible with the supposed permanent entity, causal efficiency is restricted to the momentary, fluxional entity alone. One may legitimately enquire : why is it that practical efficiency cannot be predicated of a non-fluxional, permanent entity? Because it is redargued by the following dilemma : Has "your" permanent power of past and future practical efficiency during its exertion of present practical efficiency or no? If it has such power, it cannot fail to execute the past and future actions exactly as it does its present action, because the execution of an action is the inevitable consequence of such efficiency, which it is conceded to possess. And there is no reason why there should be any delay in the effectuation of such actions as the causal efficiency is present intact. The point at issue can be brought home by the following argument : That, which has causal efficiency in respect of anything, does execute that thing without fail, as for instance the full assemblage of causes. And this entity has past and future causal efficiency (and should therefore execute the past and future actions without fail). On the second alternative (if the permanent has no such efficiency of past and future agency), it will never do those actions, as exertion of practical efficiency results from power alone. The privation of past and future efficiency in the permanent can be specifically driven

though in dreams and illusions these facts are presented under a wrong spatio-temporal relation. Nothing but an existing fact can become an object of experience and so the objects of dreams and illusions even are real facts though the spatial and temporal relations are perverted, cf. " *Svapnādipratyaye bāhyam sarvathā nahi neṣyate. Sarvatrālambanaṁ bāhyam deśakālānyathātmakam.*" *Sloka-vārtika*, p. 242.

¹ *Vide Tattvasaṅgraha*, verses 425, 427.

home by the following syllogism : what at any time does not do anything, that at that time is incapable of doing it, as for instance, a gravel is unable to produce a sprout. And this 'permanent' does not execute its past and future actions during its execution of present action (and consequently does not possess the power for the same).

It is proved beyond doubt that this supposed 'permanent' has present practical efficiency, but it does not of a surety possess its past and future efficiency. And as co-existence of efficiency and non-efficiency, two contradictory qualities, is not possible in a single entity, the conclusion is irresistible that the present entity is distinct from the past and the future entity and is thus fluxional. It may be urged that causal efficiency may exist in a thing without the effect being produced and this is confirmed by the fact that the seed in the granary is regarded as the cause of the sprout, though the sprout is not immediately produced. But this objection is based upon a misconception. In ordinary parlance, a remote, possible cause is said to possess causal efficiency. But this is a loose, popular conception and cannot be made the basis of a philosophical enquiry. In reality, however, the cause of the sprout is the peculiar seed-entity that immediately and invariably produces the sprout. The seed in the granary is regarded as the cause of the sprout only in view of its remote possibility. So there is no room for confusion between a real cause, which is immediately and invariably attended with an effect, and a remote, possible cause, which can be regarded as a cause only by courtesy.

But the Naiyāyikas and other realists demur to accept the position of the Buddhist set forth above. They urge that fluxional cause could be accepted if the invariable concomitance of causal efficiency with momentariness was established. But this is impossible. It is quite plausible that a permanent entity, though it is the sole and sufficient cause, can exercise its causal efficiency only in conjunction with subsidiaries and as these subsidiaries occur in succession, successive execution of past and future

actions is not incompetent to a permanent cause. The cause does not independently produce the effect as it develops its causal efficiency only in association with its subsidiaries. The production of the effect is contingent upon the co-presence of the subsidiaries and so does not take place when the set of subsidiaries is absent. The presence and absence of the subsidiaries, however, do not at all affect the real nature of the cause, as the cause is entirely distinct from them.

The co-presence of subsidiaries, the Buddhist observes, is an idle hypothesis. If the permanent develops its causal efficiency on its own account and is not at all assisted by the subsidiaries, the latter become absolutely useless. And if the peculiar effect—producing efficiency, that manifests itself in the last moment, is identical with its past nature, nothing can prevent the production of the effect.¹ If this nature is a different one, you cannot claim the previous entity as the cause. And if you suppose that the cause has not undergone any mutation, production becomes impossible, as its previous inefficiency will persist. But it may be contended that the permanent entity is one of the causes, and not the sole and sufficient cause. It is the entire collocation of causes (*sāmagrī*) that produces the effect and not the cause alone, however powerful it might be. The relation between cause and effect is not one of mutual necessary implication (*anyayoga-vyavaccheda*), but non-separation with one term lying independent (*ayogavyavaccheda*) as in invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*). Thus, as in *vyāpti* the probandum can exist without the probans, though the probans cannot, so also a cause can exist independently of the effect, though not the effect. And in this conception of causal relation the popular view and philosophers' estimate do coincide.²

¹ *Vide S. B. N. T.*, p. 27 ll., 6-9.

² *Tasmād vyāptivat kāryakṛtaṇabhāvo 'py ekatra anyayoga-vyavacchedena, anyatra ayoga-vyavacchedena avaboddhavyaḥ, tathaiva laukika-harikṣakāṇāṁ sam-pratipatteḥ (Op. cit., p. 37).*

Vyāpti is the invariable concomitance of the probans (middle term) with the proban-

Well, we Buddhists, have no quarrel with you on the point that several factors combine to produce a self-same effect. What we contend for is that a permanent cause cannot *ex hypothensi* stand in need of any auxiliary factors. If the invariable efficient or inefficient nature of the permanent continues, there will be either production or non-production of the effect for all times. So there is no logic in the position of the upholders of the permanent entity that it is the full collocation of causes and not a single cause, that is productive of the effect. We have it from experience that several causal factors combine to produce a self-identical effect and we do not challenge this position. But the point at issue is whether the 'permanent' undergoes any mutation or not. If there is no mutation, either production or non-production will be inevitable, as indicated above. If however the permanent mutates, it ceases to be permanent. And this dilemma is unavoidable. No reliance again can be placed on recognition (*pratyabhijñā*), on the strength of whose testimony the unchanged identity of the cause could be established. Recognition is an unsafe guide, as we see there is recognition even in the case of growing hair and nails and the like. Apparently therefore the relation of cause and effect is one of mutual necessary implication and not non-separation with one term lying independent, as the Naiyāyika affirms. The analogy of *vyāpti* is inapplicable, as *vyāpti* is a relation between two concepts and not entities and as concepts are remotely related to reals, the relation is found to congrue with facts. But the cause, you posit, has a real existence as distinct from conceptual

dum and this is the very ground and *conditio sine qua non* of all inference. This relation is stated in the major premiss of Aristotelian syllogism, in which the middle term is invariably distributed, though not necessarily the major term, which may be taken in its entire or partial extension according to circumstances. Accordingly *Vyāpti* has been spoken of as of two distinct types, to wit, (1) *samavyāpti* in which the two terms are co-extensive and (2) *asamavyāpti*, in which the *prabandum* is of wider extension than the *probans*. The contention is whether the relation of causality is of necessity one of co-extensive concomitance or may be a relation of unequal extension with one term wider than and hence independent of the other. The Buddhist maintains the former view and the Naiyāyika affirms the latter possibility with emphasis.

existence.¹ An objection is sometimes raised in this connection that as there is no permanent entity, according to the Buddhist, he cannot have any experience of such, much less can he make it the term of a syllogistic argument. And if he has direct or indirect experience of such permanent entity, he cannot consistently deny his own experience. When he asserts that the 'permanent' cannot have causal efficiency, he admits the existence of the permanent and cannot deny it without contradicting himself. The objection is a frivolous one, but will be dwelt on at length in a separate section, because the Naiyāyikas have made capital out of this. Suffice it to say here that the permanent in our syllogism is a hypothetical entity and not an experiential fact. What we mean by the 'permanent' is this : if the nature of causal efficiency, that is evinced in the subsequent entity, be the same with the nature of the previous entity, or if the inefficient nature of the previous entity be identical with the efficient nature of the subsequent entity, there will be either production or non-production of the effect always. So we do not go beyond our experiential data, as the efficient and the non-efficient momentary entities are real objective facts. What we seek to prove is that there can be no identity between the two entities on pain of either of the undesirable issues, *viz.*, constant production or non-production.

It has been sufficiently proved that a self-sufficient permanent cause can have no need of auxiliaries, which can have no function. If however these auxiliaries are supposed to really assist the main cause, they can have a legitimate function and can become necessary. But if they assist, they will produce some supplementation (*atiśaya*) in the causal entity and the question naturally arises as to the nature of its relation to the causal entity. Is this supplementation something distinct or

¹ *Tasmāt sāksāt kārya-kāraṇabhbhā vāpekṣayā ubhayatrāpi anyayogavyavacchedah. Vyāptau tu sāksāt paramparāya kāraṇamātrāpekṣayā kāraṇe vyāpake ayogavyavacchedah kārye vyāpye anyayogavyavacchedah.....vikalpārūḍharūpāpekṣayā vyāptau dvividham avadhāraṇam.* SBNT., pp. 38-39.

non-distinct from the thing on which it is produced? If it is distinct from the causal entity, then this adventitious supplementation will be the cause and not the non-fluxional entity : for the effect will follow, by concomitance and non-concomitance, the adventitious supplementation.¹ In this case, causal efficiency will be possible only in the momentary, fluxional entity and not the permanent, which the opponent has sought to prove. If the supplementation is considered to be non-distinct, that is to say, identical with the permanent causal entity, we ask whether the previous inefficient nature continues or ceases to exist. On the former alternative, there will be no production, as the previous inefficiency will operate as a bar. On the second alternative, the previous inefficient entity has ceased and a new entity identical with supplementation, designated in Buddhist technology as Kurvadrūpa (effect-producing object) comes into being and so the cause becomes fluxional.

The hypothesis of the permanent cause as discharging successive functions in association with successive subsidiaries has transpired to be illusory. But there may be another alternative, *viz.*, that a permanent entity exerts its several causal efficiencies all at once and not in succession. But this will not stand the following dilemma : This 'permanent,' endued with the power of producing all its effects simultaneously, either continues to exist or does not continue after production of its effects. On the first alternative there will be production of all its effects just as much at one time as at another. On the second, the expectation of its permanency is as reasonable as expecting a seed eaten by a mouse, to germinate.²

But the Naiyāyika will perhaps seek shelter under his precious theory of samavāya (co-inherence)—a relation, which, they claim, has the miraculous efficiency of harmonising identity

¹ "Tasmin sati hi kāryāṇam utpādas tadabhāvataḥ, Anutpādāt sa evaivam hetutvena vyavasthitāḥ." T. S. Kar, p. 400.

² Dvitīye sthāyitvavṛttiśā mūśikabhbksitibijādāv aṅkurādi-jananaaprārthanām anuharet. SD8., p. 24.

with difference. Certainly the subsidiaries produce some supplementation in the permanent causal entity, but this supplementation, though a distinct entity, coheres in the causal entity and thus becomes a part and parcel of its being. But the question naturally arises that if the supplementation in question is some thing distinct, how can it have a relation with the basic entity without producing another supplementation. And this second supplementation, too, being a distinct entity, will hang loose and can be connected with the help of another supplementation and so on *ad infinitum*. The co-inherence theory thus transpires to be a dodge to take in the credulous, unenquiring fellows. But the never-ending series of supplementations is not the only difficulty in the theory of successive subsidiaries. There are many-sided regressions in *infinitum*. There will be infinite regressions of all the factors involved in production. Thus, the seed, the subsidiaries, and supplementation are the three necessary conditions of production. We have seen that there will be a never-ending series of supplementations and these supplementations can be produced with the help of subsidiaries. And these subsidiaries can be of help if they produce supplementation in the supplementations themselves—otherwise they will not be required. Thus, there will be an infinite chain of supplementations afforded by the subsidiaries. So with regard to the basal cause and so with regard to the subsidiaries in their mutual relations. It is plain, therefore, that nothing can be explained by relations, as these relations will for ever fall apart and infinite regressions in each and every case will be inevitable. But the theory of flux is wonderfully immune from these difficulties—as it does not posit any relation at all. The factors being momentary units stand self-contained and self-sufficient.

Relations are requisitioned to harmonise permanence with change, but we have seen how they fail. Permanence and change, being mutually contradictory, cannot be made to constitute a harmonious whole even by virtue of these relations, which have been exposed to be hollow devices.

Trilocana,¹ the teacher of Vācaspati Miśra, contends that the whole controversy of the Buddhist turns upon a false basis. The permanent cause is absolutely independent of the subsidiaries, and is not at all assisted or benefited by them. It is the effect which is so benefited being dependent upon the subsidiaries as it cannot come into being if the set of subsidiaries be absent. For causal power (*sāmarthyā*) is of two kinds: natural and adventitious, the latter consisting in the presence of subsidiaries. There is no logical difficulty, therefore, that the cause does not produce the effect always, as the requisite power constituted by the subsidiaries is lacking. But this is mere shifting of the ground. How can the effect, which is not yet born, have any necessity for the subsidiaries? We could accept this view, however, if the effect could independently come into being. But then the subsidiaries and all that they connote become unavailing. If the effect is independent, how can the seed be the cause? And if the seed is the cause, why should it fail to produce the effect? Nor is it supposable that the effects are perverse and sometimes do not come into being inspite of the causes, as in that case they will not be the effects of those causes. But it may be contended that a particular entity is regarded as the effect of a cause, not because it happens when the cause is there, but because it disappears when the cause disappears. But this interpretation of causal relation is indefensible. Logically we can set down the absence of the effect to the absence of the cause, only if the presence of the effect is dependent upon the presence of the cause. Otherwise the effect will be independent of the cause and the disappearance

¹ From frequent references to and quotations of opinions of Trilocana made by Ratnākirti in his treatises on 'Ahoha' and 'Kṣāñabhangasiddhi', it can be legitimately inferred that Trilocana was an author of repute and he must have written either a commentary or an independent standard work on Nyāya philosophy. It is certainly a pity that all his works are lost. That Trilocana profoundly influenced Vācaspati Miśra is not open to doubt, as the latter has recorded his debt to the former in unmistakable language. (Cf. Trilocana, gurūṇītāmārgānugamanonmukhaiḥ! yathāṁśnam yathāvastu vyākhyātām idam īdr̥śam | Tāt. T., p. 133).

of the cause will not entail the disappearance of the effect. So the presence of the cause must be invariably followed by the presence of the effect, just as much as the absence of it is followed by the absence of the other. Otherwise the so-called cause will cease to be the cause at all.¹ Nyāyabhūṣaṇa however, contends that the argument, that a cause should discharge all its future functions even while it discharges its present function, because the future causal efficiency is present in it at the time, is a case of plain self-contradiction just like the statement—‘ My mother is barren.’ How can the future causal efficiency function in the present ? If it did, it would cease to be future efficiency. Certainly causal efficiency for blue cannot result in the production of yellow.

The contention of Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Ratnakīrti observes, is but a mere jugglery in words. If the permanent cause possesses permanent causal efficiency, why should it function at some future time and not in the immediate present, on the basis of which future efficiency is postulated ? The opponent may answer, ‘ because, we see it actually functioning in the future.’ Yes, but as this is incompatible with its permanency, you should regard it as momentary. You cannot suppose that it is the nature of the permanent to function in the future, because such supposition is logically absurd. A thing is supposed to have a particular nature only when there is logical necessity for such supposition; and no hypothesis, however convenient, can be accepted if it violates the canons of logic.² Again, as the theory of Permanent Cause fails to explain facts and on the contrary introduces logical complications, which are insurmountable, the theory of flux should be adopted as it is the happiest possible explanation of the world of reality.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

¹“ Tadbhave'pi na bhāvāśced abhāve' bhavitā kutah. Tadbhāvaprayuktaśca so'bhabāti tat kutah.” SBNT., p. 41.

² SBNT., pp. 41-42.

References—T.S., &c. 550-546

SBNT.—pp. 20-59.

LOVE

(Translated from Balaram Das)

What elements did
 Thee compose, my Love !
 In thee was hid
 What theme,
 That I often wake to find
 Thou art but a dream !
 Pity them anon
 That to thee compare
 The white-faced moon
 Dark-spotted in the center;
 Woe to the lightning
 Dissolv'd in Heaven's purest nectar,
 That's aspiring
 To stand as thy best compeer !
 Dear, if I sit
 At thy feet
 Ten thousand days and nights,
 Looking at thy face
 With unswerving gaze,
 My eyes cannot turn to other sights :
 Thy safe keeping,
 To my heart,
 I cannot trust
 Lest thou melt'st like vapour ;
 Alas ! who from my being
 Sever'd thee,
 To make of me
 A thing that is restless for ever !

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The most interesting of the many curiosities which are scattered through the galleries and private collections of Europe is the Bayeux Tapestry. It is a piece of embroidery 231 feet long and 20 inches wide and tells the story of the Norman Conquest in 72 scenes. It is the oldest picture extant of English history, and may still be seen in the Norman town of Bayeux. It is worked with worsted on linen, like a sampler, in eight colours, red, yellow, black, dark and light blue, dark and light green, and buff. It is not definitely known by whom it was worked but it is probable that Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half brother of William, had it made in order to decorate his Cathedral. This supposition is borne out by the fact that Odo and his men figure prominently in the Tapestry. Another tradition states that it was worked by Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror. A third story has it that Adela, his daughter, was responsible for the work. There are 623 men and women, 762 animals, and 37 buildings in the Tapestry.

Its importance can best be realised by a comparison. Let us suppose that in the course of time the inhabitants of this country lost all record of the Great War, except for a few legends and then, perhaps an old scrap-book was found containing pictures cut from our daily newspapers with nothing but the title of the illustration, but complete from the Defence of Liege to the Armistice.

If William the Conqueror, at Senlac, eight hundred and sixty-three years ago, had not defeated the English under Harold Godwinsson, we, and our cousins across the Atlantic, would speak a different language and be governed by different laws and customs. A large proportion of the readers of this article have ancestors who fought on one side or the other in

1066. Of that battle and the events leading up to it the Tapestry is a careful record. The chroniclers tell of events which are interesting historically and also of events which took place in the domestic life of England and Normandy.

The term " Bayeux Tapestry " is really incorrect, for it is an embroidery on linen cloth and not a tapestry. The linen, which was probably unbleached, is now a shade of brown holland. It is divided into horizontal lines, thus forming a centre and two borders, the former being about thirteen inches wide. It is in this central portion that the action takes place, while the borders are devoted to birds, animals, and fishes, although occasionally pictures from *Æsop's Fables* are introduced. Yet again men are seen ploughing, harrowing, or fowling. The work in the border is not generally of so great a merit as that of the centre portion.

Odo appears at least four times in the Tapestry and several of his vassals, otherwise quite unknown, are introduced. The Tapestry itself was exhibited in the Cathedral of Bayeux until the time of the French Revolution, being stretched round the nave on certain feast days. Since the time it was worked it has survived numerous adventures. In 1106 the church was burnt down. In 1562 it was pillaged by the Huguenots. In 1792 it was proposed to cut the Tapestry into strips to provide covers for the carts of the revolutionary army, but fortunately wiser counsels prevailed. In 1803 it was taken to Paris to inspire the people to a fresh conquest of England. On its return to the town of Bayeux it was wound on two cylinders in the Town Hall and in order to inspect it, it was necessary to wind it from one to the other. In this way it became very frayed, but it was not until 1842 that this was remedied and it was then displayed to the public under glass. When, in 1870, the Prussians advanced, it was removed to a place of safety but was returned upon the conclusion of the war.

The design of the central portion of the Tapestry is divided into scenes or compartments, the separation being made by

trees or buildings. A Latin caption tells the story of the picture in a few words. For example :—

Hic Willelm: Dux alloquitur suis : militibus : ui preparense : viriliter et sapienter : ad prelum : contra : Anglorum exercitu :

Which translated means, “Here Duke William exhorts his followers to prepare themselves manfully and discreetly for battle against the army of the English.”

Thus we see that the Tapestry is the story of the Conquest told from the Norman point of view.

In the Tapestry the following are mentioned by name :—

King Edward, Harold, Duke William, Guy of Ponthieu, Conan, Archbishop Stigand, Bishop Odo, Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Mortaine, Leofwine, Gyrth, Turold, Wadard, Vital and Aelfgyva.

In the first compartment King Edward the Confessor is seen, seated on a cushioned throne. His crown is on his head and he holds his sceptre in his hand. He wears the full beard which was at that time becoming unfashionable both in France and England. His long white hands, mentioned by the historian, William of Malmesbury, can easily be seen, as he raises a finger to the two figures who stand before him. They are dressed in short tunics and long hose, with cloaks draped round them. The latter fact is a clear indication that they are nobles, and in all probability are Harold and a companion taking leave of the King before setting out for France. Both have moustaches only, a custom which was peculiar to England, for the Normans went clean-shaven.

In the next scene they ride to the coast ; Harold goes first, with a hawk on his hand, and his dogs running beside him. He attends a service at a church, and afterwards is present at a banquet before he sails. The feast takes place in a large hall, supported by round arches, and with a tiled roof. Some of the guests drink from cups and the others from horns. When the meal is finished they descend some steps to the water

and take off their hose. They then wade out to the ships, carrying their dogs under their arms.

The ships are long galleys, propelled by sails and oars, with the bows and sterns high, and capped with a figurehead in many instances. The sails hang from a long yard, which keeps a horizontal position, not holding one end much higher than the other, as do the lanteen sails of the Nile. Along the gunwale of each galley the shields of the warriors are displayed, lapping over each other to form a bulwark.

Land is soon seen from the masthead and the ship is run on a beach and the anchor thrown over. Here Harold is seized by Guy, Comte de Ponthieu, and imprisoned in Beauraine le Chateau. Later he is ransomed by William, who takes him to Rouen, where he receives him in audience in a great hall, surmounted with eighteen pillars. Harold, the only Englishman present, seems to argue with William. The next scene is shrouded in mystery. It shows a woman, against whose face a man is laying his hand. The only words of the caption decipherable read "Here Ælfgyva and a clerk."

In the next scene we see the continuation of William's campaign against Conan, Duc de Bretagne, and the siege of Dol. Conan lets himself down on a rope from the walls and escapes to Dinan, where he is again besieged, and where he eventually surrenders.

It is worthy of note that on the journey to Brittany Harold saves several Normans from the quicksands by Mont St. Michel. Below in the border we see fishes eating those who have been sucked into the sands.

After chasing Conan from Dol, William laid siege to Dinan. We see the Normans on horseback and in armour advancing towards the outer defences of the town. Javelins are thrown by both sides and two knights leave their horses and their pennoned lances and advance to the walls and set fire to them. On the other side of the picture Conan surrenders the town. He reaches the keys on a lance from the walls to an officer below who receives them in the same manner.

Immediately after the siege and surrender of Dinan we have a scene with the inscription "Here William gave arms to Harold." This incident, with its laconic caption, is capable of two explanations. It may be merely the gift of armour, or, and what is more likely, it may be the ceremony of conferring knighthood.

The campaign was now ended and the Normans returned to Bayeux. It was here that the famous oath was taken from Harold.

The most probable story of the affair is that of the twelfth century Norman who wrote :—

"Harold first proposed to marry Ele, the Conqueror's daughter, and to surrender England to William upon the death of Edward. This Harold offered to swear to, and William assembled a great council at Bayeux for the purpose of hearing the oath. He then collected all the relics he could find—the bodies of the saints—and filled a tub with them. Over the tub was thrown a silk cloth so that Harold should not know what it contained. On the cloth was laid a reliquary, the most precious that could be found. When Harold stretched his hand over it his flesh crept and his hand trembled. Then he swore and pledged himself, as was dictated to him, to marry Ele, the Conqueror's daughter, and to the best of his ability, surrender England to William upon Edward's death, so help him God, and the holy relics that were there. When Harold had kissed the relics and had risen to his feet, the Duke led him to the tub and took off the silken cloth which covered it and showed Harold what was within, and on what relics he had sworn, and he was struck speechless when he saw."

We shall never know the true story, for Harold stands between two altars and extends a hand to each—whether he was forced to make the oath over the holy bones or whether he did it willingly, whether he knew of the bones or whether he believed that he swore on the reliquary. It is all a matter of surmise and speculation.

After taking the oath Harold returns to England. We see his boat on the Channel. From the terrace of a Castle a watchman, shading his eyes with his hand, watches for the ship. Harold and a companion ride to London and are received by the King.

Next we see Westminster Abbey, in the building of which Edward had greatly interested himself. The original building has been entirely rebuilt but we can see what it was like from the tapestry. A long nave of round arches, a central tower, an apse, and transepts are shown in the tapestry. On the roof a man is engaged in setting up a weather-cock.

Towards the Abbey Edward's funeral cortège is advancing. The bier is carried by eight laymen and followed by a party of clergy. One carries a Bishop's crook and the others have books. Beside the bier boys are carrying bells, one in each hand. The body itself is wrapped in a shroud and shaded by a canopy.

The artist then turns back and depicts the death-bed scene. The cushion on which Edward's head is resting is held by the chief] officer of the household, Wymarc. On the further side of the couch stands the Archbishop, and at the King's feet sits Queen Edith and weeps. Nearest the spectator is a kneeling figure, Harold, destined to be the last of the Saxon kings. Edward speaks and names him as his successor but accompanies this by a prophecy of woe. Thus the old king passed away.

The Witan, or Parliament, assembled at Westminster and Harold was proclaimed king without delay. In the tapestry two nobles are seen offering him the crown. Harold accepts.

We see Harold on his throne. On one side of him is the Archbishop and on the other two nobles, one of whom carries the sword of state. The crowd thronging the ante-chamber bend down in deference to the new monarch but another group point to a comet, since identified as Halley's, which blazes in the sky

and which they regard as a sign of the Divine anger with Harold.

In another building we see Harold again. He is listening with a worried face to a messenger who has evidently brought bad tidings.

The cause of Harold's fears is shown in the following actions :—

An English ship crosses the Channel to Normandy. William sits in his palace; he has heard the news and prepares for war. By his side sits his half-brother Odo. A carpenter, carrying an axe, receives the orders of the Duke. On the other side of William a Norman gesticulates wildly but is ignored. Next we see workmen felling trees and shaping the planks which are to be used for the construction of the boats. The ships are long and low, rising at bow and stern. The next scene shows us the victualling and arming of the vessels.

The Normans waited for days for a favourable wind and at last, when they had prayed before the relics of Saint Valerie, they were able to leave on the 27th of September, 1066.

The Tapestry shows us the brightly painted hulls, the coloured sails, the bucklers along the gunwales, and the men and horses looking over the side of the ships across the waves.

Next we see the landing of the troops, the horses taken from the ships, and the reconnoitring parties which are sent out.

For a time the invaders were undisturbed, for Harold had marched north to fight another invading army under his brother Tostig and Harold Hadrada of Norway. Thus William landed unopposed at Pevensey and marched to Hastings, erecting a fortified camp there.

On the afternoon of the 13th of October the English army, which had advanced from the capital, was drawn up on the hill of Senlac, some seven miles from Hastings. A strong position had been chosen and Harold fortified it with a ditch and a palisade, together with the shields of his warriors. All the Saxons fought on foot while the chief strength of the Normans lay in

their cavalry. In the middle of the long and narrow hill Harold took up his stand, surrounded by his brothers, his own personal followers, and the flower of the army, the men of Kent and the citizens of London. They were armed with lances, javelins, swords, and the terrible fighting axe. On the flanks were the raw recruits, with armour and carrying pitchforks and light lances.

The next day William rode at the head of his army to attack the English position, while at his side rode his half-brothers, Odo and Robert of Mortaine.

The Tapestry shows the Normans on the march from Hastings. A scout announces the nearness of the English and the Duke tells his followers to prepare for the battle with sagacity and manliness. The knights flourish their lances and the archers draw their bows. The horsemen charge the English square and arrows and javelins fly through the air. The fury of the battle increases and both Norman and Saxon fall fast. The border below is full of dead men. We see the raw English churls fighting bravely. A panic ensues amongst the Normans for it is said that the Duke has been slain, but he rises in his stirrups and shows his face. At this point the peculiar Latin of the Tapestry says, "Here Odo, the bishop, comforts the boys." The Normans return to the charge and the archers are ordered to shoot in the air. The English lift their shields to cover their faces and the Norman swords find room to strike. The veterans who surround the king and the standards commence to fall. An arrow strikes Harold in the right eye and soon afterwards he is killed by a Norman spear. We see him fall, the battle-axe dropping from his lifeless hand. One standard is taken while another is trampled under foot. The English churls fly and the picked soldiers fall rapidly. The Normans pursue the flying English and in the darkness they plunge into a morass and are turned upon by the fugitives. The place for long afterwards bore the name of "Malfosse."

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH AT THE ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

I thank you most cordially for having given me this opportunity of talking to you about the future of the medical profession in India. I regret, on account of pre-occupations and the shortness of time, my address is apt to be discursive. You will perhaps find that I have left out many things I should have mentioned and I ask your indulgence and help in filling up the lacunæ.

The All-India Medical Association, as you are aware, was established for the purpose, amongst others, of organising the members of the medical profession in order "to secure the promotion and advancement of allied sciences, maintain the honour, dignity and the interests of the medical profession and secure the co-operation between the members thereof." In pursuance of this object we have met this evening to consider the various problems affecting the profession as well as the various laws already enacted or legislative measures about to be adopted, which might seriously affect the medical profession, medical education or the health of the people of this country. Its membership is open to persons having registrable qualifications in India or "persons who have such medical qualifications as may be from time to time recognised by the Association suitable for such membership." We want to bring together and organise the whole profession, not merely those who profess and practise a particular system of medicine. Our purpose is to secure co-operation amongst all persons whom this Association may consider suitable for membership. Should we restrict the membership to such persons only as follow the Western system of medicine or open the door to all those who have, in different parts of the country, practised any other system with repute and success? If we take medicine merely as a science it may be argued that only those who are trained on scientific methods

prevalent in the West should be eligible to be members. But to my mind it is taking a very narrow view of the whole matter. On the other hand, if we define science as a systematised branch of human knowledge we cannot ignore other systems. I have no doubt whatsoever that there was a time when the ancient practitioners in medicine—those who elaborated the Ayurvedic system centuries ago—possessed accurate knowledge of the nervous system, of the vascular system, of the changes in pulse in different diseases and their knowledge of pathology, such as we understand it, was of high order. Speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, 1916, Sir Pardey Lukis, the then Director-General said :—"I resent strongly the spirit of trade-unionism which leads many modern doctors to stigmatise all Vaidas and Hakims as quacks and charlatans. We allopaths are just emerging from the slough of empiricism. The longer I live in India, the more intimate my connection with Indians, the greater will be my appreciation of the wisdom of the ancients and the more will I understand that the West has still much to learn from the East." Other eminent observers also have spoken in a similar strain. Therefore it is not for us to cut off from the past system but it is necessary to resuscitate them, to develop them. If we desire to do so, we cannot afford to keep out the Vaid and the Hakim. We cannot ignore them. It is true that the knowledge in those systems has been handed over from father to son in the form of Sutras, which were committed to memory. The result was that the bulk of information was compressed into a small compass. In the process of transmission the links are gone, the original is mutilated, accretions have gathered, evidence or data on which the conclusions were founded are missing. What we are left with now are dogmatism and perhaps empiricism. On the other hand, if we regard medicine as an art of healing, who is there so bold as to say that the art is the exclusive achievement of one system ? Considered thus the claims of those not practising the Western system, to be included in the group of

medical practitioners, becomes almost irresistible. I would therefore desire to see included in this Association members who honestly believe in their own system and practise it with a sincerity of purpose.

When we organise or attempt to organise any group of people we do so both for the purpose of attacking and defending. Problems connected with the health of the citizens of this country, with the means of preventing diseases and spread of epidemics, with the method of generating a sanitary consciousness amongst the masses of this country are items which are to be attacked with determination, courage, resourcefulness, hope and faith. On the other hand every one of us realises that we the medical practitioners in India are the victims of circumstances and designs which are inimical to the growth of the profession and we have to defend ourselves against them. In the domains of medical education, medical research, medical relief or prevention of diseases, determined and systematic efforts have been made in the past to keep us in a perpetual state of inaction and stagnation. We are told that our education is defective, that we have no original research to our credit, that our ability to provide relief in diseases is of an inferior order, that we cannot administer institutions established for the purposes of affording such relief, that we cannot initiate and successfully carry out schemes for the prevention of diseases. Assuming for the purposes of argument that this is so, it may pertinently be asked who are responsible for such a state? So far as the members who practise the Western system are concerned, it is clear that the present unsatisfactory condition could only be due to one of two causes. Either the soil was so bad that no crop could grow in it or the tiller was so careless or ignorant that he did not care or he did not know how to achieve success in his work. Who are responsible for the training of our youths in medicine?

As far back as 1912 and 1913 the members of the Indian Medical Service gave evidence before the Public Services

Commission that "the standard of medical education in India is low and that the Indian practitioner is unpractical, that the British schools are far more efficient than Indian colleges" and yet in the year 1913 out of 24 appointments in the Indian Medical Service 8 Indians got in by competition and in 1914 out of 35 such posts, 14 were secured by Indians.

We have been blamed because there is no record of research to the credit of the Indian medical practitioner. What is the real root cause? Are Indians incapable of research? Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Mr. Ramavajan have won world-wide reputation in research without any guidance or tuition from Westerners. Why cannot the Indian medical practitioner equally succeed? In the case of medical research it is necessary not only to be provided with laboratories but hospital facilities also have to be secured. Till within recent years all the larger hospitals in the country were manned by members belonging to the Indian Medical Service. All the research appointments were and still are being held by the service officers. The process of exclusion has been carefully, may I say shamelessly, planned and manipulated that even no Indian of established repute has any chance of getting into the group. As regards the management of large hospitals and institutions, the question of the inefficiency of Indians does not arise, because no opportunity was given to Indians to manage any of the hospitals. The indisputable fact remains that inspite of such obstructive methods and in spite of the handicap due to paucity of funds, two large institutions, one in Calcutta and another in Bombay, have been developed and managed entirely under Indian supervision. It is a decisive argument against the charge of inefficiency attributed to Indians. Studied carelessness on the part of I.M.S. officers in discharging the responsible duties cast upon them, namely, that of developing an Indian Medical Profession, the pre-arranged method of keeping the Indian out of every opening where they could develop themselves, have been responsible for the present state of affairs. Knowledge gives

vision to the blind. But perverse attempts have been made to perpetuate the infirmity.

Whatever may have happened in the past, we have now reached a stage when we, as members of the medical profession in India, desire to fulfil our mission, to develop ourselves and to realise the hope with which we have adopted the career of a physician. We are prepared to profit by the knowledge from the West, but not under conditions in which it engenders hatred for what is Eastern. I am happy to say our goal is getting clearer, that our vision is getting less obscured, that our self-confidence is being restored and the whole of medical profession in India is being linked together by a common bond of faith and hope.

Most of us have been trained in the allopathic system. Let us frankly admit that our teachers have not given us that broad outlook, that deep insight into the medical lore which every teacher ought to inculcate in his pupil. Why do I say that? There is a simple test. No professor belonging to the Medical Services has, ever to my knowledge, trained an Indian student in such a way that he may prove capable in time, of occupying the chair of his teacher. It has all along been a process of safeguarding the interests of a trade union. In order to reserve the posts for the Services, it has happened, that the very same professor has taught subjects like hygiene, chemistry, physiology, surgery, ophthalmic surgery in different periods of his service in India. We cannot conceive of a more monstrous method of imparting medical education in any country. A complaint was made by some I.M.S. officers before the Public Services Commission that in India specialisation in any medical subject was unknown. Who is responsible for this? How can we expect anything else from those teachers who have developed only one form of speciality, namely, the speciality of possessing an overweening self-confidence, the speciality of rejecting all claims of the Indian practitioners to fair treatment, the speciality in belittling everything Indian. The irony lies in the fact that while condemning the Indian practitioners the I.M.S. officer forgets that he is

condemning himself, that he is hoist with his own petard. We know we have been wronged in the past. We do not desire to depend on others. We therefore desire to utilise such powers as the Universities and the Councils of Medical Registration in different Provinces have given us, for the purpose of developing medical education in our own way. It is unfortunate that interested parties have clouded the issues by requisitioning the powerful aid of the General Medical Council and the British Medical Association in condemning our attempts at developing in our own way. The General Medical Council shamelessly rejects recognition of the Indian degrees particularly that of the Calcutta University while they dared not do the same with regard to the London and Cambridge Universities when they failed, even so late as 1925, to give the requisite number of 20 labour cases to each student before appearing at the examination.

Within recent times you must have noticed in the newspapers the attitude of the General Medical Council towards the Indian Universities. It is desirable I should go into this question a little in detail in order to show what this attitude has been. Previous to the enquiry by the General Medical Council, the appointment of the Public Services Commission in 1913 and the Medical Services Committee in 1919 afforded opportunities to the Indian Medical Service Officers to condemn the Indian practitioners. Why did they do so? Did they forget that the I.M.S. had full control of the education of our youths for over half a century? The peculiar methods adopted by the General Medical Council in its enquiry regarding medical education given by the Indian Universities cannot but point to one conclusion, namely, that the President and the Executive Committee of the General Medical Council have been to a great extent influenced in their decision by "*ex parte*" information obtained from interested sources and that they acted as partisans and not as judges. I will quote two examples in support of this contention of mine. The General Medical Council opened in 1921-22 that the training in midwifery in Indian Universities was not

up to the mark. Similar enquiries have been made with regard to examinations held by the licensing bodies in England. Dr. Comyns Berkely in his address delivered in 1926 at the Centenary Congress of Combe lying-in-hospital said that he had ascertained to what extent the Council's latest recommendations had been complied with up to 1925. He found that a large number of schools had failed to comply with the recommendation of the General Medical Council. What recommendations the General Medical Council made to the Privy Council one cannot say but the fact remains that as a matter of "public policy" no steps were taken against them particularly against the Universities of London and Cambridge. It may pertinently be asked whether the General Medical Council recommended for the withdrawal of the authority for holding qualifying examination in the case of these Universities? If not, why not? Why this differential treatment meted out to Indian Universities? Have the General Medical Council no control over the Universities in England? Is it not a fact that under Part (1) of the Act of 1856, the General Medical Council is to "secure the maintenance of standard of efficiency in the English Universities?" Not only can the Council withdraw recognition of the degrees granted by the qualifying bodies but they can also represent to the Privy Council the desirability of withdrawal from such bodies the right to hold qualifying examination. Why was it not done in these cases? I will now quote the second example to show how biased the General Medical Council had been in its treatment towards Indian Universities. The Council has been from time to time representing to the Government of India and to the Universities that in order to fulfil statutory obligations they claim a right to send Inspectors for inspecting examinations of the Indian Universities. They had actually inspected many of the schools and colleges in India. Instead of working as a partner, with whom reciprocal relations had been established, they have been attempting to guide, control and direct medical education in India. They have examined the curriculum of studies, they have

commented upon the staff and the provisions for instruction of the different institutions in India. When the Calcutta University applied for recognition of its degrees in the year 1890 under Act 1886, Part (2), Mr. Lyall of the Government of India sent back the application to the University asking "for details regarding the degree of knowledge and skill required by the statute for granting the various diplomas." The then Registrar of the Calcutta University, Mr. Nash, wrote on the 15th of October 1890 that "It appears to be unnecessary to enter into details regarding the regulations" and he referred to the pages in the printed regulations where the syllabus was given. The information obtained from the University Regulations of 1890 justified recognition by the General Medical Council and the University was recognised on the basis of this application in 1893. After 30 years the General Medical Council wrote to the Calcutta University saying "that from the information at present in its possession, the Council is unable to recognise for the time being the medical diploma or diplomas of the Calcutta University." Did the Council communicate to the University the nature and source of such information which justified withdrawal of recognition? It is true that in the years 1920 and 1921 the Council wrote to the University asking for information regarding the training in midwifery. It is also true that the Indian Universities, in common with the bulk of the licensing bodies in England, had not enough clinical materials for the teaching of midwifery in accordance with the recommendations of the General Medical Council. But there was no information before the University to indicate that the standard of training in subjects other than midwifery had so deteriorated since 1893 as to justify an enquiry by the Council. When in 1924 Col. Needham wanted to inspect medical examinations the University refused permission. Four years before this, the University had to refuse the request of the London University to supply answer papers and other details regarding Matriculation Examination and they could not do otherwise with regard to the medical

examinations. What right had the General Medical Council to inspect the examination in order to continue the recognition? Were not the reports and the syllabus published by the University enough? Did they ask for more in the case of Japan and Italy and Australia, whose degrees were also recognised under the provision of the said Act? New Zealand passed an Act in 1924, which laid down that no one was allowed to practise in that country unless they passed a qualifying examination held in it. This was done as a measure of protection against foreign competition. The General Medical Council wrote a letter conveying a threat regarding cessation of reciprocity with that country but had to climb down subsequently. They wrote to the Chairman, Medical Council of New Zealand, as follows:—

“ The General Medical Council have no *rights of inspection or visitation of examinations* held outside Great Britain and Ireland but in many cases, for instance, in Australasia, the professors and other authorities concerned are well known in this country and their records are sufficient to guarantee that the work of standardisation they undertake will be well done. The Council examine the *regulations of the several bodies and taking into account the standing of the teachers and examiners recognise themselves which seem to imply a standard of knowledge which is not lower than that required in this country.*” In this letter the Registrar goes on to say that with regard to Italy and Japan also the Council recognise degrees given by the Universities in those countries after careful consideration of the regulations. What can account for a different attitude of the General Medical Council, regarding Indian Universities? The reason given is that “ the staff of many Universities is *now largely composed of Indians of whom many have not studied out of India.*” A serious condemnation of the system which has existed in India under the control of the Indian Medical Service for the last sixty years. Within recent times a large number of our graduates have gone to Europe, America and England and obtained distinction and high degrees. Could it be said that the

standard of attainment of the average medical practitioner in India to-day is lower than what it was in 1893? I do not pause to question the motives of those who want to belittle the value of the degrees conferred by the Indian Universities to-day. New Zealand had broken off, so have Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, etc. Where reciprocation ended, retaliation began. I find in this attitude of the Council "a blessing in disguise." It has shaken us up—wakened us. We were lying stunned, hypnotised. We are now conscious of our helplessness. I trust it will rouse us to action. The withdrawal of recognition and the difficulties of getting into the colleges in England have led a large number of students to go to Continental Europe. When they come back they are naturally enamoured of Continental instruments, machine appliances and methods. India imports about 2 crores worth of goods and stores. Who bring them? We. Who use them? We. Situated as we are, we cannot retaliate as New Zealand has done. But is it difficult to organise ourselves, in the interest of the profession for the purpose of counteracting the malicious attacks on our graduates? Can we not withdraw in a body our orders on British firms so long as the present attitude continues? It is for you to consider this and discuss the details. But mere retaliation wont develop us. We desire no interference from outsiders while we are setting our house in order. We do not want an Inspector sent by the General Medical Council. But we desire the fullest enquiry by ourselves into the methods of teaching in the different Universities. We desire the fullest co-ordination amongst them. We want to raise ourselves in our own estimation and the world is bound to respect us inspite of the detractors.

I now come to the subject of Research. Sir Norman Walker in his report to the General Medical Council said :— "India occupies a prominent position in the matter of research. But it is greatly to be desired that research should be active in many centres, notably the Universities. Where the professors are actively engaged in research, the students' interest in work

is similarly stimulated. Young graduates have opportunities at their doors instead of having to seek admission to the three or four existing research departments. One hopes to see research extended in the scientific and medical laboratories at an early date." Major Bradfield was sent by the Government of Madras to the United States of America in 1921 to study medical instruction in that country. He submitted a report to the Government in which he says :—" excepting perhaps the Rockefeller Institute research and education in America are very intimately connected. The organisation of research departments in India as a separate department is a great loss to the country."

These are the opinions expressed by prominent men. But what is it we find that the Government of India are anxious to do ? It is suggested that an Imperial Medical Research Organisation working in different parts of India should be founded at Dehra Dun. Why Dehra Dun ? It is said that "Chandbagh" is a property lying useless and this could be utilised. So is "Hastings House" in Calcutta. I daresay, there are hosts of others in other big towns. How does Dehra Dun satisfy the test that the Government officials themselves have laid down, namely, that research and education should be organised together. It is suggested that the function of the Institute should be to serve as a centre to collect and bring into proper relations with one another, the result of the medical research work throughout India. It is further suggested that the Institute should be the centre for basic research work. I fail to see how the Institution is to perform its function up in the Hills? Why not have the Institute situated at Lake Manasarowar whence arise the two mighty rivers of India, the Indus and Brahmaputra? The intellectual isolation will be complete and meditation will be uninterrupted. It is preposterous that a scheme should have been suggested of establishing a research Institute away from the biggest centres of medical education, away from the colleges and the institutions where the materials necessary for research would be available. If it were merely a place which

would serve as a bureau of information the matter would have been quite different. But research in medical subjects cannot be efficient unless clinical materials are available. How will it be possible to find sufficient clinical materials in Dehra Dun? I know that it is suggested that in this medical research department there should be 52 posts of which 32 would be reserved for the members of the Indian Medical Service and twenty would be open to non-I. M. S. as well as I. M. S. candidates. If, as has been suggested times without number, the standard of education and qualification of the candidates trained in England is higher than those possessed by Indian graduates, what is the cause of such nervousness? Why is it found essential to reserve certain number of posts in this Institute? Why must they not be all thrown open to the most efficient among the candidates, particularly, when the selection will lie with a body at present composed of service men? Is it suggested that the entrance into a service, which is after all meant as reserve for military purposes, gives any indication of a capacity for research? The Britisher complains that there is a communal jealousy existing in India. Why is there so much anxiety to preserve this communalistic feeling in the profession? Why is this reservation of posts and emoluments? To an average mind it would appear that such provisions can only indicate that the Britisher himself is conscious of his own inferiority and dare not face an open competition. What becomes of his pride and boast that in India his attitude is one of absolute fairness! I hope that you will have no hesitation in condemning this backdoor way of securing a few more lucrative posts for the members of the Indian Medical Service. A few words about the Services: It is unfortunate that in this country men are not appointed to posts but that posts are created for them. This system can be lucrative to a few but destructive where efficiency is concerned. It however causes far deeper mischief. The I. M. S. men are in receipt of big salaries from the State. They have as subordinates also salaried men. Necessarily, the

numbers employed in a hospital have to be limited on account of economic considerations. The salaried subordinate is entirely under the thumb of his superior, not only with regard to routine work but also in matters which demand initiative. His mental vision is restricted. It is thus that the I. M. S. men have secured a cultural conquest on their subordinates. But with what result? It is true that these hospitals manage to dole medical relief just as the system prevalent in 1835. But is the staff sufficient to manage these hospitals on the latest approved system? Tons of clinical materials go to waste in every hospital while the bulk of our graduates are not allowed to take advantage of them simply because the State cannot pay them and the controlling authorities won't have them. India is said to be the land for research. But an insurmountable Chinese Wall has been built round every available centre of research and yet comes the thundering indictment, "Thou hast been found wanting." There is however another aspect of the question. The people who come to the Hospitals have a right to demand the full measure of attention and treatment based on the result of the latest scientific researches. The people have a right to demand that the students who are taught in these public schools and colleges should have opportunities of gaining experience and skill by being allowed to work in the hospitals. It is only necessary for you and me to get the people on our side and all will be well. I can assure you, gentlemen, the die is cast heavy in your favour. Awake, arise and march forward.

I have heard it said that the I. M. S. is a reserve for military service. I have seen the past and recent communiques of the Government of India and of England. I have noticed that one Secretary of State lays down a scheme only to be nullified or superseded by his successor. We all know that promises made, have been shamelessly broken. Let us not bother about them. Let us be content that we have wrested the bulk of the civil practice from the I.M.S. I do not desire

to enhance the communalistic spirit in the profession but while it is there, we should insist on the units, in the Indian Army at least, being treated by Indian members of the service. If it be conceded for one moment that the European needs his own countrymen for his treatment, may not 50,000 people insist on getting their own countrymen to treat them, unless it is maintained, as a famous Private Secretary of a famous Governor once said to me in discussing this problem : " We can manage to govern very well without the 50,000 Indians but not without the one European."

I now pass on to the third item which I proposed to deal, namely, the fight against diseases, provision for medical relief and the prevention of diseases. It is a sad spectacle to see that while during the last 10 years the birth rate in India varied between 35 to 39 per thousand of population, the death rate varied between 26 to 32 per thousand. If we compare these figures with other countries in the world, we find that during the last ten years the death rate in England has been reduced from 16 per thousand to 11 per thousand,—in Germany from 19 per thousand to 11 per thousand, in France from 20 per thousand to 17 per thousand, and in Italy from 22 to 16 per thousand. Going into the details we find that in England in 1901, the death rate from enteric fever was 11·3 per hundred thousand deaths, in 1926 it was ·9 per hundred thousand. Tuberculosis came down from 174 per hundred thousand, to 96 per hundred thousand, Diarrhoea and Enteritis from 92 per hundred thousand to 21 per hundred thousand. When we come to the preventible diseases in India we find that 230 persons per hundred thousand die of preventible diseases like Cholera, Small Pox, Plague and dysentery. On the other hand, the infant mortality rate in India is as high as 250 per thousand births. In England, it is 78 per thousand births, in Germany it is 132 per thousand births and in France 103 per thousand births. A question therefore naturally arises, can nothing be done to prevent this enormous loss of man power in India, for it must be remembered

that of every 100 persons who suffer from Cholera or Kala-Azar, although 2 per thousand may die, large numbers are maimed for life? It is for you to come to a decision regarding a method to be adopted for preventing diseases. It is not necessary for me to mention that the history of the Government during the past 100 years has been such that we need not look for help or inspiration from the authorities. If we mean to do anything we shall have to do it inspite of the Government. We must organise ourselves. Voluntary organisations have to be formed for social service, for giving aid during epidemics, for the medical inspection of school children, for rousing sanitary consciousness amongst the masses.

I could deal with various other problems in which the Association may be interested. The problem of educating and supplying Indian nurses for our hospitals, the adoption of steps to prevent the indiscriminate use of drugs and intoxicants, the question whether medical education should be of 2 grades or one, whether it is desirable to train students for the purpose of creating a public health service,—these and many other problems will be before you for solution, either during this session or during the ensuing year. But there is one question which has been asked often and which I desire to deal shortly before I conclude. It has been asked whether, a member of the profession, should interest himself in any matter outside the four corners of his professional life, whether this Association should take up matters which, in common parlance, are dubbed political. Gentlemen, I have very definite views on this question. In India, we have never regarded the various affairs of life as being in water-tight compartments: Politics, technically so called, is intermixed with economical, social, and medical problems. If politics means the science of organisation for the purpose of securing the greatest good of the largest number, I declare we, members of the profession, dare not keep away from politics. If by a politician, we mean, in the words of Milton, a man of "Cunning," our profession is too noble, too

altruistic, to allow us to be so. No, Gentlemen, we have nothing to do with him. In the present state of your country, I entreat you to organise yourselves. In any steps you take, beware of pitfalls, act in an organised way, for let us not forget the famous words of Abraham Lincoln : "Brethren, let us hang together or else we may hang separately."

B. C. RAY

V

NOW AND EVER

What's good for me Thou knowest best,
Did I know me when first came breath?
But I was Thine ere I was I,
And shall be Thine when lost in death.
Thou hast me tied to frame of flesh,
Unseeing Thee, in darksome tomb.
O, did I cling to this me, when
Alive with mother's breath in womb ?
O, make me—make as willest Thou
Love, I'm Thine for ever as now.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

REFLECTIONS OF A WAYFARER

درین زمانه رفیقی که خالی از خللست
صراحی می ناب و سفیده غزلست

Thus sang Hafiz. And to-day his verdict will be accepted and affirmed by all of judgment and discretion. ‘A jug of wine, a book of verse’—they are to-day, what they were in the life-time of the poet, friends that never fail or falter, betray or hurt. And, to be sure, unto the end of time they will claim and retain their glory, resplendent, untarnished. Life is woven of experiences more sad than happy and, thus, as the years go by, a tinge of melancholy suffuses our outlook, colours our vision. We look back and we find a sheaf of regrets, a bundle of memories, cross and calvary as so many sign-posts left behind :

در گلستان جهان هر مرغ نالان خود است
هر گلی در ماندۀ حال پریشان خود است

We look ahead and we perceive a dense mist, impervious, impenetrable to human eyes. Foresight, calculation retire in despair, bewildered, baffled. But if the past distresses and the future give us a cold shiver, the present sickens. Try whom we will, seek what we will—disappointment, disillusion dog our footsteps. Passion reigns in the place of Reason ; Revenge is dignified as justice ; Pettiness is characterised as policy ; Friendship is set down as expediency ; Love is caricatured as sexual attraction ; Religion is bought and sold for a mess of pottage ; everything, in fine, is a travesty, a counterfeit.

Against this perversity sensitive souls have always rebelled. They have wandered in search of a spiritual reality which scorns to bargain or to make terms with the base or the vulgar in life. And of such a band has Asifi spoken :—

عالی مقبل و من مردوم آنجا آمنی
از چه مردوم مگر ز اینای عالم نیستم

No surrender to the mean or the ignoble was at once their watchword and their goal. “Flee from their contagion flee” is not, indeed, a new note. We hear it in the soul-subduing music of Hafiz; in the playful humour of Khayyam; in the plaintive resonance of Dard; in the carping cynicism of Ghalib. But nowhere in a clearer or a more audible tone than in Ibn Yamin. Every *Qita* is either a war-cry against baseness or a triumphant assertion of *that* freedom of the mind which will not bend or break under any stress or trial, which, fearless of favour or frown, fulfils its mission :—

مرا لقمه نان که اندر خورست * پدید آدم از راه دهقت
بنزدیک دننان نخواهم نمود * ز به در نان بعد ازین مسکنت
من رطاعت و گرش عاقیت * ز هی باشانی زهی سلطنت

And in the ‘Journal’ of Amiel, in the ‘Recollections’ of Renan I catch the same accent, hear the same tune. Oppressed by world-weariness, distressed, disheartened, disillusioned by world’s experiences Amiel pours out his heart into his journal acclaiming the philosophy of Hafiz and his intellectual kinsmen. Society may enliven or broaden the mind but solitude is the school of those who think, feel, suffer. In that world of silence and aloofness, in that spiritual sanctuary the soul receives its true nutriment and attains its true height. There in that spiritual sanctuary we find clarity and measure; there we find, too, an instinctive repulsion from violence, extravagance,

incoherence which a company, however distinguished, can never fully know or wholly possess :

رہئے اب ایسی جگہ چل کر جہاں کوئی نہ
 ہم سخن کوئی نہ ہو اور ہم زبان کوئی نہ
 بے در دیوار سا اک گھر بنایا چاہئے
 کوئی ہمسایہ نہ ہو اور پاسبان کوئی نہ
 پڑئے گریمار تو کوئی نہ ہو تیمار دار
 اور اگر مر جائے تو نوحہ خوان کوئی نہ۔

In these lines that great poet of self-introspection, the immortal Asadullah Khan Ghalib, has not uttered frenzied poetical rhapsody but has boldly bared his heart. He illuminates, he informs and there is always that subtle aroma in him, incomunicable save to those whose hearts are in tune to receive it. What man of finer feelings or sensibilities has not felt as Ghalib has felt ? To be sure it is the common experience of all sensitive souls expressed in language of wondrous force and felicity.

Intercourse with the world and dealings with our fellow beings do not *as a rule*, make for optimism or cheerfulness.

If in the 'Journal' we hear faint echoes of falling tears—in the 'Recollections' the thunderous fulminations fill the air, rend the sky.

"A society in which personal distinction is of little account, in which talent and wit are not marketable commodities, in which exalted functions do not ennable, in which politics are left to men devoid of standing or ability, in which the recompenses of life are accorded by preference to intrigue, to vulgarity, to the charlatans who cultivate the art of puffing and to the smart people who just keep without the clutches of the law, would never suit us." So far Renan.

Years ago I read Renan's 'Recollections.' I enjoyed their music but, I confess, I did not then quite fathom their depths.

Now that I have read them again I have found in them a deeper significance, a keener sensibility, an acuter edge, a depth and profundity which I, then, neither divined nor quite understood. I hear the music as of yore for it is divine but it is not of the kind that I heard twenty-eight years ago at my beloved Oxford. The music is there but it is the sad, tear-evoking, melancholy-provoking music of human disillusionment. I never then understood Renan's overwhelming passion for the company of the dead. I understand it now. A great work yields pleasure at all times and in all seasons. It enlivens youth ; it nerves manhood ; it comforts, supports old age.

And thus Renan and Amiel, Ghalib and Arnold, exponents of modern thought, re-affirm, re-iterate the wisdom of Hafiz and his illustrious peers :

گشت است طبیعتِ جهانی * دایم در زبان چو مار بودن
در شیوهٔ مکر و سُم تبلیس * ز امثال بتراز مار بودن
چون زلف خوشت ز فتنه جو * آ شفته ر بیقرار بودن
زین جمع که وصف درمیانتست * درویی به ر بر کنار بودن
با اهل خرد بکنج خلرت * با باده خوشگوار بودن
* * * * * * * * *
شام بی تو بخون غلطم * صبح دار نفسم شماریها

25th February, 1930.—Exactly a year to-day since the light went out—the light that guided life's weary path. And what a year it has been ! Restlessly has the mind wandered into the dim regions of the fading past, reviving, restoring old memories; anxiously, restlessly, painfully have the longing eyes looked and looked in vain for all *that was* and alas ! is now no more ; bitterly has the heart ached and unceasingly have the tears flowed but nothing has availed. Night, that healer of griefs to others, has ever and anon, made mine acuter still. In her death-like stillness memories smite and sting ;

despair assumes a darker, deeper hue ; the tumultuous heart tells its own sombre tale in a loud and yet louder key ; the outstretched hand feels the void and the sleepless eyes realize naught but the encircling gloom. We are fully alive to the folly of grieving, the futility of the quest. But reason cannot, will not persuade the heart to give up grieving or the quest. Sleep, is sleep the portion of a fretful mind? Serenity, is serenity the lot of one shorn of light and love? When Sappho sang of the night as one which restored her fair deserter to her arms—she sacrificed the truth to poetic fiction. No! there is no sleep for the Lover and, therefore, no dream for the wakeful eyes.

Death laughs at our despair and the Gods rejoice in the sorrows of man. Rightly did Khajah Mir Dard see sorrow and suffering as the allotted heritage of man :

درد دل کے راستے پیدا کیا انسان کو
رہنے طاعں کے لئے کچھ کم نہ تھے کریں

* * * *

I have been reading Alfred Cobban's *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the 18th Century*. It is an extremely opportune work. In these stirring times when the air is thick with constitution-making this little book may serve as a corrective to those who arrogate to themselves the task of fashioning constitutions for their own or foreign peoples. Constitutions grow. They are not made. Never in the history of the world has a constitution ever been the gift of a ruling power.

"Man knows little, has little power. For him to take over the reins, to try to influence the destiny of a race, would be no less mad than impious. Put your trust in the past, says Burke, there is no higher sanction than Prescription, for it is a guarantee of the long-continued approval of God and man. Prescription, then, is for Burke the most solid rock on which mundane rights can be based ; it gives a title having for its

sanction the eternal order of things ; it is the master and not the creature of positive Law ; it is the decree of nature; it is the Law of God." This wholesome warning of Burke is needed now more than ever. There is a growing tendency here and elsewhere to transplant foreign institutions and to introduce foreign systems of Government. No real good can come out of such idle experiments. Political institutions can only come into existence in response to popular demands which are but mere assertions of popular will. They are the outcome of national consciousness and are the flower and fruit of national needs. And where there is no national consciousness, and, therefore, no national need ; where there is no Past to appeal to nor yet Prescription to stand by—a manufactured constitution will serve rather to retard than to promote that natural spontaneous growth of political life which requires time, patience, training and last, but not least, subordination to the larger interests of the country, to come into full fruition.

Better by far than all constitution-making is the enthronement of Love and Justice ; for the true conquest of a people is never secured save by these. Force has never but Love always has conquered the heart. Never were truer words uttered than by Jalal-i-Asir when he composed these lines :

اقیم دل بزر مسخر نمیشود
این فتح نی شکست میسر نمیشود

And History accords its full assent to him. Love conquers but it conquers by its own conquest. And the East correctly read alike the secret of Love and the secret of Government. What a fine collection of sayings, aphorisms, maxims we would have for the guidance of Statesmen, culled from Eastern Literature ! Would that some one set this task to himself ! Packed courts, submissive juries, mock trials, repressive measures have always defeated their own end. They have

invariably been the surest road to ruin. Once set in circulation—ideas never die. Once the eyes are opened—they are never shut. The wave is not stayed by dams or barriers. Suppress ideas, repress them—but they ever and anon will emerge with the strength of truth, fresh, vigorous, unconquered, unconquerable.

Like Love justice too is a vital, all-conquering force—the justice that serves the Master whose laws are as eternal as the hills and whose commands as effective as death. In every human ear, willing to hear and obey, ring those commands as clear as a bell. Has not Carlyle said with his usual fire and fervour : “ Justice, radiant, beneficent, as the all-victorious Light-element, is also in essence, if need be, an all-victorious Fire-element, and melts all manner of vested interests, and the hardest iron cannon, as if they were soft wax, and does ever in the long run rule and reign, and allows nothing else to rule and reign.”

But nothing is more corrupting than Power and Power rarely listens to reason.

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3rd March, 1930.

یہ ہمنگستانِ محفیل مَا * رفتیں دلی نہ از دل مَا

Year by year my ‘Id is becoming sadder and sadder. Death, busy with reaping its harvest, is constantly thinning the rank of the loved-ones. Small was the circle that gathered round the table to-day—oh ! tragically small. “ Gone—gone where thou and I must go.” It was a sad meal. Speechless I sat with eyes dim, but the mind full of visions. It was a dream, an abstraction, a pleasant relief from the grim reality of the moment. I rose with the couplet of Rasikh on my lips :

غافل تو بھی تر رفتی ہے * کب تک غم رفتگان کریں

What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue !

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I have often wondered what would be the historian's summing up of our age a hundred years hence. Would he put our age down as pre-eminently an age of intellectual advance, of political growth, of industrial unrest ? I fancy not. He would sum it up as an Age of Free Inquiry with the resultant challenge to authority. And in every walk of life this is plain and undeniable. Religion has been its first and foremost victim. To one who scans the religious horizon to-day it is not avowed irreligion, listless indifference, self-complacent Agnosticism but it is the absorbing passion to examine, to test the foundations of belief which strikes as the outstanding feature of our times. And with this is associated an unquenchable eagerness to pour fresh wine into old bottles, to interpret the old in the light of things new, to adjust, as far as possible or practicable, the modern life in terms of ancient and mediaeval precepts and traditions. The Eastern tenacity is still conspicuous but the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of compromise, has awakened into life. It has become a power to reckon with and this is full of promise and of hope :—

بیا تا گل: بر افشار نمی در ساغر اندازیم

فلک را سقف بشگانیم رطرح نو در اندازیم

To this spirit too must be ascribed that increased and increasing literary and scientific activity which constitutes the most striking phenomenon of our age. Explore the old quarries, exploit the new world of science, keep pace with modern ideas, choose and appropriate the best—are not these too patent to be missed or misunderstood ?

The wave is sweeping over us—the wave of Liberalism and freedom.

Never have such mighty changes been wrought with greater rapidity than with us. The India of a quarter of a century

was a different India from the India of to-day—different in tone and temper, different in outlook and attitude, mental and moral. The Pope is steadily losing ground and the autocrat is now but a shadow of his former self. India is fighting for her rights, clamouring for her dues. She is calling for a review and revision of her Deed of Partnership. And such a call *alone* heralds the dawn of a new era and a new freedom!

آنچہ فلک نخواست هیچ کس از فلک نخواست
 ڈرف فقیدہ میں نجست بادہ ما گزر نخواست

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

The natural bent of Shelley's mind is to seek and establish harmony. This disposition became strengthened by his Platonic studies. In Plato theology, ethics and politics are somewhat indissolubly connected together. At any rate, they are not sharply defined in their limits and functions.

Theology mainly concerns itself with universal or absolute Good and oftener than not is connected with a divine Personality. That which is good for man only may be considered to be an integral part of this ultimate Good. Shelley had some idea regarding this. He surely understood that ethics relates mainly to what is good for man considered as a member of society as distinguished from politics in which welfare or good of men is considered so far as they are members of states or political institutions. This will be clear from his idea of moral science. It must also be borne in mind that in so far as political institutions are tested and valued by the measure of human welfare they can secure, ethics becomes indirectly the criterion of politics and is thus related to it, the ultimate object of the state being man's good in the state. Yet in theory at least it is possible to discuss the question of man's well-being in society merely in relation to other men considered as individuals or private persons without reference to their being at the same time members of a Government.

We can form an idea of Shelley's moral philosophy from *Moral Science.* the fragments of 1815 called "Speculations on Morals" in which he gives us a bare plan of a treatise on morals of which the scope is limited to the development of the elementary principles of morals, dwells on the nature of virtue, especially of justice and benevolence, refutes political mistake and religious error and shows that moral science takes into consideration the differences and not resemblances of persons.

Morals and Metaphysics are according to this treatise the two divisions of "that great science which regards nature and the operations of the human mind. The latter relates to a just classification, and the assignment of distinct names to its ideas ; the former regards simply the determination of that arrangement of them which produces the greatest and most solid happiness." It is admitted that "a virtuous or moral action is that action which, when considered in all its accessories and consequences, is fitted to produce the highest pleasure to the greatest number of sensitive beings."

"Moral science itself is the doctrine of the voluntary actions of man, as a sentient and social being." * * "We exist in the midst of a multitude of beings like ourselves, upon whose happiness most of our actions exert some obvious and decisive influence."

"The regulation of this influence is the object of moral science."

Here as elsewhere Shelley's interest is not in concrete systems of ethics or in moral codes but in the essential principles of morality. The language here used may, at first sight, justify us in concluding at once that Shelley's method of ethics is utilitarian. To a great extent Shelley indicates here that he represents in a way the views of Helvétius, Hume, Priestley and Godwin, at least with regard to the question as to how men are to determine what is the *right* conduct for man. We must mention here also that in the Notes to his *Queen Mab* we come across equally significant statements, such as, (1) "mankind have lately admitted that happiness is the sole end of the science of ethics;" (2) "the worthiness of every action is to be estimated by the quantity of pleasurable sensation it is calculated to produce;" and (3) "utility is morality; that which is incapable of producing happiness is useless." According to Godwin "morality is that system of conduct which is determined by a consideration of the greatest general

good."¹ This general good is made by him the criterion of justice. He defines virtue as "any action or actions of an intelligent being, proceeding from kind and benevolent intention, and having a tendency to contribute to general happiness."² So far Shelley has something in common with Godwin.

Hume's emphasis is strongly laid on "useful" purpose, "useful" habits. "Reflections on public interest and utility" he makes the "sole source of the moral approbation to fidelity, justice, veracity, integrity." But Hume does not use the word utility in its Benthamite sense. It means "tendency to further good" and has reference to the possessor of the virtue. Its appeal is to both self-interest and the interests of others.

The scattered remarks and hints of Hume and Paley regarding utility as the standard of right and wrong were systematized and reduced to a fundamental or first principle by Bentham who *identified* utility with happiness and introduced the conception of *quantity* of happiness.

In trying to define happiness and make its meaning precise, ethical writers have understood by greatest happiness the greatest attainable surplus of pleasure over pain which gives practically a quantitative definition of the end aimed at. Generally speaking, utility in a qualitative sense is presupposed in most ethical systems in as much as goodness is associated with qualities of conduct which produce, directly or indirectly, pleasure either to the individual or to others. Utilitarianism introduces the element of qualitative precision—not merely the general idea of happiness but of the greatest possible amount of happiness to the largest number or of all sentient beings.

Perfection and³ Happiness have been considered to be two

¹ *Political Justice*, Book II, Ch. I.

² *Ibid.* Book II, Ch. IV.

³ Cf. "Poetry is ever found to co-exist with whatever arts contribute to the happiness and perfection of man." "Defence of Poetry," para. 14, (Italics mine).

distinct *rational* ends of human life. Shelley's intense devotion to the ideal of ¹ perfection is well recognised and has been referred to at some length. The question of happiness, which he now concerns himself with in his speculations on morals, brings in, however, a new element ; and it is different from what is strictly included in the idea of oughtness or of what is right. What is right for man is his duty. But duty as such does not refer to man's *interests* which happiness does. What is "ought" for man may not always coincide with what promotes his interests in actual life and experience. Moreover, interest involves the idea of some sort of calculation or balancing of advantages and their contrary. We shall presently see what Shelley's attitude is towards calculation and how he stands therein opposed to Godwin. Then again, obedience to duty (or right action) the rules of which constitute the moral code, is unconditionally binding on man whether it is conducive to his private interests or not. In this view his happiness as an end is not an immediate consideration for himself.

Cumberland (1672) speaks of the greatest possible benevolence of every rational agent towards all the rest as constituting the happiest state of each and all. He is the first among English moralists to distinctly lay down the Common Good of all as the supreme law, in which ethical historians detect the germ of later utilitarianism. But this good is interpreted as including perfection and not merely happiness. Shelley starts with an emphasis on man's voluntary actions considering him as a social being. This recognition of interdependence of individuals in their social relations has reference to what is generally called the moral law. Shelley has a clear perception of it. But he strongly condemns elsewhere the idea of duty being imposed as an obligation by the will of a lawgiver, human or divine, on pain of punishment. In this he is unlike Wordsworth who in his "Ode to Duty" betrays his Hebraic bent though the

¹ Cf. "Towards whatever we regard as perfect, undoubtedly it is no less our duty than it is our nature to press forward."—A Philosophical View of Reform.

poem shows the influence of Kant on him. Shelley holds that "the will of the law-giver would afford no surer criterion as to what actions were right or wrong." Locke traces morality to the law of God and accepts the view of rewards and punishments. This attitude finds an exponent in Paley in whom we come across ideas of general happiness and of quantity of pleasure. Even Sidgwick holds that "in so far, however, as a knowledge of God's law is believed to be attainable by the Reason, Ethics and Theology seem to be so closely connected that we cannot sharply separate their provinces." If duty is a mandate from God then the moral code becomes a kind of divine legislation. Divine law thus becomes applicable even in jurisprudence to all men *universally* as rule of conduct in human society distinguished from human legislation enforced by penal sanction. The Church held that moral rules were known to Christians through Revelation and were not dependant on Reason. But rationalists hold that man's reason dictates to him the right conduct, for as a rational being man knows and follows his highest good as the aim of his life. Regarding the claims of Revelation, Shelley says, "that if, as these reasoners have pretended, eternal torture or happiness will ensue as the consequence of certain actions, we should be no nearer the possession of a standard to determine what actions were right and wrong, even if this pretended revelation, which is by no means the case, had furnished us with a complete catalogue of them."

This rational view recognises also what is called the law of nature as distinguished from the law of nations. According to this law of nature man is credited with the power of knowing without the aid of revelation what is really good for himself ; and this faculty of knowing is considered as the power in man by which man should be regulated in his conduct. Shaftesbury holds, for example, that every rational being has a "moral sense" which impels him to good action and he emphasizes disinterestedness—love of goodness not as a means but for its

own sake. Hutcheson too speaks of the disinterestedness¹ of benevolent affections. Price derives moral ideas from the "intuition of truth or the immediate discernment of the nature of things by the understanding." This intellectual intuition is connected with an emotional element and men are impelled to virtue by an "implanted sense" acting in co-operation with a rational being's perception of right and wrong. Price recognises in addition to benevolence certain moral principles. Men intuitively see that it is right to promote happiness but that alone does not constitute his obligation to be good; disinterestedness in man must lead him to choose the right conduct simply because it is right, irrespective of considerations of ulterior consequences. This kind of intuitionism distinguishes Price, with whom Kant has an affinity, from Priestley and Godwin who make "greatest happiness" the test of morality.

I have already laid stress on the influence of Price on Shelley which is, however, not sufficiently recognised by Shelley's critics. In his theory of morals Shelley seems to me to have been largely indebted to Price. Even in *Queen Mab* the meed of virtue is not happiness but "that peace which, in the end, all life will share" and "the will of changeless nature would be unfulfilled, were it virtue's meed to dwell in a celestial palace, all resigned to pleasurable impulses." The secrets of the wonders of the human world are found by the Fairy Queen "in the unfailing consciences of men." In his *Speculations on Morals* we have a more pronounced note:—"The internal influence, derived from the constitution of the mind from which they flow, produces that peculiar modification of actions, which makes them intrinsically good or evil." This is a highly significant suggestion implying Shelley's leaning towards an intuitive as opposed to an inductive point of view which differentiates him

Is Shelley a Rational
Intuitionist?

¹ Cf. "Love possesses so extraordinary a power over the human heart only because disinterestedness is united with the natural propensities,"—Shelley's *Speculations on Morals*, Ch. I.

from Godwin whose influence on Shelley's ethical views is to our mind exaggerated by critics.¹ I shall presently revert to this important topic.

In his "Defence of Poetry" the idea of interdependence is emphasized in the passage—"the social sympathies, or those laws from which as from its elements society results, begin to develop themselves from the moment that two human beings co-exist ; the future is contained within the present as the plant within the seed ; and equality, diversity, unity, contrast, mutual dependence, become the principles alone capable of affording the motives according to which the will of a social being is determined to action, in as much as he is social ; and constitute pleasure in sensation, virtue in sentiment, beauty in art, truth in reasoning, and love in the intercourse of kind." A close affinity is also suggested between truth, virtue, pleasure and beauty. In the *Ode to Liberty* Shelley seeks to establish a kinship between liberty and beauty. Mr. Symonds holds that Shelley makes morality nothing but fidelity to an ideal truth which also produces pleasure. In the preface to *Prometheus Unbound* there is emphasis on "the beautiful idealisms of moral excellence" as the substance of his poetry.

It is therefore nearer the truth to say that Platonic idealism and not Godwinian intellectualism is the main

Conclusion.

tendency discoverable in Shelley's opinions on almost all important problems—social, political, moral or religious in the final phase of his development. Shelley's idealism leads him to seek for unity, harmony everywhere and so goodness is allied to beauty. This idealistic tendency is responsible for making his philosophy of art connected with his idea of ethics. He well-nigh identifies the true, the good and the beautiful in his *Defence of Poetry*, the first part of which (especially paragraphs 1 to 9) is devoted to a psychological and metaphysi-

¹ Cf. "As regards his speculations, moral or metaphysical, Shelley was, we have to remember, an uncompromising disciple of Godwin."—John Shawcross.

cal discussion in which Shelley is decidedly influenced by Plato's theory of ideas.

Godwin refers to Jonathan Edward's "Enquiry into the Freedom of Will" and rejects the doctrine of free will and follows Hume's "Enquiry concerning Human Understanding." In Book IV, Chapters VII and VIII of his *Political Justice*, he elaborately deals with the question of free will and necessity and as a consequence upholds the doctrine of intellectual and moral necessity. In Book IV, Ch. IX Godwin says—"The doctrine of Necessity being admitted, it follows that the theory of the human mind is properly, like the theory of every other series of events with which we are acquainted, a system of mechanism." In the earliest phase of his theory of morals Shelley too (as in the

The first phase in Shelley. Notes on *Queen Mab*) connects morality with Necessity. "He who asserts the doctrine of Necessity," says Shelley, "means that, contemplating the events which compose the moral and material universe he beholds only an immense and uninterrupted chain of causes and effects." * * "Hence the relation which motive bears to voluntary action is that of cause to effect." "Every human being is irresistibly impelled to act precisely as he does act." "History, politics, morals, criticism, all grounds of reasonings, all principles of science, alike assume the truth of the doctrine of Necessity." But he recognises that "whilst none have scrupled to admit necessity as influencing matter, many have disputed its dominion over mind" suggesting thereby that he had a leaning towards the philosophy of Kant. He further adds that "the doctrine of Necessity tends to introduce a great change into the established notions of morality, and utterly to destroy religion. It does not in the least diminish our disapprobation of vice." In his letter of July 15, 1811, quoting from Helvétius the passage—"Modes of worship differ, they are therefore the work of men—Morality is accordant, *universal*, and uniform, therefore it is the work of God" Shelley slightly modifies the view by observing—"I

should say, it is *Morality* which I cannot but consider as synonymous with the Deist's God."

To what extent Shelley's theory became modified in the latest phase of his development we shall be able to ascertain from his mature work, *The Defence of Poetry*, in which the most important factor in Shelley's moral philosophy is the place and function he assigns to the imagination considered as the organ of man's moral nature.

It is necessary, however, to note that in this process of development Shelley passed through an *intermediate stage* of intellectualism. He accepted for a time the Socratic idea of a close alliance between knowledge and virtue, making wisdom and virtue inseparable and selfishness the offspring of ignorance and mistake. Godwin too makes ethical problems intellectual in *Political Justice*, Book I, Ch. V and Book IV, Ch. V. Apart from the influence of Godwin, the bent of Shelley's mind was intellectual because he felt always the fascination of the simplification achieved by abstract thought. This tendency is very clear in his *Essay on Life* where intellectualism is dominant. Shelley states in this essay that "perhaps the most clear and vigorous statement of the intellectual system is to be found in Sir William Drummond's *Academical Questions*." Shelley's great admiration for the *Academical Questions* is clear from his Notes on *Queen Mab*, but still more from his letter to Hunt of November 3, 1819, in which Sir William Drummond is spoken of as "the most acute metaphysical critic of his age and a man of unblemished integrity of character." Shelley's conclusion in this *Essay on Life* which unmistakably proves the influence of Sir William Drummond is that his ideas regarding man as a being of high aspirations, the character of all life and being are consistent not with materialism or the popular philosophy of mind and matter (by which Shelley implies the commonsense school) but only with the intellectual system. It is not, therefore, correct, or at any rate accurate, to affirm that Shelley was led to an intellectual view of ethics by

Godwin's¹ influence. Godwin, no doubt, puts great emphasis on the omnipotence of truth in Book IV, Ch. V, of *Political Justice* and discusses at length the necessity of cultivating truth in Book IV, Ch. V. His firm conviction is that reason and truth must prevail and that truth leads to virtue and virtue to true happiness. Virtue is connected with knowledge, and more closely with the understanding. Investigation and discussion are therefore the best agencies to be employed in the diffusion of virtue. The practical value of truth lies in the production of sincerity and Godwin elaborates his conception of sincerity in Ch. VI. Truth requires free discussion of opinions. Therefore unrestrained freedom of speculative thinking and of expression of opinions is absolutely necessary. From this follows his doctrine of the right of private judgment which is the subject-matter of Book II, Ch. VI. Action, he holds, ought to be voluntary and voluntary action originates in opinion and is rational, and it is accompanied by foresight of consequences. So by argument and persuasion such action may be changed, may be improved. Vice can easily be corrected because it is *error*. Sound reasoning and omnipotent truth will triumph over error, that is, vice.

Godwin's ethical system is intellectual in which mind is made dependent on sense perception, for mind cannot be considered pure. He makes reason supreme and even in morals the only safe guide, though in Book IV, Ch. X, which mainly deals with benevolence, showing that he differs from adherents of the school of thought which makes self-love or the desire in each man to avoid personal pain and secure personal pleasure the motive of action, the disposition to promote the benefit of another is recognised as one of the passions and passion is defined as "a permanent and habitual tendency towards a certain course of action."

The intellectual or rational theory is also advocated by Cudworth, Clarke and Dr. Price. It may be traced to Plato's

¹ In Godwin's writings Shelley found the "intellectual system" stated in its barest terms—J. Shaveross.

Philebus which makes the pursuit of truth practically man's highest happiness. Aristotle too founds true happiness on the basis of the active operation of mental excellence, though he distinguishes intellectual virtue belonging to the highest part of the soul called Reason from moral virtue resulting from cultivated habit and having connection with pleasure and pain.

With Shelley virtue is a passion—the active principle of love universal in its operation. In a letter of 1811 Shelley asserts—"certainly reason can never either account for, or prove the truth of, feeling." But Godwin's emphasis is on the *rational* perception of merit in ethics. Godwin almost eliminates emotion and personal attachment and considers feeling when not under the strict guidance of reason to be a source of moral error and he is not altogether free from inconsistency in the importance he assigns to benevolence, which, after all, is an emotion. We cannot claim for Shelley's views on moral questions that they are scientific, logically consistent, systematic and complete, or quite practical. But, at any rate, he rejects the Godwinian view that moral preference should have reference to merits of individuals. On the contrary Shelley's emphasis is on what is common to all men alike, that is, human nature as such. "You ought," he says, "to love all mankind"—which includes the individuals of the family. This is in harmony with Shelley's conception of love as something infinite (as indicated clearly in his *Epipsychedion*). Psychologically Shelley makes love the great secret of morals and recognises the moral worth of passion. We have a famous passage in his *Defence of Poetry*—"The great secret of morals is love; or going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination." The domi-

Shelley how differentiated from Godwin.

nion of love is described as "the sublimest victory over sensuality and force." It is not to be inferred that Shelley indirectly advocates here didactic poetry, for he asserts that the "bold neglect of a direct moral¹ purpose is the most decisive proof of the supremacy of Milton's genius." There is an equally significant passage in his prose fragment, *The Coliseum*—"It is because we enter into the meditations, designs and destinies of something beyond ourselves, that the contemplation of the ruins of human power excites an elevating sense of awfulness and beauty. It is therefore, that the ocean, the glacier, the cataract, the tempest, the volcano, have each a spirit which animates the extremities of our frame with tingling joy. It is therefore, that the singing of birds, and the motion of leaves, the sensation of the odorous earth beneath, and the freshness of the living wind around, is sweet. And this is Love. This is the religion of eternity, whose votaries have been exiled from among the multitude of mankind." Plato too in his *Symposium* makes love the fundamental impulse of both artistic and moral activity. The unseen power in Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, representing eternal loveliness and perfection of ideal beauty, leads the poet to love all humankind and thus furthers a benevolent impulse.

Like Holcroft's, the ideal of Shelley was unflinching ruth and his letters of 1811 and 1812 evince how ardent Shelley was "in the cause of philanthropy and truth." He solemnly declares himself as a devotee at the shrine of Eternal Truth and that Truth was his God. Though in later life he conceived great reverence towards the literatures of the Greeks and the Romans, in 1812 he argued with Godwin against them on the score of honour having been set above virtue. Rational moralists like Wollaston make virtue the assertion of truth, our ideas of right and wrong being supposed to result from the truth of things. Shelley's view of ethics in the second stage of his life

¹ Cf. Preface to *The Cenci*, para. 4.

was as intellectual as that of Aquinas according to whom happiness is an act of the intelligence which controls and directs our passions and desires, and men desire something because they *know* it to be good, virtue being a matter of disposition governed by Reason. Locke, whose influence on Shelley is not negligible, accounts for man's wrong desire and acts as proceeding from wrong judgments. In the preface to *The Cenci*, Shelley affirms that "in proportion to the possession of the knowledge of the human heart every human being is wise, just, sincere, tolerant, and kind." In his *Speculations on Morals*, he says "Wisdom and virtue may be said to be inseparable, and criteria of each other." "Selfishness is the offspring of ignorance and mistake * * disinterested benevolence is the product of a cultivated imagination. * * Virtue is thus entirely a refinement of civilized life; a creation of the human mind; or rather, a combination which it has made according to *elementary rules contained within itself*, of the feelings suggested by the relations established between man and man "¹ (italics mine).

Here we detect, however, a significant modification of pure intellectualism. This new note is more pro-

Leaning towards the Intuitive View.minent in his view that "the benevolent propensities are inherent in the human mind.

We are impelled to seek the happiness of others."² Again, he asserts that "justice, as well as benevolence, is an elementary law of human nature."³ Shelley thus indicates his view of an innate moral sense even though he may not completely shake off the early admiration he felt for the intellectual system which to some extent affects even his aesthetic philosophy, for according to Shelley the discovery of truth is the basis of art and poetry renders great service to humanity by discovering for man -

¹ Cf. Shelley's remarks on "Benevolence" in Ch. I of *Speculations on Morals*.

² Cf. "Justice and benevolence result from the elementary laws of the human mind" (*Plan of a Treatise on Morals*). In his "Philosophical View of Reform" rules of freedom and equality are spoken of as the elementary principles according to which the happiness resulting from the social union ought to be produced and distributed.

the way to truth. On the other hand it is also suggested that the moral feeling in man is in a way instinctive and its practical value lies in its power of affecting the will. Shelley adds—"The efficiency, the essence, the vitality of actions, derives its colour from what is in no ways contributed to from any external source." Hume's inclination in his *Enquiry concerning Morals* is rather towards such a view and Richard Price calls the power implanted in man for perceiving right and wrong an *immediate* power of perception in the mind of man though he gives to it the name of the understanding. The utilitarians are, however, opposed to this view and in this respect too Shelley cannot be classed with them, and Godwin is practically a staunch supporter of utility. This point we shall consider further in connection with Shelley's theory of happiness.

We know that two enquiries are involved in the question of ethical investigation. The first is—How to account for man's moral sentiments? What is the origin of the notion of duty? How and whence do men derive the idea of duty or of oughtness? The second is—How to justify moral sentiments? What reasons can we advance to convince men that they must act according to them? What are the motives for doing duty?

Strictly speaking the first is more a psychological enquiry and the second really an ethical enquiry.

In Ch. I of his *Speculations on Morals* Shelley refers to self-love and self-interest and shows how it becomes gradually transformed with the growth of the child. Shelley does not derive man's moral sense from the instinctive desire of man to secure the preservation of his individual being but proves how this sense develops with the growth of civilisation. Whereas the cynical Mandeville frankly considers self-love to be the spring of action and he is followed by Hobbes and Helvétius. According to Bentham men are governed primarily by pleasure and pain. He speaks of the tendency of an action "to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question".

Shelley definitely states that . “ the character of actions as virtuous or vicious would by no means be determined alone by the personal advantage or disadvantage of each moral agent individually considered. Indeed, an action is often virtuous in proportion to the greatness of the personal calamity which the author willingly draws upon himself by daring to perform it. * * * If the action is in itself beneficial, virtue would rather consist in not refraining from it, but in firmly defying the personal consequences attached to its performance.”

The rejection of personal reference and the emphatic recognition of social sentiment are important elements in Shelley's views of ethics. There is recognition also of the practical value of the moral *feeling* in man as something affecting the will. There is, besides, a suggestion that moral feeling is in a way instinctive though education and civilisation develop it. Even when overbalance of pleasure is made the test, it has reference to the greatest number of sentient beings. The purity of virtue, according to Shelley, “ consists in the motive rather than in the consequences of an action.”

This means a clear leaning towards the intuitive as against the inductive view. If it is natural for man to desire “ the cessation of pain because the human mind regards it with dissatisfaction, it is equally *according to its nature* to desire that the advantages should be enjoyed equally by all ” (italics mine).

Shelley pointedly gives prominence to sympathy, intensive and extensive, which grows with the growth of civilisation, because its development tends to bridge the gulf between self-love and benevolence and make self-interest coincide with regard for general good or greatest happiness of all. He establishes the gradual growth from self-love to acute sympathy with the sufferings and enjoyments of others both in the individual as well as in society as the natural man develops into a member of a highly civilised community.

Bentham makes prudence more than self-love the actuating influence on man in his desire to secure personal happiness.

Goodwill (along with love of ainity, of reputation and even religious precepts) aims at the happiness of others. Prudence and benevolence constitute the moral faculty.

According to Price self-love relates to man as a sensible being but benevolence to man as an intelligent being and man's reason as a determining factor does not lead] to virtuous action merely because it promotes the happiness of mankind.

In Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* we have—"Poetry, and the principle of self, of which money is the visible incarnation, are the God and Mammon of the world." He also attempts to show in it how emotions of love purge the soul of selfishness and asserts in the Preface to the *Revolt of Islam* that "love is celebrated everywhere as the sole law which should govern the moral world."

"Pain or pleasure," he further holds, "if subtly analysed, will be found to consist entirely in prospect. The only distinction between the selfish man and the virtuous man is that the imagination of the former is confined within a narrow limit whilst that of the latter embraces a comprehensive circumference. In this sense wisdom and virtue may be said to be inseparable."

Now, the intuitive view believes in the existence of a moral faculty implanted in man and in man's natural power of perceiving the importance of virtues like truthfulness, benevolence, justice, and chastity. It holds that man by the very constitution of his nature or mind recognises a feeling of obligation to do what he knows to be right. To know a thing to be right is considered a sufficient reason to practise it irrespective of consideration of consequences. Intuition furnishes man with first principles of duty. This natural or innate power of perception is rejected by utilitarians. According to them experience and observation convince us that a course of conduct is conducive to human happiness and to secure the greatest happiness of the largest number is the aim of morality. True inductive or utilitarian theory cannot admit that men have any *natural obligation*.

tion to sacrifice their own happiness for this greatest happiness of mankind. It cannot accept "a moral faculty" or "a natural sense of moral obligation." The motive to virtue is, after all, an enlightened self-interest. The only incentive to action is to obtain happiness and avoid pain.

Shelley, however, derives the "internal influence" which by modifying actions make them *intrinsically* good or evil, from the very constitution of the mind. His stress is on the motive rather than the consequences of an action. He speaks of justice and benevolence as an *elementary law of human nature*, adding that the sense of justice "is a sentiment in the human mind." He bases "all theories which have refined and exalted humanity" upon "the elementary emotions of disinterestedness." He seeks to "establish the proposition that, according to the elementary principles of mind, man is capable of desiring and pursuing good for its own sake." He seems to uphold with the Cambridge moralists like Cudworth the essential and eternal distinctions of good and evil.

With regard to the second enquiry as to "wherefore should a man be benevolent and just?" the answer is partially contained in the summary of Shelley's views already given. But Shelley significantly adds something to that answer. "If a man persists to enquire," he says, "why he ought to promote the happiness of mankind, he demands a mathematical reason for a moral action. The absurdity of this scepticism is more apparent, but not less real than the exacting a moral reason for a mathematical or metaphysical fact."

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Provincial Finance in India—By Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (London), pp. 367. Macmillan & Co., 1929.

This book, which is a sequel to a course of public lectures delivered by the author as the Minto Professor of Economics, is an attempt to outline a constructive policy in the field of one of the most difficult of current problems—the financial relations between the Provinces and the Central Government. Basing his information on the different Parliamentary Papers, Despatches of the Government of India, and other official publications he has placed before the readers a clear, thoughtful and alluring volume which will appeal to everybody.

Commencing his study from the growth of the Presidency system from the year 1723 down to the modern date he traces in detail the gradual development of the overcentralised Presidency system and the gradual stages in the decentralisation of finance in the first five chapters.

Ch. VI and Ch. VII are devoted to an exposition of the ideals of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and a trenchant criticism of the same.

A lucid explanation of the devolution rules, with reference to the financial powers of the Finance Department and its over-riding powers, the non-appointment of a financial adviser, the power of restoration which practically negatives all or any control which the Legislature has in financial matters, the inclusion of too many heads under non-votable items, a better functioning of the Public Accounts Committee and the early appointment of a Finance Committee—are the chief points of criticism against the present working of the Reform Scheme.

The final chapter outlines his scheme of financial adjustment. With a preliminary recounting of the salient reasons for the failure of the scheme the author proceeds to settle aright the present system of provincial finance in the following manner. What is needed is dual reform (*a*) the reallocation of financial resources between the central and the Provincial Governments, (*b*) the redistribution of provincial funds between the different provinces. The first depends on the functions of the Central Government. Curtailment of expenditure on defence by the reduction of British troops and the Indianisation of the Army would remedy the defect of overspending under this heading. This can be safely done in view of the peace

proposals that are so frequently raised in the platform and the press. A cut in the Civil establishment of the Central Government is also necessary in view of the fact that important subjects are handed over to the Provincial Governments. The Provinces require greater expenditure under most of the subjects handed over to them. This necessitates the assigning of really expanding items of revenue to them.

On pages 362 and 363 the author classifies the different heads of revenue as Central and Provincial and recommends the adoption of "divided heads of revenue." One or two can be used as "balancing factors." As for creation of new revenue it has to be indirectly secured first by retrenchment and secondly by increasing the rate of taxes on income and imported goods into the country. Tax on oil-seeds, levying of excise on tobacco and cigarettes made out of imported tobacco and a corresponding import duty on cigars, etc., excise duty on petroleum and an import duty on silver are suggested as the possible sources of income or revenue. Unless this dual reform is secured the ideal of justice would not be secured in the financial relations of the country.

The book would form an indispensable asset to the publicists, the research scholars and the students of this country. It is a carefully written and well-balanced account and the high standard of accuracy ought to be a model for all research scholars to bear in mind. The clarity and conciseness with which Dr. Banerjea expounds this intricate subject is worthy of high praise.

We regret that there is a slight misprint on p. 58 where 1769 is given wrongly for 1869.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

Armaghan-i-Shiraz—By Sayyid Yousuf Hosain Musavi, M.A. Printed at Nizami Press, Lucknow, 1929.

Armaghan-i-Shiraz or a Souvenir from Shiraz is a nice little book on "Urvi and His Poetry" written in Urdu by the young scholar named above. It opens with a short monographical sketch of the poet, who was born in Shiraz in A. H. 933 and came to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar and enjoyed the patronage of the nobles and courtiers of his court. He died at Lahore in A. H. 999, when he was only thirty-six years of age.

Urvi-i-Shirazi had a chequered career in India, and on account of his haughty temper and over-bearing manners he created many enemies to his great disadvantage. However his merit did not go unrewarded for he had the honour of reading a *qasida* (or panegyric poetry) in the presence of Prince Selim, who rewarded him handsomely. Mr. Musavi has tried

by adducing various arguments to defend Urfi's character, which, we are afraid, are not convincing. He has devoted considerable number of pages on the characteristics of Urfi as a *gazal* (lyrical poetry) writer and has endeavoured to trace his true merits, beauties of thoughts and philosophical ideas in an appreciative spirit, but has said nothing of his qualities as a *qasida*-writer for which he is most famous too. In the last portion of this pamphlet the author has devoted a chapter in comparing Urfi with the giants of Persian lyrics, namely Sa'di and Hafiz, but we do not agree with him in the conclusion he has drawn in that respect.

Mr. Musavi is a young and capable scholar and deserves encouragement. We are confident that if he carries on his studies in Persian poetry he will produce monographs of abiding interest and value. But as a word of advice to him, he must clearly understand that the function of a critic should not be that of an advocate but should be that of an impartial judge.

M. KAZIM SHIRAZI

Kalki-Upanishad—By Babu Harimohan Banerjee of 5/1, Kasi Bose Lane, Calcutta. Price Annas five.

The publication of the book brings us back to the ages of the past—the pre-historic times of the Vedas and the Upanishads, when India had its supremacy to enlighten the world through intellectual development. It is a learned brochure dealing with the natural laws of involution and evolution, and explaining clearly how things pass to gross materialization and how matter reduces itself to spiritual sublimity. In spiritual reduction man traces his origin of existence, he is a created being, and in re pairing to his origin, he meets his creator and retires to his bosom, thus being saved from the horrors of death which befall him on material reduction. The book is an exposition of the Yogic culture how such spiritual excellence could be had. Kalki is represented as the cognizable spiritual Guru controlling the mind of a man, and having his seat inside the body, he restrains the evil propensities to which the mind is subjected through the influence of Kali or the evil spirit. The book has free quotations from the Hindu scriptures as well as from other scriptures—the Bible and the Koran,—and in attempting to make a reconciliation of views, the writer has successfully proved that the principles of all the scriptures are but one and the same, though apparently they look to be different to an uncultured brain.

R. S. T.

Ourselves

OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR.

We sincerely offer our hearty congratulations to our Vice-Chancellor, Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt., on his having recently received from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, the distinction of an Honorary Degree of D. D. in recognition of his educational activities in Bengal.

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PROF. SYAMADAS MUKHERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

We are glad to announce that Professor Syamadas Mukherjee's "Collected Geometrical Papers, Part I" has been spoken of in high terms of appreciation by Mr. T. Hayashi of the Mathematical Institute, Science College, Tohoku Imperial University, Japan, and A. R. Forsyth, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington, London.

* * *

APPOINTMENT OF PROF. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, IN THE TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE, MUNICH.

At the instance of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Mr. Benoykumar Sarkar, Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, has been invited by the Bavarian Ministry of Education to lecture on Economic and Social Problems of Modern India, for one year, in the Technische Hochschule, Munich. The object in appointing Prof. Sarkar is to promote cultural relations between Germany and India. It is intended to establish an India Institute in Munich, the avowed object of which would be to cultivate cultural relations between these two countries.

* * *

**RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW,
JANUARY, 1930.**

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, held in January, 1930, was 724. Of these 299 passed, 280 failed, none expelled and 145 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 14 were placed in Class I and 285 in Class II. The percentage of pass was 51·64.

* * *

RESULT OF THE M. L. EXAMINATION, DECEMBER, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the M.L. Examination, held in December, 1929, was 3, of whom 1 passed in Class II, 1 failed, and 1 was absent.

* * *

THE NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR 1928.

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1928 has been ordered to be equally divided between—

Chittaranjan Barat and Sudhirchandra Neogi.

* * *

A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Kedareswar Banerji, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on his thesis on—

Main Thesis—

Problems in Structures of Solids and Liquids in relation to Physical Properties.

Subsidiary Thesis—

(1) X-ray Diffraction in Liquid Alloys of Sodium and Potassium.

(2) Optical Properties of Amethyst Quartz.

(3) Permanent Deformations by Contact of Solids.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1930

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION ADDRESS OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADY JACKSON, MEMBERS OF THE
UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On this the third occasion on which you have visited the University as our Chancellor, we offer you our cordial welcome and express our gratitude to you for the interest you continue to take in the University, in its present doings and its immediate future. In the problems which will confront us in that immediate future and of which more will be said in the course of this address, we are confident that we can count upon Your Excellency's generous co-operation.

Another year of academic life has come to a close, and we hope that the strenuous work in which many of the members of the University have been engaged, has meant progress in certain directions. It has been a year of comparative peace within the central portion of the University, and the interruptions of regular work which occurred in one or two of the Colleges, were not of long duration and are now happily things of the past.

As a University, we have suffered some serious losses in the course of the year. The late Maharajadhiraj Sir Rameshwar

¹ Delivered at the Senate House, February 8, 1930.

Singh, G.C.I.E., of Durbhangā, was an Honorary Fellow of the University, and it is to his munificence that we owe the Durbhangā Building which has been for many years a useful centre of our work. We offer our sympathy as a University to his family, as also to the family of the late Maharaja Sir Manindra-chandra Nandy, K.C.I.E., of Cossimbazar, who was an exceedingly generous benefactor of the University and of many other educational institutions, and who will long be remembered as one of the most versatile and earnest promoters of learning, as well as one of the most unselfish of men, whom modern India has known. We also mourn the death of Nawabzada Ashraf-uddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., who, since 1890, has been a Fellow (or Honorary Fellow) of this University, and, in his earlier days, gave valuable assistance on the Arabic and Persian Boards of Studies.

Through the retirement of Dr. George Howells of Serampore College, the University has lost the services of one who devoted much time and energy to what were, in his view, the best interests of the University. He was a member of innumerable committees, and took an active and useful part in the deliberations of the Senate. He was specially interested in the Post-Graduate Department and contributed greatly to its development and strengthening.

Two of the members of our professorial staff have been absent during the year. Sir C. V. Raman, whom we congratulate upon the honour of Knighthood bestowed upon him since our last Convocation, has just returned from a triumphant scientific progress in the West, where he has been lecturing before the leading Universities and Scientific Societies of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, and has received, amongst other distinctions, the very rare honour of an honorary degree from the University of Freiburg. Prof. Radhakrishnan has been creating a great impression by his lectures in Oxford, and I have heard that when he goes to London, he, ever loyal to his national garb, is apt to be stopped in Regent Street and thanked by unknown

admirers for the inspiration of his addresses. Mr. H. C. Ray has just returned to the department of History with a London Ph.D. to his credit, and a remarkable series of testimonials to the value of his work from the most widely recognised authorities in his subject.

Meantime their colleagues in Calcutta have not been idle. Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has been continuing his work upon *Eastern Bengal Ballads*, having already published six substantial volumes. Dr. Haldar has been increasing his reputation as a writer upon Hegelian philosophy. Dr. Banerjea has been adding to the volume of his work in Economics, and Dr. Stella Kramrisch has written a very considerable portion of an important German Encyclopædia of Asiatic Art. The scientists also have not been without their meed of recognition. *Nature*, one of the best-known scientific journals, speaks of the work of Prof. J. N. Mukherjee in Colloid Chemistry "as having established his reputation throughout the scientific world as an eminent worker in this subject" and describes his recent address before the Science Congress as "an excellent example of the great progress which India has made in science during the last twenty years." Prof. P. N. Ghosh and his immediate associates have been contributing important articles to the same journal as well as to other scientific reviews. In a recent article the leading scientists of Britain described the quality of the Indian research in Pure Physics in terms which Prof. Raman modestly declares to be excessively generous, but in which we suspect there is a very considerable amount of truth. These are simply outstanding examples which go to show that work of a very advanced character is being done in this University, and that many of the members of our staff are acquiring a reputation which has travelled far beyond the bounds of Bengal, and even of India.

One of the most important events in the year has been the setting up, after prolonged negotiation, of an Arbitration Board. This has been welcomed by teachers as giving them an added

sense of security, and it is hoped that it will fulfil the expectations which have been formed regarding it.

Committee meetings during the year have been incessant. One of them, to which Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee gave able secretarial assistance, was appointed to formulate the latest views of the University upon the subject of the Secondary Education Bill, and these views were for the most part endorsed by the Senate. They represent an adjustment of the tradition which left secondary education in a position of somewhat uncertain equilibrium between the control of the Education Department and the University, to the newer conception that there should be a special Board entrusted with the management of this particular form of education. The chief difficulty was to state adequately and fairly the relation which the proposed Board should hold to the University on the one hand and the Education Department on the other, and it is hoped that the solution offered by the University, which represents a very considerable compromise between opposing views, will commend itself favourably to the Legislature.

Another important Committee dealt with the situation which has arisen owing to the fact that the existing arrangement with the University in respect of the Post-Graduate Department in particular comes to an end in the course of this year. The Committee was appointed with a view to ascertaining the academic requirements necessary to preserve, consolidate and stimulate the essential features of the present scheme of teaching and research; and to suggest any changes which might be necessary in the constitution of the different administrative and academic bodies with a view to securing more effective economic co-ordination of resources and activities. It considered, amongst other things, the possibility of a more economical organisation of the offices, and attempted, either directly or through sub-committees, to arrive at a correct estimate of the financial situation which would arise if the teaching and research activities of the University were to be placed on a satisfactory

basis. No one will deny the comprehensiveness of this aim or the diligence of the members of the Committee. Their patience was at times almost completely exhausted, but they returned to the task with surprising renewals of vigour, and were able, faint yet pursuing, to hold no fewer than seventy-six meetings, greatly assisted by the indefatigable labours of the two Secretaries, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr. J. N. Mukherjee. I think also the Members of the Committee will unanimously agree that a special debt of gratitude is owed by the University to Dr. W. A. Jenkins for his assiduous toil in connection with this work. The Committee accumulated and attempted to digest—with what success I shall not presume to say—an enormous amount of information. The Report has been placed before the Senate and will be discussed at a meeting a week hence. It is, therefore, not possible to discuss at the present stage the merits of its conclusions. It is enough to say that the Report, contrary to the initial expectation of many, is in form unanimous, although the minutes of dissent on particular points are numerous. It represents an attempt to get rid of certain difficulties which have emerged in course of the years in the present organisation, difficulties which I make bold to say the illustrious founder of the present system, to whom the University will ever be conscious of owing an immeasurable debt, would have been the first to recognise as demanding consideration. Our aim has been to place the teaching and research activities of the University on a more satisfactory basis; and we agreed on one thing, namely, that it was unfair to the teachers of the University that the present uncertainty regarding the tenure of their appointments should continue. We were also unitedly of opinion that the activities of the University which it was essential to maintain, could not be carried on except through an expenditure which would involve an increase of resources. This may seem to some a startling and unwelcome conclusion, but I may point out that, in recent years, accounts have been balanced only through considerable trenching upon a temporary University

reserve which is now almost completely exhausted, or will be exhausted at the end of the present financial year. After that the current income of the University will not be able to meet the expenditure.

Is the solution then to be the cutting down of our expenditure? I can only say that this seems to me impossible to any appreciable extent unless the activities of the University are to be very seriously hampered, and I think all the members of the committee would agree with me. The necessity for economy was never far from the mind of any one of us, but we were also of opinion that efficiency is of even greater importance and that, if due regard is to be had to this, involving fairness of treatment to the members of our staff, and if we are to be properly appreciative of the traditions and present opportunities of our University, the total expenditure cannot be diminished and may even have to be slightly increased. I think I am right in saying that this is the main trend of our Report. I am aware that the University is taking a heavy responsibility in suggesting this further inroad upon the resources which are available for the educational needs of Province, and if I thought that the suggestion arose from a disregard of other educational necessities or was made with a view to perpetuating inefficiency and extravagance or even in order to maintain the *status quo* simply for the sake of maintaining it, I personally would have nothing to do with advocating this generosity. I do not pretend that all is well in every respect with the Post-Graduate Department—it is not in any human institution to claim perfection—neither do I deny that, in many respects and in certain directions, there is room for alteration and improvement and economy. But I think that, taking a view of the whole situation, there is abundant justification even for increased expenditure should that be found to be necessary, and I appeal to the Local Government for a generous treatment of the needs of the University, should that be found to be possible—and I think it is possible—without undue sacrifice of other educational interests.

In this Province, in the thoughts of the people, the University is regarded as standing at the summit and as forming an integral part of the whole educational system, and its welfare is regarded as affecting the welfare of the whole. In illustration of this, I may mention that, within the last few days, the sum of Rs. 10,000 has been offered to the University for the improvement of primary education in the villages of Bengal, the whole sum to be expended within the next two years, and that this gift has been accepted by the Syndicate, with a grateful recognition of the confidence indicated.

We have in this University an heritage which we cannot afford to despise or neglect or even maintain in a state of merely partial efficiency. Especially is it necessary in these critical days that the resources of the country should be liberally devoted to the training of the future leaders of the country so that they may be sent out properly equipped for the difficult life they will have to live. Would it be considered out of place in this connection to repeat the suggestion made elsewhere that the Government of India might recognise that some of the achievements of this University are of national and imperial importance and deserve corresponding support and encouragement? Even in these days of the equalising of the rights of all the provinces, there might be still some sentimental as well as practical regard for the first-born amongst the Indian Universities. Is it too much to throw out the hint that more amongst the great merchants both Indian and European whose firms owe so very much to the loyal service in their offices of the humbler alumni of our Colleges might turn from superficial criticism to positive assistance of our education and make substantial contributions to educational funds which would enable us to elevate the whole standard of that training about which in their lighter moods they sometimes make merry but upon which the prosperity of their business so essentially depends? It would indeed be a profitable investment, for it would yield a return of good-will towards those who at present so largely control the industrial

velopment of the country, and would do much to remove the latter spirit of envy and constant talk of exploitation which are prevalent in regard to those whose own energy and capacity and perseverance have led in so many cases to such amazingly profitable results.

In respect of finance generally it may be said that this University is, as in so many other countries, on the horns of a dilemma. If it is to depend upon internal resources, *i.e.*, upon its income, it can do so only by increasing the number of the students, which means lowering its standards and so exposing itself to the criticism of academic worthlessness. If it is to keep its standards high, it must limit the number of its students, diminish its income and find itself a pauper unless, as, again, every other University in the world does, it is to draw more largely upon external assistance, either in the shape of Government grants or private benefactions.

I turn from these mundane but necessary considerations to offer the congratulations of the University to you who, to-day, are receiving your degrees. It is a great event in your lives, and you are now proceeding to higher studies in which you will be still more closely associated with the University, or you are going out into the world to occupy responsible positions and, in many cases, to become leaders amongst your fellow countrymen. I offer you the sincere good wishes of the University for your success. I trust that you will take with you some clear consciousness of what University training ought to do for you and what, I hope, it has done.

A University trained man or woman ought to be able to exercise a balanced judgment, to extract the soul of good out of the confusions of controversy, or the truly valuable out of that which seems to be indifferent. You will usually find that beneath the vehemently expressed dogmas of opposing controversialists there are truths upon which both sides can agree. It is for the cultured men of the country to drag these confused and covered truths out into the clear light of day. Men may be

divided in opinion as to the particular kind of political status they want, but they are not divided in their belief that India has peculiar traditions and aptitudes of her own. It is for the University teachers and the students guided by them, through patient study of past history and present facts, properly to appreciate that tradition and cultivate those capacities. The spinning wheel may be viewed by different people with varying degrees of practical respect, but there would probably be unanimity in regard to the idea symbolised by it, *viz.*, that, in the inevitable development of industrialism, India should be saved as much as possible from some of the terrible accompaniments of the first beginnings of industrialism in the West and should discover some method of uniting the expansion of industry with increasing care for the welfare and individuality of the worker. Is it necessary for the prosperity of the people that so frequently as in the West, the fair countryside should be darkened by the smoke of multitudinous factory chimneys, that people should leave the open country for the crowded city streets where they jostle one another for a livelihood and have hardly room to breathe ? It is for the University trained men to put positive meaning into the demands of the people, to see that the national unity which is so passionately desired is no empty shell but an opportunity for faithful service of the commonwealth, leading to a removal of the spirit of indifference which separates class from class and a growing consciousness that the health and economic and spiritual prosperity of the people are the concern first of all of those who have had the special preparation for life which a University can give. The destinies of India can best be accomplished by the increase of her own internal strength. The development of a people comes from within and not from without, and it is for you students and graduates of the University to guide that development in the years that are to come.

Education by lessening illiteracy and in connection with the present enthusiasm for the education of women is bringing everywhere new forces into being, and it is for you to guide

these forces into the service of a better organised society. The University ought to take the lead in the regrouping of natural and historical groups, so that they may cease to be mutually antagonistic, and may be serviceable to higher ends. It is for you, graduates of the University, to take the lead in this regrouping and reorganisations, and the best wish that we can wish for you is that you may be conscious of your high calling and great opportunities, and zealously endeavour to be faithful to that spirit of enlightenment and sympathy and goodwill which your University, by its essential nature, is pledged to cultivate. The late Swami Vivekananda said once : " My whole ambition is to set in motion a machinery which will bring noble ideas to the door of every one." If the University has brought to you any noble ideas, it will have fulfilled its task, and if you open the doors of your minds to these ideas, communicate them to others and live by them, you will not fail in that future of great promise which lies before you.

VII—MATHEMATICS AND EDUCATION¹

The Test of Teaching

In the preceding articles we have considered in a very general manner a number of diverse ways in which graphical and statistical means may be of signal service to the student. The applications to the sciences were touched on but lightly, though evidently the instances that could be collected are well nigh without end. It is a thought-provoking task to try to arrange these from the point of view of mathematics, but this is not the place to do so. (It is hoped in the pages of "The Calcutta Review" to carry still further the analysis that has already been outlined in the articles "Mathematics and Life.") An even more stimulating task it is to decide how this material may be passed on to students; in actual teaching the abilities and the demands of a class give quite a new aspect to the subject-matter.

The Key Device.

It was realised early that the slide rule would play a most important part in making it feasible to teach much else that was laid down as desirable. And so, right at the beginning, the aim was to lead the class by as direct a route as possible to a position in which they could look at this instrument with understanding and not merely use it mechanically. But even so it was not realised how dominant would be the position taken by the slide scale (as it seems better to call it, though to do so may upset the dictionaries) in a course like the present. The slide scale does not look imposing; and it is still sufficiently unfamiliar to the man in the street to lend itself to a certain amount of ridicule, as being somewhat presumptuous in its readiness to displace so very much of the beloved apparatus of arithmetic, not to mention trigonometry. "Push-stick" was the nick-name

¹ Reprinted from "The Times of India," date 29th July and 26th August, 1929.

given to an engineering student who, alone among his fellows, had discovered its supreme utility in his work. With such thoughts in the background, no special emphasis was laid on the slide scale in what was written before.

A Friendly Critic.

A friendly critic pointed this out at once, and his remarks are worth quoting now for their insight ; for though I acquiesced in his opinions, I did not realise till later how literally true were even his most enthusiastic words. He said : “ I am afraid you pass too lightly over the advantages of the use of the slide rule. I would recommend that the student be taught at an early date the use of the rule and be kept constantly at it. Practice on it improves his facility for—

- (1) reading functional scales and alignment charts,
- (2) interpolating between graduations,
- (3) handy manipulations, and
- (4) giving a proper sense of approximate values.

I have known cases where inability to use slide rules (and this with engineers !) has caused great difficulty in reading ordinary functional scales. Of course, I am rather biased in favour of the rule, as I have used it for nearly ten years practically every day ; and would less think of being without it in the office than, let us say, my hat ! ”—and this though my friend is a Parsi. A professor of Chemistry in the mofussil also bears testimony to this agony of the slide scale. Accompanying a cheque for Rs. 15 came a note ; “ I've lost my slide rule. Please send another at once. I feel as if I had lost a limb ! ”

Common-sense compelled.

Here we cannot go into details as to what the slide scale can accomplish ; these must be reserved for treatment in “ The Calcutta Review.” It need only be remarked that the slide scale has made it practicable to attempt to teach several things which before were ruled out as impossible—among these being matters

even of almost purely theoretical interest. I would but emphasise my friend's (4)—the slide scale as a teacher of common-sense in measurement. An American friend writes of his having seen at a German railway station the height placarded as 1127·3105 metres! But there is no need to go so far afield to illustrate this lack of a feeling for the significant in measurement; one of the most frequent complaints made by teachers of physics and of chemistry is of the difficulty in getting students to appreciate when the digits in a number have or have not a meaning. By the slide scale too would certainly be overcome the difficulty mentioned by examiners last year in getting agricultural students to make use of the decimal system.

One feature of the classwork was its marked contrast with the usual college-mathematics. A combined exercise was planned with a view to getting a large number of measurements from which a meaning might be educed. The lengths, etc., of two or three hundred almond tree leaves were measured, each student measuring about ten leaves. To classify the measures the students were appointed in twos to record frequencies in specified classes thus : 1 of length 22 cms., 0 of length 23, 5 of length 24, and so on. A quite unexpected result was put when their counts were set out on the blackboard for further examination. No pair of students agreed with any other as to the distribution of the measurements! The work had seemed quite simple, though a trifle laborious, and it was very surprising that so many mistakes had been made in carrying out so straightforward a piece of work. Here was a quite unpremeditated link between Mathematics and Law! Neither teacher nor student was sufficiently interested in the problem to go back to do the counting again. Perhaps the lack of zeal for drudgery was excusable; for when similar discrepant records are obtained under practical conditions, re-counts are often impossible ; the best way of keeping in touch with actuality was to go ahead with the results obtained likely miscounts were eliminated as far as possible, and then by comparison the contradictions in the evidence furnished by the

students themselves were removed, and what seemed to be the "probable" truth decided. It was, evidently, a salutary lesson for the students to have to criticise and evaluate the errors they themselves had undeniably committed.

Algebra v. Geometry.

It ought to be noted that in such exercises may be obtained the educational value usually associated, for those who are able to appreciate them, with geometrical examples. The point is put very clearly in Cresswell's emphasised words : "There exists this manifest distinction between a synthetic proof in Geometry and an analytical process in Algebra, that in order to comprehend the former *the whole claim of reasoning* must be kept in view, as it is continued from the beginning of the proposition to the end. Whilst in pursuing the latter method the attention is fixed only upon *each single step*, as each of them successively offers itself; and the conclusion is to be admitted independently of all but the last of them, whenever it is arrived at. Stronger and *more unceasing attention*, therefore, is required in the former case than in the latter, and the *judgment*, as well as the memory, is *called more urgently into action.*" A century later Sir Joseph Larmor used a striking metaphor to express this important limitation of algebra, and added a remark that applies to our consideration of science generally as well as to physics : "Algebraic analysis," he said, "outside the realm of computation has to run in blinkers, though they may be ultramundane as in multiplex geometry ; only in combination with a general physical intuition does it become the source and expression of expanded outlook."

VIII—ESSENCE OF THE SCHEME

Why do we waste time, and distort outlook, by subjecting students to a training in a type of mathematics such as for the great majority has no meaning, save as an examination-passing device? Why should we treat the remedying of this as the

concern only of the mathematician? Why need the teaching of other subjects be impoverished through allowing the traditional views of the nature and the scope of mathematics to dominate our educational practice? Such are the questions that have been raised in this series of articles, especially with regard to the curriculum for the First Year in Bombay University. An endeavour has been made to show how these questions may be met in a really constructive way—it is now simply a question of working out details and making adjustments. The application of the solution will naturally be in the hands of the mathematics teacher. He may be conservative by nature, well content with the intellectual pleasures to which he has been accustomed. But he is not so lacking in ability that he will find real difficulty in adjusting himself to a new situation; nor is he so wanting in public spirit that he will refuse his help where it is asked. It is indeed only as teachers with other special interests, and others who are alert to a changing situation, realise how students suffer at present and also what is the nature of the remedy to be applied, that a real corrective can generally be utilised in a satisfactory way in the near future.

Hand and Eye.

We have considered in the last article some special features of the work in class. The main part of this work, however, does not lend itself to general comment. It consists largely of drill in fundamental manipulations. The scheme that is being followed has been found in its main features to stand the test of actual teaching. How far it will meet the needs of students in their future studies will take some years yet to reveal. The conviction grows that for specialist mathematics students at any rate it will be an advantage thus early to have their outlook broadened, and to be set to train themselves in the use of other devices than the mere manipulation of symbols. In fact it has become a standing joke in some of our advanced mathematics classes to point out how the work there would have been illumi-

nated and facilitated if in their First Year work the students had been disciplined as advocated in "Graphs and Statistics!"

However much applications be stressed in the proposed course, intelligent *discipline* will be the keynote, as indeed it ought to be in all mathematical teaching. This impression may be confirmed from comments reported to have been made on the examination paper set at the end of the term. After looking over the questions, a distinguished physicist, who has daily experience of the demands made by science on mathematics, affirmed that the paper represented just the kind of knowledge of mathematics with which an ordinary student ought to be equipped. With him was one whose interests are wide, though mainly literary; he, having scanned the paper, disclaimed any competence to make a positive valuation but he declared that for his part he failed to see how the examination showed any closer connection with Life than the ordinary type of mathematical paper! Than these two comments taken together none could be more satisfactory. Chesterton has pointed out that the "simple" life is apt to be the self-conscious life; we may be closest to Life when we are thinking least about it. *Verb. sap.*

The Inner Eye.

Another note ought to sound clearly in the working of this scheme, though the educational instrument is too clogged and damped yet to let it resonate clearly. It is impossible to over-emphasise the importance of poise in the attitude we try to get our students to learn; it is an educational gem with many facets. Its essential quality was suggested in the general aim set out in our first article, "not so much a concrete knowledge of science as a scientific outlook, a scientific habit of thought." (Passion we leave to the poets.) Poise too lights up even questions of severe intellectual discipline. In the study of advanced mathematics emphasis is nowadays laid on the need for setting out a train of reasoning without appeal to any graphical representation. At present most mathematical students have training in the use of only

the most elementary graphs and they are really ignorant of graphical properties and limitations. On the one hand they fail to perceive how light might be shed by graphs on the best line to follow through many an argument in mathematics; or, if they take such aid, they are unable ever to be independent of it, for they have not realised just how graphs fail. On the other hand they may learn parrotwise of the risks in making reasoning depend upon graphs, and so submit themselves to a dogmatism nearly as depressing as any that theologian or atheist could impose. Professor Eddington sums up the truth as regards graphs in two sentences, which may well be quoted though both occur in connection with some of his most advanced writing about Relativity. "Graphical representation," he says, "is serviceable as a tool, but is dangerous as an obsession." And again, "World-geometry is very like other graphs: if wisely chosen it may exhibit or suggest relationships, provide useful nomenclature, and generally assist the mind in orderly thought."

In connection with the practical uses of graphs we have the need for poise exhibited in the judgment of the late Sir George Knibbs, the famed statistician of Australasia: "The more we graphed our statistics the better, especially for the public; and when we become more intelligent we should have series of graphs and would not be troubled with long lists of figures." Like snapshots graphs may be superficial; but a discriminating training in thus snapshotting aspects of truth would be very valuable.

For an expression of this attitude of detachment, or of criticism, as regards ideas themselves, let us take the words of one who, in that he last operated on the King, may be regarded as most eminent among surgeons in Britain. Professor Trotter's words are: "In science the primary duty of ideas is to be useful and interesting even more than to be 'true.' We must be ready to entertain ideas freely and fairly, and no less ready to discard them without regret, glad enough when we gain an unexpected glint from 'the blank face of familiar things.'" And he quotes the aphorism, "Do not believe new ideas; use them."

Investigate!

It is hoped that the continuation of the practical testing of our scheme may be possible. As it happened, last session the students who took this course were not on the whole those most brilliant in mathematical studies : even the budding mathematician appears to be conservative; at least most mathematicians like to feel they are building on rock ! It is a great gain, however, to have demonstrated that this new scheme can be so adapted as to be workable with the students who might find it most difficult. It is unsafe to generalise from the impressions of one year's work; but, as it may not seem surprising, it may be remarked that this new type of mathematics seems much better suited to women students than the old. (Very much depends, of course, on the start given in schools, and girls' schools have an unhelpful reputation of being defective in teaching mathematics.) Perhaps the greater emphasis in this new course on constructive manipulations of one kind and another make a special appeal to women students. The new course also makes an *imperative* demand for neatness (as has been explained before) and the average woman finds it easier to meet this demand than the average man. It was refreshing too to encounter in some women students an almost rebellious vigour in the way they dealt with examination questions—mathematics become obvious?

However all this may be, the sum of the matter, and here we may leave it, is that as far as the test has gone, this new discipline has proved salutary for all, not excepting the mathematical specialists, in whose supposed interests other students have hitherto been sacrificed. There is an opportunity here for an investigation, as systematic as in medicine, and as comprehensive as in economics, into the nature of the mathematical training that will be beneficial to students of all types.

(Concluded.)

JOHN MACLEAN

POPULAR CONTROL OF THE PURSE—HOW FAR IT IS EFFECTIVE IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, U. S. A. AND INDIA

Now the question is how far the people exercise real control over the national purse. But control of the purse may mean two things,—it may mean either control of the administration through the power of the purse or control of the fiscal policy of state through the power of framing and passing the budget. The English people or their representatives in Parliament have the power of the purse in the first sense but not in the second sense. The American people apparently have it in both senses; but looking below the surface of things it will appear that they cannot be said to be the true custodian of the purse of the nation. The house of Representatives can thwart the Executive by refusing supplies for the national services but cannot turn it out. The Executive can go on merrily in complete indifference to the hostile attitude of the Legislature exercising its ordinary and emergency legal powers without violating the constitution until the weapon employed by the Legislature recoils on its own head. If the national services are neglected due to refusal of supplies by the Legislature the Executive will not be held to account for it by the nation but the Legislature. Hence control of the purse by the Congress in the first sense becomes a myth. Next so far as control in the second sense is concerned it is at best imperfect. Unlike the English system there is no ban on any private member of the House bringing in fiscal proposals or changing the proposals informally made by the Executive—for the Executive is not there to present the budget formally. As the responsibility for the fiscal programme of the year as a whole cannot be located in any particular authority—the Executive, individual members of the Congress and the Committees of both Houses all having some share—neither

the Legislature nor the people can bring anybody to account for extravagance or stinginess or for any blunder in policy or administration. There is no consistent financial policy of the Government strictly speaking, everything depending on the accident of constitution of committees in the House and the Senate, these even sometimes working at cross purposes. In these circumstances popular control of finance is a sham unless we use the term to mean the power of particular sections of people or particular localities to get some fiscal proposal touching revenue or expenditure carried by bringing pressure on individual members of the Congress and through the practice of "log-rolling;" but the people have no power in their hands to get the fiscal system adjusted to the changing circumstances of the time. Amidst this chaos the fiscal system of U. S. A. would have completely collapsed but for the exceptionally happy revenue prospects of the country; but even so it could not bear the strain of the last Great War and the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 aiming as it does to introduce some degree of centralisation is an index of the inherent weakness of the system. It may be expected that popular opinion in U. S. A. would demand further centralisation and concentration of responsibility for the financial policy and administration. Only with complete unification of responsibility can popular control of the purse become something real and effective.

Now to pass on to the French system. The situation in France stands midway between the English and the American. The frame-work of the financial machinery as well as the fundamental principles regulating its working is almost alike in England and France and in direct contrast to the American system. But they lead to different results in the two countries as the Parliamentary type of Government has assumed different shapes on two sides of the English Channel due to social and historical causes. The initiative in financial matters in the compilation of the budget and its submission to the Parliament has been, as in England, made over to the Executive. But when in Parliament

the Minister of Finance as the mouth-piece of the Cabinet in financial matters has not the same control over the Government's fiscal proposals as his counterpart in England has got. Moreover all the revenue proposals do not originate with the Government, and are not embodied in the Finance Bill. Direct taxes are authorized earlier in the session in a special measure passed by Parliament just to place the local bodies in a position to frame their budgets with full knowledge of the aids they would secure from the Central Government.

The proposals of the Minister of Finance are referred to the Budget Committee which is by far the strongest Committee in the Chamber. Not only the budget proposals but all money bills or bills involving charges on the national exchequer are referred to it. Previously once the finance bill was referred to the budget Committee ; it completely slipped out of the control of the finance minister. The proposals of the Government were freely tampered with by the members of the committee even to the extent of substituting its own conclusions for those of the Government. There was not only discussion in general principles but minute scrutiny of the appropriate proposals for every branch of public service by sub-committees appointed for the purpose. As a result of action of the committee, the whole financial policy of the Government was sometimes completely upset.

"The committee pays hardly any attention to the budget prepared by the ministers" wrote Leon Say in 1896 "and considers itself charged with preparing the budget as if it were the minister. * * * The committee regards itself as a government and the reporters are its ministers."

Of late, however, the situation has changed considerably and we might say with Dr. Sait "such language would not apply to the practice that has prevailed in the last fifteen or twenty years and specially since the adoption of proportional representation in the choice of committees. Only *with great moderation and with the approval of the Government does the Committee now use its*

right of initiative."¹ Now-a-days the committee would not entertain any proposals for materially altering the Government scheme without the acquiescence of the ministers of finance. Moreover by the new method of constitution of the committee the Government can manage to secure a majority for themselves to thwart any such attempt. "The disappearance of the old spirit of rivalry is seen in the persistent refusal of the committee to make special reports on private member bills which call for supplementary appropriations; initiative is left to Government."²

Then there has been an approach towards the English system of unification of responsibility in the Cabinet when the departmental budgets come back to the chamber in report the minister of finance once again comes to the forefront in all the discussions that follow. He speaks with the authority of the whole Cabinet at his back and no increase or reduction of credits is accepted by the ministers without his consent.

But with all these attempts at unification of responsibility for financial administration the French system has not yet attained to perfect unity of control noticeable in the English. First of all there is no rule in France as in England which reserves absolutely to the Government the right of initiating money bills and of proposing, by way of amendment to such bills increases in the original figures. All the same there is a conscious attempt at repudiation of this pernicious principle of private members' initiative in many matters which often lends itself to infinite corruption. In 1900 the Chamber adopted the famous Barthelot resolution which has been incorporated in its rules by which no private member may offer an amendment to the budget, which would create new offices or pensions or increase existing pensions or salaries.

Then again the vicious system of tacking riders to the finance act has been put a stop to in 1913.

¹ E. M. Sait—*Govt. and Politics of France*, pp. 206.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 27.

Secondly even after the recent reform of the system of organisation of committees of the chamber the fact remains that once finance bills get into the Committee Chamber they slip out of the control of the Cabinet. The Budget Committee has been given a free hand to introduce any amendment it likes. The bill may come back to the chamber mutilated beyond recognition and out of accord with the financial policy of the Government.

Thus it is that control of the purse being divided between two rival bodies—the Cabinet and the Chamber—the people cannot affix the responsibility for mismanagement of finances in either of them. But the bane of the French system is as Dr. Sait has pointed out, "the absence of any coherent and enduring majority in the Chamber of Deputies." Responsible government is a misnomer without a stable working majority to support the Executive in Parliament. The people cannot possibly exercise control over the purse directly but they can do so indirectly by bringing pressure to bear on the government of the day if the governments happen to be their nominee or the nominee of a majority of them. But in the present situation of parties in France the people have no direct hand in the creation of the Cabinet. The formation of the Cabinet is more or less a matter of chance combinations in Parliament. It is not the direct off-shoot of general election as in England where there are ordinarily two dominant rival parties with definite and clear issues and the people are in a position to choose between the two on the merits of their programmes.¹

Unless and until this canker in the parliamentary system in France is removed the people cannot exercise effective control over any field of national affairs—finance, administration or legislation.

It would be rather ridiculous to drag in India into this comparative study, because Indian constitution cannot by any

¹ Of late however the condition of parties in England shows signs of approximating to the continental type as is shown by the results of the last three general election.

stretch of imagination be brought under the category we have just now considered. However the goal of India has been definitely declared to be full responsible government and the first step towards it is alleged to have been already taken. So an attempt at such a contrast may at least serve the useful purpose of bringing home to us the immense ground we have yet to cover before we can claim to have a truly democratic constitution; for popular control of the purse is, so to say, the first pre-requisite to democracy. Now so far as popular control of the purse is concerned, the Constitutional Reforms of 1919 have hardly made any advance on the situation as it existed before.

As for the Central Government the Act of 1919 has not sought to introduce any element of responsibility into it. It has only effected some change in the Legislative machinery making it bicameral and broadening the basis of representation in the Lower House. But the Executive is in no way responsible to the Assembly. The budget is introduced in the lower House and the demands for grants are submitted to the vote of the Assembly; of course no proposal for appropriation of revenue can be made except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. The Assembly has three courses open to it in regard to these, *viz.*, "to assent, or refuse its assent to any demand or reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant." [Sec. 67 (A) 6 Government of India Act 1919.] But these powers of refusal or reduction are for purposes of control of administration or finance quite immaterial. Moreover they do not extend to all the proposals for appropriation; for a considerable portion of them has been set apart as non-votable, neither house has got the authority even to discuss them "unless the Governor-General otherwise directs." Its action on the budget proposals is at best a pious expression of the mind of the legislature, for the Governor-General has been given an absolute veto over the decision of the Assembly. He has simply to certify that a particular demand refused or

reduced by the Assembly "is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities" and it is automatically restored, the action of the Legislative Assembly being simply ignored. It has been made clear by the Joint Select Committee of the two houses of Parliament that this power of the Governor-General is in no sense *extraordinary*. He is enjoined to exercise the power in the normal discharge of his duties inasmuch as he is ultimately responsible to British Parliament for the peace and good government of India. But this is not all. The Governor-General has not only the power of overriding the decision of the Legislative Assembly in regard to proposals for expenditure submitted to its vote but he has been given independent powers of authorising "such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof" under Sec. 67 A (8) of the Act. This however has of course been meant to be exercised only in emergencies. It comes to this, therefore, practically speaking the central legislature has no control whatsoever over the finances of Government of India, which remain the close pressure of an irresponsible Executive.

To come to the provinces, we find that the Act of 1919 has sought to introduce only the rudiments of responsibility here by the curious device of what has been called "dyarchy." We shall not enter into the merits or demerits, workability or otherwise of this system; we shall only see how far it has promoted popular control of the purse. Here also as in the Central Government some of the items of expenditure have been removed from the risk of a vote in the Council and earmarked as non-voteable. With regard to the other items in the budget, *i.e.*, those which must be submitted to the vote of the Council its powers are highly circumscribed. By sec. 72 (D) 2 of the Act, the Council "may assent, or refuse its assent, to a demand, may reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed."

The initiative with regard to the proposals for appropriation of revenue rests with the executive. The Council has no authority to increase the estimates or to change the destination of grant. But even if this had been the whole story the Council could think itself blessed. The powers of the Council given above have been neutralised by the proviso to the very same section of the Act. With regard to the grants relating to the "Reserved" half of the Government the action of the Council can be quashed by a simple certificate by the Governor to the effect that the demand is essential in the discharge of his responsibility for the "subject." With regard to the grants relating to "transferred subjects" the Governor has been enjoined not to interfere, as far as practicable, with the action of the Council. Under proviso (c) to sub-section (2) of the section referred to above the Governor can of course in cases of emergency authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion *necessary for the safety, tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department.*" How far this power should be exercised in regard to Transferred Departments and if so, to what extent has not been clearly defined by the Act and depends much on the discretion and temperament of the Governor. One thing is clear that this power of the Governor is of an extraordinary character, meant to be exercised only under exceptional circumstances. So far as the Transferred Departments are concerned the Council enjoys some amount of authority over the expenditure. But this authority even has been rendered useless due to the lack of a sense of responsibility in the Council. Deprived of control over the greater portion of the estimates they exercise the little power they have been given with a vengeance in regard to these items. A sense of responsibility can only grow where members feel that the responsibility of office will devolve upon themselves in the next turn, where any refusal of grant is taken as a vote of lack of confidence in the Government and followed by its resignation and the installation of the critics of the Government in responsible positions. But none of these conditions are

fulfilled in the Indian provinces. Saddled with the power of certification and emergency power the Executive can successfully defy the opposition of the Legislature for a considerable time. Under such circumstances popular control of the purse is only a myth and a colossal hoax. Popular control of the purse can become a reality only with the transfer of all the portfolios to ministers responsible to the legislature, the withdrawal of the extraordinary powers of the Governor and his virtual conversion to a nominal head of the Executive, the growth of political parties with clear-cut issues and collective responsibility of the ministry. Unfortunately conditions in the country are far from favourable to the fulfilment of these conditions in the near future. But the thing that is of first and foremost importance on which everything else depends is the replacement of an Executive linked up with *Whitehall* by one deriving its sanction to govern from the children of the soil.

A democratic constitution is not worth the paper on which it is written unless it secures to the people the right to say the last word on what taxes they would pay and how the proceeds of these taxes would be spent for the good of the community.

(Concluded.)

AKSHAYKUMAR GHOSAL

ITALIAN LITERATURE.

The fifth century saw the end of the Roman Empire as well as that of Paganism. The one succumbed under the barbaric invasions, the other was superseded by Christianity. In the pathetical poems of Rutilius we hear the last voice of the dying religion. The violent protest of Symmachus when the Roman temples were definitely closed in obedience to an imperial order could not avert an event which was almost fatally accomplished. But it seemed as if the Gods who had been driven away from their temples were taking revenge. The grand edifice which had been built by the heroism of the Italian legions and the political wisdom of Roman leaders fell down to pieces. Just as the Roman Empire was demolished by the hordes of the barbarians continually pouring into the country from the undefended boundaries, so also classical culture vanished. Its definite burial took place when the Emperor Justinian closed the University of Athen where the last rhetoricians and philosophers had tried in vain, to defend pagan tradition from the attacks of the fathers of the church. The unity of the Roman Empire was broken for ever. The Byzantine Emperors, last scions of Constantine the Great still claimed, it is true, a nominal authority upon the country, but their power was confined only to some towns on the Adriatic coast and even that was not to last for a long time. The rest of Italy was nothing but a contending land which changed its masters at every moment. Vandals, Goths, Longobards, Normans, Franks and in Sicily Arabs, effaced the last traces of Roman culture. A kind of society was formed, military and aristocratic in its essence, which introduced even into Italy the system of social organisation, quite nordic in its origin, called feudalism, though it could never completely supersede, as we shall see later on, the peculiar traditions of our race. Side by side with this military

society specially composed of foreign elements we find another aristocracy, that of Clergymen, representing the spiritual authority, always endeavouring to assert its rights and privileges against and above the military class. It was a struggle traceable up to the very end of the Roman empire and lasting for centuries. It was to exercise a great influence even upon the literature of the Middle ages, the history of which is in fact nothing else than a record of the various moments and phases of this incessant fight between temporal and spiritual powers. Both the currents found their supporters, and though spiritual authority seemed to triumph at Canossa when the German emperor knelt down before the Pope Gregory, the truce was only momentary, because the struggle was to be resumed at the very dawn of Italian literature in the 13th century when much blood was shed by the contending parties and the voice of Dante was heard proclaiming that both the authorities were related but independent because their sphere of action was absolutely different. However tragic it might have been, it was the struggle that helped in keeping alive even outside the scholastics, the interest in Aristotelean philosophy, the ethics of which was considered as the natural basis of those political discussions in which the time was engaged, as modern research has shown that the Middle ages were not such a dark and barbaric period as we formerly used to believe. It was on the other hand a period of extremely intense spiritual struggle during which a new civilisation was born out of so many discordant elements and the classical ideal was absorbed to some extent by the Christian mind together with the German culture introduced into our country by the barbaric invasions. Still the social and historical conditions of the time were so uncertain, life was so unprotected, and the most unexpected events followed each other with such an unforeseen rapidity that people firmly believed that this world was nearing its end. Was this not already foretold by the stoics when they taught that the universe would be destroyed by cosmic fire? Was not the *Annus Magnus* already prophesied by the

Neoplatonists? Did not the Gospels speak of the imminent day of the Parousia when we would be in the presence of God and did not the Apocalyps announce the fixed destinies of mankind? While princes were fighting and kingdoms disappearing one after the other, the largest mass of the population were searching in religion for that comfort and serenity which life seemed to preclude. The most beautiful literature of this time is religious or apocalyptic. They are specially visions or legends of saints; and nowhere has the sense of human nothingness and complete surrender to the mercy of God been so well expressed as in our romanic churches with their darkness full of mysteries, and their monsters and devils sculptured or painted on the walls.

But the whole of this literature is in Latin; sometimes it is classical Latin, strictly following the best models, but more often it is a corrupted Latin. There was then no time for education. Moreover christianity and christian mystics considered classical literature as an allurement of the devil. Still it is just in those works written in corrupted Latin and chiefly circulating among the low classes, that we find perhaps the best expressions of the literature of that time. They are simple and naive compositions whether they narrate the life of saints or describe the horrors of eternal damnation or sing of the bliss of the heaven. But even this Latin, far removed from the classical models, was no longer easily understood by the largest mass of the people. The *sermo rusticus*, the language used by the peasants and the villagers which represents the main features of the epoch took the place of literary Latin written and understood only by a few clergymen and monks. This *sermo rusticus*, like every other spoken language, followed its spontaneous development, simplifying its grammar, reducing its syntax and enriching its vocabulary by accepting new words from the language of the invaders. Thus it became a kind of *lingua franca* understood by the various inhabitants of Italy, though, of course, it had different vernacular forms each peculiar to a

particular part of the country. Thus Italian language as well as other romance languages such as French, Provençal, Spanish, etc., was slowly being formed. In the beginning we find it limited to documents of common life, such as the documents of Capua, dating from the 9th century. But it was still considered unfit for literary purposes. On the other hand the elaborate and artificial style that we find in the songs of the Sicilian school of the 13th century, undoubtedly points at a long evolution, the various moments of which we are unfortunately unable to trace out. I say unfortunately, because the first literary compositions really worth this name, which we come across, of the school which I have alluded to, are no longer popular and spontaneous songs, but artificial lucubrations of court poets. In Southern Italy, the German dynasty had superseded the old Norman kingdom and it reached an unparalleled splendour under Frederik the Second, the strenuous assertor of the independence of temporal power as against the spiritual one. Considered as a heretic by the orthodox catholics and accused of being addicted to black art Frederic the Second can rightly be considered as the man who for the first time, after the dark night of the Middle ages, tried to revive the classical culture. Anticipating the example of Lorenzo il Magnifico, he invited thinkers and dialecticians to explain Aristotle and Greek philosophy. Poets and thinkers received his enlightened support. It was just in his court that the first Italian poets known to us Ciullo d'Alcamo, Jacopo da Lentino, Pier delle Vigne, King Engo, Odo delle Clonno wrote their poems. Their writings were nothing else but love songs devoid, with few exceptions, of all spontaneity and genuine inspiration. In fact as a rule, we are not confronted here with songs suggested to the poet by some strong inner emotion and written down immediately at the moment it was felt. On the other hand, in the poems of the Sicilian school, spontaneity is suffocated by the study of the form. The poet seemed to indulge in the search after the strongest images and the most elaborate

dissection of ideas which we should expect in philosophy and dialectics rather than in poetry. The fact is that poetry was then a fashion. It was a display of one's own skill by which one could also get the favour of the prince. The surroundings were therefore not very much dissimilar to the atmosphere of Sanscrit Indian poetry which essentially developed in the court of the princes, helped and patronised by them. In India also poetry was to experience the consequence of these surroundings in so far as very often the free inspiration of the artist was repressed or restrained by the rules and subtleties of the *alaṅkara-sastras* and the artificial study of the form.

The poets of this school are many, but only few are worth mentioning because if their importance is great from the historical point of view, I do not think that the same can be said as regards the artistic value of their creation. There is no personality in this literature, and therefore we are confronted with a general uniformity. This school followed strictly the models elaborated by the Provençal minstrels (troubadours) with very little, if any, originality. They always sing their love for a lady, but this lady is more an abstraction, than a reality. When they write it seems as if their soul is absent and only the mind is active. The poet expresses his desire to serve and even to die for his lady, but from the absence of any emotion and the artificiality of his poems it is quite evident that this is pure rhetoric and a mere literary attitude. The fact is that the historical and cultural conditions in the midst of which Provençal literature had developed in France were absent in our country. Feudalism was counteracted among us by the growth of free municipalities based upon the model of ancient Roman colonies which, being always engaged in fighting against the privileges of the military and ecclesiastical aristocracy, represented the chief reason why feudal civilisation of which Provençal lyrics and french epics had been the outcome could not prosper in our country. So that we can hardly expect to find in this literature as it appears in Sicily the exact expression of the

Italian soul. Nor do we find more interesting poems in Tuscany where Sicilian school had a large number of imitators: here the conditions of life were even more different from those that had helped the development of Provençal literature inasmuch as Feudalism had here been completely superseded by free municipalities, and artisans and merchants were engaged in driving away the aristocracy and establishing a popular form of self-government. The language only appears to be less rude and verses more perfect; but taken as a whole the songs are even more artificial, as may be noticed by any one who reads for instance the poems of Guittone of Arezzo written before his conversion to the Franciscan movement. Nor does North Italy give us anything worthy of notice; here the language used by the poets was very often not even Italian but Provençal.

So from Sicily to North Italy the learned and elaborated poetry which flourished at the court of the princes is essentially an imitation of foreign models, and had but very little connection with the life of our people.

Our people still lived as I said before, in an apocalyptic atmosphere which was largely due to the miserable conditions of the time. It was a Kaliyuga for them, and it is natural that, when education is not largely diffused, life is uncertain, and man loses his confidence in human values and powers, one turns to God and directs his hopes toward the after life. A large literature was inspired by the religious anxiety of the time. Here we find songs quite different from those that we saw in the Sicilian school. They were no longer written by court poets but by unknown bards who did not care very much for the beauty of form and expression. But it is for this reason that their poems are so efficacious and powerful and fascinating as religious books very often are when they are inspired by deep and sincere experience. Many of these songs have been handed down to us in manuscripts and so we may have a fairly good idea of this literature which is the direct outcome of the religious movements that took place in central Italy, chiefly Tuscany and Umbria,

where conditions of life were particularly bad on account of the continual fights between the aristocracy and the free municipalities. It was just there that the so called Compagnie dei Flagellanti arose under the inspiration of Piero Fasacir.

The Brethren thought that the end of this world was approaching. It was necessary therefore to make penitence and prepare oneself for the great day. Long processions of people of every sex and age were seen in the countries and the towns invoking the mercy of God, beating one another with ropes in order to humiliate the body, which is the creation of the devil and to free the soul from every attachment to worldly things. They used to sing primitive songs in which the hopes and fears of men were powerfully expressed in solemn almost Biblical language. That was the spiritual atmosphere in which S. Francis was born and which saw his conversion, while all around there was the clash of arms and the horror of war. We are not interested here in his life or his religious experience. But we have to consider the movement that was inspired by him as it powerfully influenced Italian culture in general and literature in particular. Giotto and his school was largely under the influence of Franciscan reforms. Though the tradition of the Middle ages survives in his art as seen in the paintings of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, or in the fantastic victims of the Hell in the Bargell at Florence, still Franciscan spirit is evident in the love of nature, in the marked tendency towards representing a serene and familiar atmosphere and that naiveness and simplicity which may be rightly considered as the main spirit which dominates the Franciscan literature. There can hardly be any doubt that the Franciscan movement marks one of the most brilliant moments in the history of our people and though inspired by a deep religious experience, it facilitates and prepares the way to renaissance. World was not so full of horrors as they used to believe in the Middle ages. The Creation which surrounds us is but another aspect of God himself. It is the manifestation as it were of his mercy and love for us. That serenity for which we search in vain in the art and literatare of

the Middle ages appears again in the Italian soul. The contrast between the old vision of life and religion and the new hopes that inflamed humanity was materialised, as it were, in the church of Assisi. The lower part, containing the body of the Saint, is built in accordance with the traditional plan of old romantic cathedrals. Dark with enormous pilasters and low, it seems to express the misery and despair of the old generation. But above is the gothic church erected by Filippo da Campello. With abundant light entering through the long windows, majestic, large with its high columns, it seems to symbolise the serenity, energy and confidence in the destiny of mankind which animated the communal period of our history. Hope and serenity are also the essential basis of the reform of Saint Francis. Born in one of the richest families of Assisi in a picturesque castle of Umbria in the year 1182, he was taken prisoner by the people of Perugia during the terrible defeat that his countrymen suffered at the hands of the rival town, and disgusted with the life that he had fully enjoyed in his early youth he renounced the world and started his great mission. Some have compared him with Buddha; I do not think this comparison to be right for many reasons, but chiefly because we do not find in him that gigantic mind which we admire in Gautama. He had no original system to propound. The value of his teaching is chiefly in the example given by him of a rare coherence between belief and practice of life, which was essentially based upon an unlimited love for all beings, the spirit of self-sacrifice, humility and poverty. If we wish to compare him with some great Indian, our mind turns naturally to Chaitanya. He also founded an order that was to exercise a great influence upon moral, intellectual and artistic life of Bengal. He also preached that man must be patient as the tree and humble as the grass. He also did not care for doctrinal questions, but only for the practice of life based upon a direct realisation of the divine. It was the same force of love which converted Madai as well as the four brigands whose story is told in the life of S. Francis. It was the same force of *maitri* extended to all beings.

which, as the pious disciples narrate, made the tigers tame and mild when Chaitanya spent his night in the jungle and induced S. Francis to preach to the wolf of Agobbio. It was for the same feeling of sympathy that Chaitanya revealed the holy name to the dog Sivananda so excellently narrated in the Antyalila of the C. C. and that S. Francis delivered his sermons to the birds in a famous miracle wonderfully interpreted by Giotto in the frescos of the church of Assisi.

It is a pity that we have no time to read together some of the most beautiful stories of the life of the Saint. They are all in prose, written by poor monks in a language that everybody was in a condition to understand, but at the same time so artistically expressive that inspite of their simplicity and naiveness they can be considered as some of the highest creations of our prose literature. I must quote here only the most famous of these narrations, the title of which is "Fioretti di San Francesco" a book that circulated in many redactions, and about the authorship of which there is not yet perfect agreement among scholars. But this question of authorship is, according to me, one of secondary importance when we are confronted with a work which does not embody the ideas of a particular individual, but rather reflects the beliefs and hopes, in a word, the spiritual and intellectual atmosphere of an epoch of our culture. But did S. Francis himself write anything? If he did, he wrote very little. So also Chaitanya who is perhaps the author of the *sikṣāṣṭakam*. Neither of them was nor wanted to be a writer or a philosopher. Still the verses attributed to him sufficiently show that he deserves to be enlisted among the greatest poets of our literature. I refer to the *Canticus creaturarum*, or Song of the creatures, known also as the song to the sun. We do not exactly know in what metre it was originally composed, nor do we know if it is a translation into vernacular of a Latin original or not. It is in this poem that the infinite love of the Saint for all creatures is expressed in an unparalleled way. It stands as a wonderful exception to the Christian literature of the middle ages, when Nature was considered as an evil and animals as the

lowest aspects of creation. All beings—this was the teaching of Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy—may be divided according to the different souls they possess. Plants have a vegetable soul ; animals—one vegetable and one sensisitive; man one vegetable, one sensitive and the rational. So man only deserves the attention of man; all the rest is pure matter, and therefore may be conducive to perdition. But here, in the song of the creatures, the vision of the universe is quite different; it is so comprehensive and sympathetical that even the greatest of our pantheistic philosophers, I mean Giordano Bruno, could have accepted it as his own prayer. The material elements of classical philosophy appear in it in a Christian garb, united to men by the common fact that they are like man, the creation of God. When he wrote his song, Saint Francis was certainly not aware of the fact that he was echoing the hymns of the Stoics and the famous prayer to the sun of Julianus the Apostate, the unfortunate emperor who, after Constantine the Great, had the courage to oppose Christianity by making a vain attempt at reviving Paganism. Anticipating as it were the Renaissance, the classical ideal seems to resuscitate in this song of the Poverello d'Assisi just as Roman corporative spirit had led this great mystic to the organisation of his community. But I think that nothing could give you a better idea of the song itself than a literal translation of it which I hope will make clear the points I have mentioned.

O most high, omnipotent good Lord, Thine are the praise, the glory, the honour and every benediction. They befit only Thee and no man is worth mentioning Thee. Praise to Thee O my Lord, with all creatures specially our brother the sun, who illuminates the day for us. And he is beautiful, and shining with great splendour, wears the marks of Thyself.

Praise to Thee my Lord for our sisters the moon and the stars. Thou formest them in the sky, luminous, precious and beautiful. Praise to Thee my Lord for our brother wind and for the air and for every weather, cloudy or serene, by which Thou givest nourishment to all creatures. Praise to Thee my Lord for our sister water who is very useful and humble and

precious and chaste; praise to Thee my Lord for our brother fire by which Thou givest us light in the night, and he is beautiful and jolly, robust and strong.

Praise to Thee my Lord for our mother earth who supports and governs us and produces various fruits with coloured flowers and herbs. Praise to Thee my Lord, for those who forgive for the sake of Thy love and forbear infirmity and torture.

Blessed will be those who forbear it in peace because they will be crowned by Thee.

Praise to Thee my Lord for our sister corporal death whom no living man can escape. Woe to those, who will die being in a mortal sin. Blessed will be those who followed Thy most holy will, because the second death will not harm them.

Praise my Lord and thank Him and serve Him in great humility. This is the Canticus creaturarum containing, as it were, the last prayer and the last will of the Saint who sang it to the brethren and sisters in his death-bed at the dawn of a beautiful and bright day of September in that Assisian landscape than which a sweeter and more fascinating one can hardly be found. A few days later he died. The solemn simplicity of the Canticus could not be imitated by any of his disciples or followers. Guittone d'Arezzo, the Tuscan poet whom we have mentioned before renounced worldly life and joined the order and wrote religious songs technically more perfect and elaborated but not so grand and impressive. Nor the rude poems of Jacopone da Todi, the monk who in his ardour of renewing the spirit was the first to attack with unusual violence the Pope and was thrown into prison, can be compared with the few lines of Francis. Jacopone da Todi was still a man of the Middle ages; under the dress of a monk he had the same undaunted and fierce character of a warrior. He was violent and fanatical in his religious experiences as his countrymen were in political passions. We do not see therefore in him that harmony and serenity in which the Poverello of Assisi found his greatest inspiration in life as well as in art.

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Fresh complications, however, arose in the meantime. In 1835-36 the importation of foreign salt into the Calcutta market which was constantly on the increase had reached the high figure of 284,858 maunds or more than a fifteenth of the total Government sale in the previous year. In the face of this increased foreign competition, the Government was powerless to have recourse to its own habitual policy of artificial limitation of supply. The Government promptly discontinued the system and returned to its original policy of sales at fixed prices. The sale prices fixed by the Government were calculated on the basis of average auction prices of salt in different agencies during the last ten years, and they ranged from Rs. 469 to Rs. 385 per 100 maunds. Thus after fifty years the mechanism set up by Cornwallis split up of itself on the rock of foreign competition.

We shall now pause here to take stock of fresh developments that had in the meantime taken place in other parts of the Company's dominion.

Western or Upper Provinces.

The precautionary measures of 1810 to remedy the abuses and malpractices at the Customs Chowkeys in the Upper Provinces of the Bengal Presidency had come to no effect. In 1822 and again in 1826 changes were consequently made in the administration of the Customs Department. In the latter year a new Board of Customs was set up, untrammelled by any other responsibility and hence in a position to bestow its undivided attention on the matter.

The Government was for some time exploring the prospects of obtaining an increase of revenue from salt. A suggestion was put forward in the year 1827 by the Collector of Customs at Agra regarding the increase of duties on Western salt. But in view of the Parliamentary provision (53 George III, c. 155, s. 25) requiring the previous sanction of the Home authorities (the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs) before promulgation of any new or additional duties upon the export, import or transit of goods in the Company's territories, the Government did not proceed in the matter.

It was observed that the growing slackness of the merchants to clear salt from the *golahs* had for many years deluded the Government into the belief that consumption, while subject to the existing rate of tax, had reached its utmost limit. It was therefore inferred that the salt revenue was not capable of increase by any extension of the supply furnished from the Calcutta sales.

How then was the increased revenue to be obtained? In 1829 the Salt Board suggested that the only way open to the Government to increase the revenue was to extend the same rate of tax as obtained in the Dewani tracts to other places of the Presidency beyond those furnished through the Calcutta sales.¹

The Advocate-General, to whom the Government referred for opinion the question of its own competence to levy such duties, having decided the issue favourably, a regulation (Regulation XVI of 1829) was passed on the basis of the above two recommendations. Since the point at issue was not absolutely free from doubt, the approval of the Home authorities was however subsequently secured.²

¹ Letter from Board of Customs, Salt and Opium of the 9th July, 1829.

² Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, 23rd February, 1831; Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32, Appendix No. 25.

The regulation equalised to a great extent and slightly increased the rates of duty on different descriptions of Western salt imported into or in transit through the Western Provinces. All salt was taxed at Re. 1 per maund except Lahore, Sambur, and Doodwane. These varieties were subjected to an additional duty of 8 as. per maund, which however was remitted in 1835. The regulation also provided, as was suggested by the Board, for the imposition of the further duty on those salts as they entered into the province of Benares but at the same time remitted the town duty leviable on Western salt imported for consumption into the city of Benares and towns of Mirzapur and Gazipur.

In 1834 Sir Charles Trevelyan drew up his famous report on the inland customs and town duties. The report produced a deep impression throughout the country and quickened the pace of that reform to which British India owed its gradual disentanglement from the mesh of most noisome transit duties that formerly covered its face. In that report was proposed a comprehensive and thoroughly systematised plan of a single customs line of chowkeys spreading along the whole frontier. But the desired reform, though a crying necessity in the Western Provinces, was put off till 1843 when the necessary legislation was enacted to give practical effect to his plan.

It is however interesting to note that eleven years before Trevelyan's report, Mr. Saunders, who was then Collector of Customs at Agra, had proposed a revision of the customs establishment of his district on substantially the same line. Four years after, in 1827, the same gentleman, impatient of the indifference of his superior authorities, had himself carried out his project in anticipation of sanction and made the beginnings of what was afterwards to be known as the Imperial Customs Line or the Grand Customs Line. But actually the line was so imperfectly drawn up and had always remained so insignificant that it was unknown and unnoticed when Trevelyan prepared his report.

Assam.

An extensive landmass, that was to be administered for about half a century as a part of the Bengal Presidency, was annexed in 1826. It will be a useless digression to repeat here the well-known story how the first Burmese War brought for the British large parts of Assam and how the rest of the province was only gradually acquired over a large number of years.

Absolutely without any means of supply in her own area, Assam naturally depended upon outside source to provide herself with what she needed of salt. Of her two channels of trade, one with the tribes on the northern and eastern frontiers and the other with the neighbouring province of Bengal, it hardly needs mention that it was only through the latter that she could hope to obtain any sufficient supply of salt. And during the years that preceded the annexation of the province, salt was almost the only article that was imported into it from the adjoining British territory.

Assam was thus laid under contribution by the Bengal Government long before its authority had extended to it. On the other hand her position was especially complicated by the existence, on her side, of a private monopoly of two persons who farmed the customs and commanded the entire trade of the valley.

When the British occupied the province they abolished the monopoly. Its effect must have been for the better. But in fact the volume of trade began to decline. This falling off in the import of salt at the very moment when it was freed from the shackles of monopoly would have been an enigma, if it were not for the fact that the individual Assamese merchants had yet to learn that business honesty without which a steady growth of trade was impossible.¹

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI, p. 75.

Madras.

In Madras the policy of high price initiated in 1809 had not yielded satisfactory results. During the three years (1806-7 to 1808-9) preceding the high price the average annual receipt was £245,880 whereas the average during the three subsequent years was £350,948. Thus the revenue showed an increase of 42% only, though the tax had gone up by 50%. And since 1813-14 it actually began to manifest a tendency towards steady decline.

The shrinkage of revenue was to some extent due to a certain laxity in control and supervision on the part of senior officers, who, in accordance with an injunction from the Court of Directors, had been deprived of the commission which they had so long obtained as a certain percentage of the salt revenue. The commission system was therefore reinstated in 1817 and the revenue improved slightly.

The existence of a free source of supply in the bordering French settlements was naturally a cause of great anxiety to the Madras Government from the day it had adopted monopoly within its own area. And it began now to be strongly suspected that there was a considerable increase in the contraband trade from the French possessions as the direct consequence of the higher price adopted. To strike at the very root of the difficulty, the British Government entered into a compact with the French Government in 1815. The former, in return for an agreement to pay an annual sum of Sicca Rs. 4,00,000, acquired from the latter the sole right of buying up at prices prevailing in adjacent districts all their salt beyond what was required for domestic consumption. It was further stipulated that salt should in future be sold by the French Government in their own possessions at prices equivalent to the Company's monopoly rate. Places, even under foreign domination, were thus dragged into

the mire of monopoly at an enormous cost to the Indian exchequer.

Every possible step was thus taken to ensure proper supervision and control and to prevent smuggling. But the average revenue was not yet commensurate with the rise in the price so that *prima facie* there was a strong ground to suspect that the price had an adverse effect on consumption. The Board of Revenue, however, attributed the fall to corruption and mismanagement. Accordingly, after proper investigation, a code of rules was framed in 1817-18 for the better management of the salt revenue.

At the same time a further step was taken to guard against the possibility that might yet be left of smuggling French salt into the British zone. By the convention of 1818 the manufacture of salt in the French possessions was altogether suppressed. Their needs were to be supplied by the Company at the cost price of the article.

The revenue went up but still lagged behind its proper limit. The Board of Revenue yet persisted in its argument. It contended that much more than what entered into official record did actually pass into consumption through over-measurement and illicit manufacture. It therefore urged that what was really needed in order that the irregularities might be effectively combated was an improvement in management rather than any reduction of price.

The Government rightly maintained that the illicit manufacture was itself symptomatic of the oppressive character of the tax and any further rigidity in the management of the revenue, while the price continued to be high, was merely adding to the sufferings of the people. Its own suggestion was to substitute for one uniform price a series of prices, varying from district to district and adjusted in a manner as to equalise consumption prices over the country. But the view did not find favour, either with the Board of Revenue or with the Court of Directors. So in 1820 the price was lowered by a Government order

to its original level, Rs 70 per garce. It was immediately followed by largely increased sales and the total sale in each year after 1821 exceeded that of 1819-20.

The Board of Revenue was, however, untired in its advocacy of a high price. In 1822 it again wrote to the Government to raise the price to Rs. 105 per garce. In addition to its previous argument, it put forward the further plea that the lower price had not succeeded in bringing forth the desired relief ; for, the retail prices, in the interior, had not appreciably responded to the reduced price. The Government remained, as before, sceptical of its line of reasonings. Once again in 1824-25 it made another unsuccessful attempt to bring round the Government to its own view.

In 1828 the Board, which had in the meantime furnished itself with a mass of statistical data, represented that it was wrong to have deduced the conclusion of decreased home consumption from the mere fact of diminished sales. The domestic consumption, it pointed out with the aid of its collected statistics, had rather, on an average, increased by 21% during the last three years of the high price in comparison with what it was during the three years of low price from 1806 to 1809. It was the fluctuation of the export that had, in its opinion, acted all the while as a drag on the revenue.

It also brought out with reference to its own statistics that the retail prices in most inland districts had on the average fallen only by 21% while the reduction effected by the Government was more than 33%. In two districts in particular the price had increased rather than decreased. The Board concluded with the remark that they had no reason to apprehend "that a return to the former monopoly price would be attended with hardship to the people or lead to a diminution of the present average demand."

The Government now acquiesced in the opinion of the Board for it was not "merely speculative" but was "drawn

from accurate returns and supported by ascertained facts." Once more the price rose from Rs. 70 to Rs. 105 per garce and once again the consequences of previous years were to repeat themselves.

(To be continued)

PARIMAL RAY

DECEIT IN RESIGNATION.

I.

O, when I say I am resigned
 To Thy sweet loving rule,
 Do I defy Thy mighty might
 And think Thee my will's tool?
 O, do I think when I declare—
 To Thee I am resigned
 Fulfil Thou shalt with pow'r Divine
 Desire that pains my mind?
 Resignation's but a name
 From me to hide my selfish aim.
 O resignation then is pure
 Of selfish will when 'tis the cure.

II.

Resignation—all devotion
 Are Thy gifts, O Love's Lord,
 But pride destroys their beauty pure
 And scabbard rusts the sword.
 May I in Thee, Love, see my all
 A drop of joy in Thee to fall!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

KING LEAR

King Lear may not be the greatest of Shakespeare's tragedies but it is certainly the most sorrowful. One need not be miserable to write a tragedy. A happy man wrote *Romeo and Juliet*. The writer of *King Lear* and *Macbeth* and *Measure for Measure* seems oppressed by the mishaps of life.

Measure for Measure has an outraged misery. Sorrow and ugliness have set Shakespeare's intellect in revolt but not yet touched his emotions, or rather they have upset his conception of life but not entered into it ; he does not accept, he still expects them. Its wrong doings and griefs pertain to other people and are treated more in scorn than with understanding. In *Macbeth* and *Lear* Shakespeare comes down to the level of sinners and feels their troubles sympathetically ; he accepts the tragic world as his, no longer disdaining it. The unfairnesses of life do not outrage him now ; he acknowledges our human heritage of imperfection and suffering as his own ; we never scorn Macbeth, even Goneril, as we scorn the hero of *Measure for Measure*.

Macbeth labours under an oppression like a strong man heavily laden and bearing up. In *Lear* we feel a limp depression, that vague dull unhappiness one associates with dismal weather. The one play storms ; Macbeth fights, he stands up to his fate. The other lours ; Lear is choked by a feather. Whereas most tragedies show the shipwreck of passion, or strength, Lear meets disaster through weakness. Macbeth is too huge for the world and upsets it. The world is too huge for Lear and crushes him. His tale is the story of a nervous breakdown, of failing health. The older we grow the less excitable should we be ; as the body weakens with years and becomes less able to bear the strain of passion, the feelings get correspondingly feebler; the natural characteristic of old age is quiet. Lear's nerves have begun to slip before the play opens ; he is too violent for

an old man ; his impotent, senile furies invite rather than repel his tragedy.

Though the motive of the play lies in Lear's over-excitability, the spot where it hurts us is almost universally sensitive. It touches the most natural of human sorrows; the sorrow of a parent. Lear cries against his children. It is : "Oh my unnatural daughters ! Their ingratitude ! Their disobedience!"—their disobedience coming first when Cordelia will not buy her portion of the kingdom by declaring her love. *Lear* magnifies the pang every parent experiences when his children, their judgment having developed, no longer feel bound to obey—a necessary sorrow, or at least one the child ought to cause. Everyone who is not a parasite on the advice of others must make this stand sometime, and when they are idealists must make it even against the ideals of their parents. We miss the point if we think Cordelia obstinate. She did it for conscience' sake ; she has outgrown the dominion of her father's judgment and arrived where obedience must yield. Shakespeare was interested in the situation from Lear's point of view. Being a father himself he may have felt the slight twinge when this link of parenthood breaks. In normal families it is a slight twinge ; at least I presume so. The simple germ of the tragedy is not usually tragic, being obscured by the other interests of life, disguised by love and palliated by concessions. Still, even in normal families the bond is not broken without some pain, the pain being greatest where the difference is in opinion on morals. The parent may think his son a fool if he takes his own way, even a disobedient fool and no very serious harm comes of it. When the parent thinks the child is going to the dogs matters become more serious. Although Lear's estrangement from Cordelia appears to have an almost frivolous cause, in reality it rests on difference in opinion on morals. He cannot appreciate the pure virtue of her sincerity. He is sentimental, and thinks because she has no sentiment about him—she does not love him. As usually happens when an old fool meets young virtue much

finer than his own, Lear attributes the reserve of her honesty to some failing he can understand easily enough.

"Let pride, which she calls plainness, marry her." The play gets its power from this basis on an everyday emotion. The family aspect of *Lear* stabs us. Goneril and Regan are our daughters, or Lear our father, and this it is that takes hold of us so, this intimate pain. *Macbeth* does not move every one to terror because some are too good. Many feel only a sort of disgust at *Othello*. But none of us is too humble or too good to tremble at the Goneril in us, or the Goneril in our children. *Lear* hurts where our sensibility is tenderest. Shakespeare, as it were, takes the bleeding from the vein of a wood sorrel so delicate may be the emotion he starts from, and creates out of it a tragedy to overwhelm us. He starts off with a sorrowful situation common in real life, and shows not Cordelia's side, but Lear's only. From it he takes away all the palliative, leaving the pain of cleavage unmitigated and unalleviated. Then in place of filial love, he puts aggressive ingratitude and cruelty in Lear's other daughters. ("If the situation had arisen in real life, they, the elder sisters, would probably have realised that old age, being unreasonable, is to be humoured.") And to aggravate the pain still farther, he makes the parent sensitive to the point of morbidity, and a man without balance.

The external source of *Lear* was an old play of that name, interesting in that it gave Shakespeare so little. Practically every thing in *Lear* is Shakespeare's own. A hint or two in the old play attracted him, but rather by what it left undone, as a thing with possibilities, than as an achievement. Shakespeare's dramatic genius has two sides, the human and the imaginative. By the time he came to write his great tragedies he was as interested in the subjective situation of his characters as in our objective impression of the play. These interests usually coalesce; the *Macbeth* situation and the witch gloomy of the deserted heath seem to come from the same inspiration, the one being the dark reflex of the other. And in the same way the human situation

and the storms are reciprocally expressive in Lear. Shakespeare found the seeds of both in the old play. One clap of thunder and a few sea-side scenes at the end stirred his pictorial imagination ; the parent's sorrow awoke his emotional imagination. Here he found a play poetically stimulating, humanly interesting and capable of unburdening the creative energy buried in that mood of despair we feel so heavily.

It needed a Shakespeare to find a hint of the great Lear in the original play. The old play was not a tragedy ; it ended with Lear and Cordelia reinstated. All the atmospheric gloom, the world ague conception of our *Lear* is Shakespeare's, if we expect the one clap of thunder. The original play has no 'minor plot;' outside the Lear family it has only one character, the equivalent of Kent. Nor does the original Lear lose his reason ; he remains a perfectly sane, unexcitable, calm, deliberating old man. The most noticeable difference between the plays lies in their Cordelias, the intention of Cordelia's character being more lovely in the original than in Shakespeare. All this shows Shakespeare's aim. That he did not find a mad Lear, makes Lear's madness more significant. To create a tragedy of the parental sorrow, he had to increase the sensitiveness of the parent, to make Lear mad, and to decrease the humanity of the child, not to dwell too much on the loveliness of Cordelia. There was a very great danger that our sympathy with Cordelia should put us out of sympathy with Lear, that we should look at the situation from the natural and not the unnatural point of view ; for we must not forget that although Shakespeare's bias was towards the father, the real appeal of the legend lies in its Cordelia. How strong that appeal can be, we see by the number of people who wish Shakespeare's play had ended happily. The situation looked at from the child's point of view should end happily. Had the play centred in Cordelia we should have had no tragedy. But Cordelia's tale could not absorb Shakespeare's despondent mood, so he shifted the centre of interest to the father and deliberately lessened her appeal. In the opening

scenes we notice rather the fact of her refusal than the loveliness of the impulse prompting it. Whenever we meet Cordelia, or hear of her, we have a pleasant sensation, yet Shakespeare takes care that we shall not gush to her. She is reserved and controlled, smiling through her tears and looking grave when she smiles. We do not become intimate with her as we do with Desdemona. She does not open for our sympathy but stands aloof, a calm and lovely picture, never reaching us the warmth of her hand. We give her our tears only when she dies and all danger of our feelings running in a cross current against Lear is over. Then the rush of emotion to her, takes him with it.

We cannot know whether Shakespeare, lacking our critical education, realized all the difficulties in his way. What he does is clear enough. He writes a tragic drama disobeying most of the rules of tragic drama insisted upon by critics from Aristotle onwards, yet we hardly remark it. The play has no action. Lear's sorrow is not dramatic, but passive ; he does not act, he merely reacts ; he is struck and quivers but cannot strike back. Events succeed one another, there is a plot, but no action in the sense that *Macbeth* or *Othello* have action, all the movement in *Lear* being external to the real matter of the play, a mere stage substitute. *Macbeth*'s or *Othello*'s tragedy develop out of themselves ; the dramatic action is inside the soul of the hero. *Macbeth* shows the progress of selfish ambition from its first stirrings to its final ruin. *Othello* is a similar picture of jealousy. *Lear* is just a tragedy of sorrow. Neither Lear nor Gloucester are "tragic characters" in the accepted meaning, though both suffer in the dimensions of tragedy. They are the most inoffensive and ordinary of people, yet Gloucester has his eyes put out by the treachery of his son, and Lear his reason by the cruelty of his daughters. What irony to say they bring their fate on themselves !

Shakespeare creates tragedy out of passive sorrow, merely by making it huge. The world of *Lear* appears like the whole universe. We come away denying that calamities are our

fault, that we are responsible for our miseries. This is a world of pain and the gods care not. Sorrow is a monster too huge to slay ; he invades and carries off our security. Not the victory of St. George, nor the triumph of armies in the cause of right, nor just legislation, nor virtuous living, nor prophets, nor preaching can slay this monster. It is of the constitution of the world. Some such feeling makes us talk of a sense of fate in *Lear*, though it ought not to. Shakespeare did not conceive of the gods as dogging man to ruin. If there had been no Greek tragedy, we should never have used the word "Fate" in connection with Shakespeare ; it represents an essentially pre-Christian idea, lowering to our dignity and self-respect as men. Shekespeare may make his characters cry in their misery : "The gods do not care," or in a sort of contemptuous anger : "They do it for their sport," but these are momentary bursts of feeling not settled convictions. *Lear* is a pandemic of sorrow, and the helplessness of the sufferers who catch the plague gives a Fate interpretation its opportunity, yet the dramatist did not necessarily intend it. Shakespeare's attitude to catastrophe resembles rather the common one of bearing them as best we may. He cries out against the gods and leaves us with a feeling of inexplicable sorrow, but does not write with a sense of Fate, of implacable Nemesis, or inevitable necessity. This is the deduction of listeners learned in aesthetic theories of Greek drama, not Shakespeare's suggestion. And, as a matter of prosaic fact the plot is loosely enough woven to allow of almost any ending ; there is nothing inevitable or necessary in it.

In place of real action Shakespeare uses a sort of pageantry. He makes his effect pictorially. *King Lear* is a spectacle. Our attitude to the play differs from that to the other tragedies. We do not feel the same sympathetic transfusion of ourselves into the protagonists. Women may lose their identity so completely in Desdemona as to feel uncomfortable after she dies. We expect death to render us unconscious or at least blind, so the end of *Othello* gives us the peculiar sensation Christina Rossetti

creates in her sonnet on *After Death*. In *Lear* our interest moves almost kaleidoscopically, variously and diversely as in a comedy. We look on in sympathy rather than merge ourselves in the feelings of the characters. We never take Lear out of his place and magnify him as we do Macbeth, who absorbs nearly the whole play into himself. We see Lear in the usual proportions of man. Our interest distributes itself ; our sympathies are panoramic rather than personal ; we lose ourselves in the pain of the *Lear* world rather than in the Lear individuality. The sharpest crisis of the play comes when Gloucester's eyes are put out, not in Lear's person ; this could not happen in any of the other tragedies without upsetting the balance. Normally, or at least in theory, the interest of a tragedy gravitates to the centre and draws in the circumference. In this tragedy the force radiates, the circumference being almost alive at the centre. We feel its power in its width rather than in its concentration—a huge lateral expanse. While Macbeth, and Desdemona or Othello, dominate their plays in single might, *Lear* has affinities with *As you like it* where people come chattering into the forest. Yet the crying of *Lear* is so shrill that it almost passes the range of audibility and becomes a silent agony, a landscape of torture. Shakespeare makes the effect after the manner of the cricket rather than of the lark ; he creates a murmuring sort of gloom not an intense song of pain ; we succumb to its persistence rather than to its overwhelming passion. *Lear* is like a gallery of pictures. Shakespeare turns us out on a moor in storm and cold, and at each step brings another wounded soul, and another, and another, making a procession of woe, multiplying the effect through the eye. Then the sky clears and the clouds break where the sun smiles on fields and meadows near Dover ; and we finish in a dark prison where a flower-like light glimmers for a moment before it goes out with the lives of a young girl and an old man. We think of the play in terms of painting or vision rather than of action or movement.

It makes an interesting study to see how Shakespeare arranged the plot and sketched the characters of *Lear* for spectacular rather than dramatic effect, or to put it another way, how he makes a tragedy out of what is not usually allowed as dramatic material. He takes the old tale, alters the character of Lear and hardens or veils that of Cordelia to fit his new conception of the tale. Then he broadens the old play, floods its waters over the land to awe us with a Dutch expanse : he introduces a parallel plot. In Sidney's *Arcadia* he found another tale of the wronged parent and the unnatural child, the tale of Gloucester, and this he adds to the Lear story. It helps too, over another difficulty, the lack of action ; the developing of this story gives a sense of movement to the play, and, since it runs parallel to the principal theme not across it, a sense of direction also. Moreover in a good drama the tension should be flexible, give a sense of mobility, not stiff and wooden like the *Cenci*. The Lear tragedy alone would seem to stand on one leg. The Gloucester there supplies a second and saves the play from the stork-poise. *Lear* by its very nature forbade a violent cutting of the tension such as we have in the porter scene in *Macbeth*. *Macbeth* can afford the porter's scene because the drop is so huge. Here such a scene would only show how low is the altitude of *Lear*, a play of the plains and fens. The violent change of tension in *Lear* comes where Gloucester's eyes are put out, and the recoil goes up not down. Before this scene the emotional level was very low or depressed. After it the emotional level is higher. Gloucester's scene contrasts in detail with the porter scene. Apart from this, Shakespeare relies on transferring the weight from one plot to the other to keep the play flexible ; each time we move from the unhappiness of one tale to the parallel unhappiness of the other, we experience a sense of lifting, a momentary raising of the depression, yet, since the tales are parallel, the level unity of impression remains.

(*To be continued.*)

KATHARINE M. WILSON

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK OF THE INDIAN JOINT STOCK BANKS

I

The future can be built on the present which is but the result of the past. Considering the present position of the Indian Joint Stock Banks any serious study would disclose that the following are their predominant features. Lower dividends than in the immediate past or fairly even rates of dividends as in the past, decreasing working capital when understood in correlation with the increased price-level, lack of confidence on the part of the public, sheer inability to secure any prompt financial aid and over-investment in the gilt-edged securities due to lack of a fluid market for short-term investments are some of the salient features of the present-day Indian Joint Stock Banks. The pathological point of view has strong fascination for me. As in Mathew Arnold's famous lines, I wish I were able to diagnose the evils of the banking system.

He took the suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear
And struck his finger on the place
And said, "Thou ailest here and there."

But the inadequacy of statistical material precludes anyone from playing the part of a banking pathologist. Its being scattered or diffused in more places than one irritates any worker in the field. The Statistical Tables relating to the Banks, the Report of the Registrar of the Joint-Stock Companies, the Report of the working of the Co-operative movement, the Trade Journal and the weekly information issued by the Controller of Currency would have to be ransacked for what little that can be gained by these enigmatic reports. The Imperial Bank always follows the policy of, "never explain, never regret, and never

apologise" and no Annual Report portraying the financial state of the country is issued. There is no Banker's Journal displaying the combined figures of their working. In the absence of such information one has to literally grope in the dark to feel his way in the matter of our banking operations and their significance on the different aspects of our economic life. The method of analysis cannot therefore be applied for details of Bank organisation, methods and practices are shrouded in mystery.

In spite of the nominally increasing growth of the working capital of the Indian Joint Stock Banks as denoted by the Statistical Tables¹ relating to Banks in India their present position is really deplorable. Compared with the contemporary foreign banking institutions their record is indeed a depressing one. As adequate banking statistics which cover the entire field are conspicuous by their absence I refrain from making any appeal to any statistical device to show how our system is progressing when compared with others. The stationary and sometimes

¹ The following tables illustrate my remark—

Table I
(In Crores of Rupees)

Year	1913	1918	1923	1924	1925	1926
Capital and Reserve	4	7	11	12	12	12
Deposits	24	42	48	55	58	63
Total	28	49	59	67	70	75

(See the Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India.)

If these figures are correlated with the present price-level we do not find an increase in the capital. Unless this is done we would become the victims of "money illusion" as Prof. Fisher would put it.

Year	1913	1918	1923	1924	1925
General Index of price level	100	157	157	158	159
Working Capital (in crores of Rs.)	24	49	59	67	70
Working Capital correlated to pre-war level of prices	24	31	88	42	38

The above tables do not take into account the smaller banks and loan companies which are conducting banking business to a large extent. The resources of the indigenous bankers are also excluded,

declining dividends speak eloquently of the struggles of the Indian Joint Stock Banks. Their low cash reserve as against their demand obligations fails to inspire the necessary confidence in the minds of the depositors.¹ Unorganised, unaided and subject to the malicious propaganda or barbed darts and vile credit-wrecking tactics of their enemies, the Indian Joint Stock Banks are "muddling through somehow." If timely action is not taken the unfailing and inexorable law of the survival of the fittest would soon eliminate quite a large number of these tottering institutions.

With no banking legislation, no official supervision, no fluid market for short-time investments which consequently leads to an over-investment in gilt-edged securities, no co-ordinated policy of the different joint stock banks, no centralised banking in the way of the rate of interest and no check against the frequent happening of swindles by directors or officers of banks the Indian Joint Stock Banks have been unable to show remarkable progress. Though some of the Indian Joint Stock Banks are not incapable of holding large monetary resources yet the logical consequences of the above circumstances are bank failures now and then. Now that re-organisation and radical reform of banking are under contemplation the broad lines of reform may be indicated briefly. A unified banking system with an independent Central Bank of Issue acting as a regulatory authority in a carefully developed discount market and creating elastic currency to satisfy the needs of business must be the sole objective of our banking reform. A complete rationalisation of our banking system is needed at the present hour. It alone would tend to promote specialisation in credit business and without an efficient use of credit, agriculture, commerce and industry cannot be established with any degree of success. It is to the banker, the chemist, the physicist, and the engineer that India has to look to

¹ Since the sale of Government securities in the market in 1917 there has been a drop in their value.

recreate her economic conditions and lead to a fuller utilisation of her small dormant hoards of precious metals and a better working out of the industrial opportunities thereby increasing the total wealth of the country and the prosperity of the people.

Now that a Banking Committee is examining the credit organisation of our country the position that these Indian Joint Stock Banks would have to occupy in a well-built and thoroughly organised system has to be studied with care, insight and sympathy. It would not be far wrong to say that the Indian Joint Stock Banks lacking the fostering guidance of a true Central Bank of Issue have been functioning in a credit organisation whose growth has been aptly compared to that of a wild jungle. The lack of positive information and detailed statistical knowledge precludes one from making any judgment as regards the safety and solidity of our Joint Stock Banks. Although it is an accepted fact that the dividends of some of the established banks are somewhat fairly higher than returns from trading or other joint stock companies, still the fact that more capital is not being invested in the expansion of the existing banks or the establishment of new big joint stock banks speaks for itself.

II

Having understood the real position an attempt is made in this part to find out the real causes leading to this unfortunate position. Some of the causes stated by the managers of the Joint Stock Banks are analysed and a critical scrutiny and analysis of their statement leads to certain important conclusions as regards the planning of their immediate future.

Over-investment.

Like the Imperial Bank the majority of the Indian Joint Stock Banks hold large blocks of Government securities. Even these cannot be turned into ready cash. There are no open market operations on the part of the Imperial Bank to steady

their price or defeat the bearish factors and tactics of the operators on the stock market. Without reasonably stable or steady value attached to the Government securities, the banks are finding it difficult to maintain steady dividends. Secondly as the deposit rate they pay is high the interest secured from their investments does not generally give a broad margin over the deposit rate which they agree to pay. Broadly speaking, banking profits depend on the difference at which they lend over the rate which they pay for their borrowings from the public. Thirdly, the Indian Joint Stock Banks are therefore forgetting their social mission which is to aid commerce and industry.

It is indeed true that the holding of Government securities or trustee securities ought, generally speaking, to be considered as a healthy sign indicating the true financial strength of the Joint Stock Banks. But unfortunately owing to the above set of circumstances described already the investment policy has been causing them grave anxiety. Again no commercial bank ought to congratulate itself on its possessing a higher amount of investments over and above their actual paid-up capital. It is bound to create grave trouble whenever it wishes to expand its business or open branches in the interior. Although full regard to liquidity has to be paid still this over-investment even in gilt-edged securities has to be given up. The English Banks persistently sold their surplus percentage of war-time investments immediately after the war. From £398·6 millions in 1919 they came down to a low level of £290·5 mil. in 1927. The sum realised was utilised as advances to commercial borrowers.¹ Such a policy of pronounced reduction in the matter of their investment would undoubtedly improve the situation. Even the Presidency Bank of Bombay suffered in a like manner on account of its excessive holding of the E.I. Company's paper. Firstly it proposed to open a branch in Calcutta in 1841. As this was not allowed, it suggested the undertaking of foreign exchange business so as to

¹ See J. Sykes, *The Present Position of the English Joint-Stock Bank*, p. 68.

find work for its huge capital: Considering the possibility of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors refusing this measure it placed the alternative of reducing its capital exactly to one-half and that the note-issue should similarly be cut down to one crore of rupees alone. The Court of Directors refused to permit any of the measures and until there was the cotton boom in 1860 there was not properly speaking any legitimate trade demand absorbing its huge paid-up capital which had to be locked up in the Company's paper alone which paid four to five per cent. rate of interest.¹

Competition.

Taking leave of the discussion of excessive investment we must turn to the second reason which is repeated by the managers of the Indian Joint Stock Banks. Since the late Mr. A. Bowie raised the cry of "uneconomic competition" on the part of the Imperial Bank it has become fashionable in season and out of season to repeat the bogey of competition. If it were not the Imperial Bank of India, the Government of India and the existing Provincial Co-operative Banks and the District Central Co-operative Banks and the Exchange Banks are looked upon as rivals tending to spirit away deposits which would naturally have flowed into their hands in the absence of any of these competing rivals.²

Much reliance cannot be placed on the supposed cut-throat or uneconomic competition on the part of the Imperial Bank of India. It is the acknowledged policy of the Imperial Bank to consolidate its present position at the existing two hundred

¹ See Resolution No. 19, Financial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, dated 26th July, 1843.

² See the Report of the Directors of the Bank of Bombay submitted at a Special meeting of the Proprietors held on Thursday, the 2nd day of September, 1852, 11 o'clock in the forenoon. These requests were not sanctioned by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. See their Financial Letter to the Government of Bombay, Letter No. I, of 1853, dated 19th January, 1853. Paras. three and four of this letter explain the reasons for their refusing to sanction this request.

branches and not to open more branches in the meanwhile. Competition with the indigenous joint stock banks is always deprecated so long as the latter are charging moderate rates of interest. It is the declared policy of the Imperial Bank to open a branch only where scope exists for two Banks. Even though a branch of Joint Stock Bank might exist, the Imperial Bank would open a branch so as to extend banking facilities to the people of the locality. So long as the dangers underlying branch banking are understood and every effort is made to eliminate them, this system of extending branches by the Imperial Bank has to be hailed as a welcome measure. None the less there is a grain of truth lying hidden in these blasphemous remarks of the Joint Stock Banks. Unable to secure interest-free Government deposits they have raised the cry of State-subsidised competition. The State however has to select a strong bank as its depositary for the Independent Treasury System has grave evils of its own. The system of nursing weak banks by declaring them as Government depositary banks is no less an evil than the one of maintaining an Independent Treasury System of its own.

Although there might be some amount of truth in the above contention, still the grievance that the Co-operative Banks are effective competitors as they tend to attract deposits by offering high interest rates is entirely a mistaken notion. As in modern Germany or France we do not find even our urban or the Provincial Co-operative Apex Banks conducting banking business on similar lines which the commercial banks adopt.¹ In Germany the co-operative banks grant advances on the well-known basis of the cash credit system and discount bills. Even in modern France the situation is the same. The Co-operative

¹ Even though the Imperial Bank's branch has been closed at Serajgunj and the local Central Co-operative bank has been attempting to fill the void the question of opening current accounts, collecting cheques and bills is not taken up and sanction has to be obtained for this from the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies for this purposes. See Free Press Message, the Liberty of 12th September, 1929.

Banks created by the State initiative and financed to the extent of 50 mil. francs are acting as the ordinary joint stock banks for the locality. Such competition hardly exists in any of the money centres of this country. It is true that the co-operative banks offer a high deposit rate. As I have stated elsewhere they are "complementary" institutions.¹ Their sole aim is to play the humble rôle of "collecting banks." They are "feeders" to the Joint Stock Banks for it is their mission to endow small people with moderate capital and train them to banking habits and prepare them for business with more capitalist institutions to which they are likely to go as they become wealthy. Such being the case there is no reason to take umbrage on account of their successful working. In the near future when trade financing is done by means of bills the trade paper endorsed by the co-operative banks would furnish ample opportunity for the safe investment of their funds. Greater co-operation would thereby ensue between the Indian Joint Stock Banks and the other kinds of banking institutions or bankers. Combined and not competitive banking must be the ideal that ought to govern their operations in the future.

P. O. Cash Certificates.

The Government of India which has already incurred their displeasure for depositing its funds in the Imperial Bank alone, has once again become a target of criticism. By virtue of increased interest rates which it has agreed to pay to the holders of the P. O. Cash Certificates from the 1st of August, 1929, it is feared that it would tend to divert the flow of deposits from the usual channels to the hands of the Government of India. That the Government would absorb the available savings is the specific grievance which has been set up by them. Even the Exchange Banks consider this effective competition on

¹ See my *Present-Day Banking in India*, Chapter on Co-operative Banks.

the part of the Government as one of the reasons for the slow growth of their deposits. The floating of Treasury Bills and the currency contraction in the slack season, though ostensibly pursued with the object of propping up exchange is disliked by the Indian Joint Stock Banks. The Treasury Bills are being floated at " rates of interest which no bank even of modest means could think of giving its depositors."¹ This has been acting as a double-edged weapon. Firstly, it has tended to restrict the volume of their deposits. Secondly, it has tended to demoralise the tone of the stock market and the Government securities have naturally suffered depreciation as a result of unexpected shifts in the matter of Treasury Bill sale policy.

Exchange Banks.

Repeated failures of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks have turned the people more to the Exchange Banks who have already become unpopular for their exclusive monopoly of financing of foreign trade. Their deposits are increasing though they pay no high rate of interest. Being the victims of unorganised banking the Indian people naturally prefer to place trust in the foreign Exchange Banks whose directors at least are to a certain extent free from the taint of swindling bank resources and utilising them for selfish advantages of their own. The Exchange Banks have built up a tradition of trustworthy service and they usually have at their service a continuous succession of honourable and loyal men. They are gathering vitality as they go becoming not weaker with age but stronger and more trustworthy in marked contrast with the few traitors of our Indian Bank management who have undermined the prestige of the other con-

¹ If we study the English Banking system the average rate at which Treasury Bills were floated was £ 4-10s-3d hardly higher than the rate at which the commercialists were able to secure the discounting of the bills by the Banks which was £4-9s-6d. This shows that the British Government in spite of its increased indebtedness did not pay very high rates for its short term indebtedness. See Sykes, *Ibid.* p. 91.

temporary Indian Joint Stock Banks and have contributed a good deal towards their stagnation and decay. The main excellences of the Exchange Banks namely, skill, trusteeship and scientific method must be copied by the Indian Joint Stock Banks. The general faithfulness of the Indian Joint Stock Banks is not questioned by anybody but they must copy the best features of the Exchange Banks. It is banking education that can create these features. It is not the men in high places of power but also those who are stationed in every rank and level of banking service who must realise their responsibility and be willing to do their best.

(To be Continued.)

B. R. RAU

THE ART OF MAETERLINCK

Maeterlinck shines at his brightest when the situation dealt with is favourable for a descent into the depth of man's spiritual consciousness. The spiritual in life so habitually haunts his imagination, that he nowhere appears to be much interested in man on the material and visible side of his existence. "Nothing," says Maeterlinck, " Nothing tends more to hamper the progress of thought and therefore, lower the dignity of literature than a self-complacent satisfaction with things that are known, and the habit of believing that the things known always transcend in importance the things we know not yet." The study of mystery in all its forms ought therefore to be the noblest task to which the mind of the artist can devote itself. This obsession with the realm of what Maeterlinck calls "higher unconsciousness" has given a decided bent to his art, has coloured both the substance and form of his art with a peculiar Maeterlinckian tinge, while, on the one hand, it had robbed even his masterpieces of certain elements of humanity, it has, on the other hand, ended in the creation of an atmosphere full of the haunting sense of mystery, wonder and admiration. The first impression that Maeterlinck's dramas invariably make takes the form of a question as to whether, besides the characters of his dramas catalogued at the beginning of the play, there does not hover around us an invisible figure who seems to embody Maeterlinck's conception of an ever-vigilant ever-working power in the background of human destiny. To discover the links of connection between human will and the invisible mysterious power whose countenance we do not perceive, but whose presence we none the less feel, is what Maeterlinck considers to be the paramount duty of "an interpreter of life." Art, at its worst, is with Maeterlinck an instrument of mental discipline; at its best, the most perfect and spiritual medium through which what is best and profoundest in man's experience has been kept alive by the efforts of genius. A true artist thus primarily belongs to the fraternity of benefactors who

are engaged, in their respective manner, in the noble task of diminishing the error and ignorance of mankind and letting "the will of God prevail on this earth." What are the conditions of the world we live in, what should therefore be our conduct in order that we may be wiser and happier—these are questions which supply ultimate motive power in the application of men's genius to all departments of activities. The ideal artist must therefore have an intimate knowledge of the highest truths of philosophy both ancient and modern. He must moreover, lift the veil over the face of the mysterious forces that are constantly beating upon life's limitless shores from the region of the inexplicables. Every great poetry, therefore, according to Maeterlinck, presupposes a deep knowledge of philosophy, a reasoned conception and a rational solution of the eternal problems of life. The ever-increasing spoils of intellect, at every step of its conquest over the vast and boundless ocean of reality, are to be laid under contribution to build up the edifice of a poetic composition.

True poetry can crystallise only around a rationally conceived and a consistently thought out philosophy. For the effort of the creative artist, as for the regulation of men's conduct, it is not essential that this philosophy should be free from error and should contain the last word that can be uttered on the world-mystery which is its proper subject matter. It suffices that the atmosphere which this philosophy diffuses around, the truths which it preaches, must be capable of creating conviction, and inspiring respect and confidence in those who profess and live under it. The need of these intellectual preliminaries was at no time more imperatively felt than it is felt by a dramatic poet of the modern age. The modern is saturated in the spirit of scientific enquiry, and the spirit of philosophical open-mindedness. In its uncompromising passion for truth, in its indefatigable quest after the unerring light, it has dethroned many old and long-worshipped deities, dismembered the statues of many theories once held true beyond every possibility of doubt, now

exploded past every hope of rehabilitation. Though the present age has not yet succeeded in establishing upon the pedestal a Divinity of a superior might and power, it has at least caused the allegiance of men to be withdrawn from a God, spirit of Nature, Destiny—symbols which men once created out of their own fear of Justice and love of mystery, and which they so long venerated as the supreme, inexorable, immutable, all-powerful principle of the universe. Science and philosophy have now entered into the very struggle of man's every day existence. They have altered the centre of life's storm and let loose upon the field forces whose faces we have not yet thoroughly recognised. Men's hopes, men's aspirations, men's consolations no longer look up to an empty Heaven with folded hands and bended knees. On the recollection of acts of injustice done by them, they no longer tremble and falter before the non-moral forces of Nature, no longer reflect in terror over the agonising pains of Hell, as the inevitable portion of their life of misdeeds. They have turned their gaze away from God, Nature, Destiny, and at a tremendous sacrifice of time and energy, begun to look into the depth of their own soul where the tragedy or peaceful drama of their life is to be enacted. They have discovered new inspiration of Duty, new springs of action, a new meaning of reward and punishment independent of a Deity, or Nature's forces. For every injury suffered, every stroke of misfortune sustained, for every piece of calamity experienced as a step in the tragic conclusion of a soul, men have been taught to look for a remedy in their own consciousness, to discover causes somewhere in their own action or inaction, own vacillation of will, tyranny of passions, or lack of perception. They have awakened to a long deferred truth that the Power whom mankind so long feared, respected, sought to propitiate as a God, is no higher a Being than an imaginary Existence created in man's own image, and projected out of man's own consciousness ; —to the truth that Nature long contemplated as an instrument in the execu-

tion of so-called Divine Justice, is culpably indifferent to man's intention and observes no distinction between good and bad, virtuous and wicked souls, in the distribution of her fortune and misfortune. They have also faced the truth —a truth which follows as a correlative from the above, that Destiny whose dimension lengthens in proportion to the length of man's superstition and *vice versa*, and timidity, can have no access to a man's heart, and no influence over man's prosperity and adversity unless he forsakes his position as the commander, and goes out to deliver unto his hands the key of his soul. Since the soul of the age must find an expression in its drama, the modern dramatists must needs be well-versed in what Science and Philosophy have revealed to them. These dramas must needs be conceived in the midst of a highly intellectual environment, develop around persons who have wakened from their age-long slumber, and are at least struggling to open their eyes. The central figure of the decadent stage was either a God, or Destiny, or the influence of Heredity and Environment according as the period to which the dramas in question belonged was mythological, fatalistic, Ibsenian and Russian. With our forefathers men's miseries originated from the wrath of a God, caprices of a Fate, intervention of a malignant Destiny. Comparatively modern dramatists have traced them to the physical and mental deficiency due to the operations of the law of Heredity and forces of Environment, to the conflict that eternally exists between principles and expediency, convictions and traditions. The primitive stage, even the Romantic stage of England, have gone very little beyond the cruel psychology of murder, victory; psychology of a "deceived husband killing his wife, a woman poisoning her lover, a son avenging his father, a father slaughtering his children, children putting their father to death." Is not the psychology that these events disclose a psychology that is rudely elementary and brutally exceptional? Is not the tradition that puts upon these things a seal of moral approbation, a superficial, childish, vile, and unedifying tradition though presented

in an air of imposing sublimity ? What can the audience learn from these creatures who are obsessed with but one fixed idea, who have no time to live, leisure to be acquainted with the true self, because there is a death to avenge, dishonour to retrieve, a claimant to supplant, a heroic soul to seduce, a rival or a mistress to put to death ? If the stage be nothing but a reproduction of men's daily habits and customary occupations, it can exercise its influence only in confirming men's belief in the coarse traditions and primitive practices a soulless and unreflecting Society encourages and delights in. Maeterlinck, true to his position as a mystic, as a disciple of Marcus Aurelius, Novalis, Plotinus, Swedenborg, Emerson, Carlyle, would deliver the stage from the vulgar display of passions and violence characteristic of a vindictive and muscular humanity. He would give expression to the beauty, love, dignity, happiness that is ours when we belong ourselves and not to our passions or any alien forces. We do not live our true lives, remain unconscious of our real spiritual heritage, when any violent passion—passion of jealousy, revenge, hatred, ambition, even of love when it longs for a smile or even a bare recognition in return, takes possession of our soul and impels us to action. Should we not believe that the man who maintains communication with the deep eternal, who, seated in his arm chair, with the lamp burning by his side, with his ear open to the murmur of consciousness that streams from within, and, in the depth of silence, feels the contact of his heart with the universal Heart, and with every heart that vibrates with a responsive emotion, with the "touch that makes the whole world kin,"—should we not believe, that motionless as he is, it is he who lives in reality a deeper, more human, more universal, more intense and meaningful life than "any of the lovers who strangled his mistress, captives who conquered in the battle-field, or the husband who avenged his honour?"

Imbued with the spirit of mystical psychology as Maeterlinck is in days of scientific culture, it is no common stroke of literary enterprise that Maeterlinck should initiate the step

to establish or revive in Europe what he calls a static stage, a spiritual drama, a drama of inward expression rather than of outward action. The static theatre does not aim at the exhibition of passions through action, but at the unfoldment of soul through a dialogue. This dialogue has all the essential attributes of silence, and is scarcely more articulate than the "rustle of the dead leaves that lie scattered about us." The persons introduced are nothing more than half impersonate thoughts or emotions, and possess nothing in common with the characters of the conventional stage except the fact that they bear a name. The figures of the orthodox drama cannot bear a single moment of silence, of withdrawal into self, without betraying something that indicates a low level of spiritual perception. We cannot conceive of their existence apart from the speech they use, the action they perform. The Maeterlinkian characters impress us with the eloquence of their tongue and the abundance of their heart amid an atmosphere of silence and loneliness. Without really exterminating any of the deities by which men's imagination was so long oppressed, modern philosophy and modern drama have taken a glimpse of the Eternal light that shines in each man's soul and have given to each of these exploded deities an existence that has its roots in the depth of man's consciousness. All these amount to a radical alteration of the point of view from which dramatists have to look upon life and interpret its happenings. A modern dramatist must therefore accommodate himself to the changes that have occurred in man's conception of the unknown, of the forces that really exist around and in him, and of the mystery that overhangs and underlies his existence. The process of accommodation may end in a certain lowering of the dramatic effect—particularly with the uninitiated audience. Destiny, God, Fate,—the magical formulas of ancient conception conjured up a host of agreeable illusion. But that illusion has been dispelled and the world has been divested of a certain charm, beauty, repose that is born of a pleasant falsehood,

a dubious philosophy. The poetical imagination has suffered a rude shock due to the explosion of long-cherished beliefs, long-standing faiths, long-established convention. But every art in order to be worthy of the dignity Maeterlinck claims for it, must work itself out amid an atmosphere of current spiritual realism. The terrible beauty that belongs to an unpleasant truth must always be preferred to the false light that hovers around ignorance and illusion. But has the new philosophy robbed the world of even a spark of wonder, beauty and fascination? Is what we call soul with all the spiritual perceptions and aspirations it implies less mysterious than Fate, Destiny, or Deity which sat so long enthroned upon the hearts of the race? Does our moral ardour and spiritual quest receive any set-back the moment we turn our eyes from Heaven and gaze into the Soul that lies stretched out in all its effulgent grandeur? The path of modern dramatists may be strewn with difficulties, but finer results await their efforts.

It may be said of Maeterlinck, as it is said of Wordsworth, that he would be nothing if not a teacher of mankind. He is born with a conscious desire of becoming a preacher, a teacher of a Gospel, a Gospel that would contain an explanation of life and of what it involves. Maeterlinck does not pretend that the explanation offered by him will be uncontroversially accepted by everybody. But he feels a self-gratifying pride that he has succeeded in supplying an explanation—an answer to the importunate question of the disillusioned and rebellious people—an explanation that at least contains the highest merits of a working hypothesis in an environment of doubt and unbelief. The avowed mission of Wordsworth was to open the blunt senses of wordly-minded people to the message of Nature and the spiritual consciousness it suggests, Maeterlinck performs the nobler task of imbuing every man with an adequate sense of responsibility and of dignity that belongs to every creature possessing a soul. He exerts men to rely upon the instincts of love, truth, goodness, justice

that reign in every bosom, rather than upon the behests of a theology, commands of outward authority. He is a believer in the essential goodness and purity of man and discards the theory of original sin and grace as treason against the majesty of Divinity that hides in every soul. He repudiates the doctrine of redemption through an external grace, and loudly condemns the elementary morality of reward and punishment for good and bad actions as highly retarding the progress of the race, and detrimental to the dignity of human destiny. Positive religions with a morality of external reward and punishment have rendered uadoubted service to mankind—particularly at an elementary stage of civilisation. An outspoken philosophy with a masculine ethical code would prove a severe strain upon the consciousness of the infant race. The danger in front of the modern age is whether it will cheerfully face the difficulties of a spiritual readjustment, or indolently relapse into her former errors, illusion and prejudices. Until the next step that the age takes is taken in the right direction, men of genius in whom the new consciousness burns vividly, have to exert themselves in a most strenuous manner for its propagation among the species.

In harmony with this highly optimistic and individualistic outlook, all of Maeterlinck's characters are born and grown up amid an atmosphere of love, truth, justice and beauty. The meanest are made mean not because human minds are essentially base but because they serve to bring into relief the essential goodness and purity that belongs as a matter of right to his ideal men and women.

One is apt to believe that the soul of poetry in Maeterlinck is crushed under the weight of his ethical doctrines. In Maeterlinck the poet and the philosopher are seen side by side. Without sacrificing any of the essential attributes of a highly finished art, Maeterlinck has realised his philosophical end with that fine and elusive sese of inward perception which has made him the applause of admirers and despair of imitators.

CUPID'S BIOGRAPHY¹

As Science, Politics and Art—everything, indeed, that is more or less objective and grips attention—have changed with the roll of years, so has the conception of Love. Cupid was born among the ancients an evil genius, a propagator of infection. Ancient Love was always conceived as a disease, as an abnormal state of mind and body that ought to be resisted rather than encouraged. It was looked upon as a lesion of the mind and even of the spirit that put the soul out of gear. Excess of it paled, emaciated, brought to the eyes of our forbears rounded tears of loneliness and despair. This pathology of Love, of course, wanted *remedia*, and they injected love philtre to cure the sick and immunize the healthy. Who does not remember how Lucretius fell a victim to a stupid wife's experiments in such therapeutics of love ?

The whole of that ancient doctrine lies at full length in forbidden Ovid; no less does it sprawl in secret Vatsyayana east of Suez. Both were great legislators of the old world, giving points to either sex about the cult of Cupid or Madana.

Then follows the days of chivalry—the age of knights and ladies and their Courts of Love. Love was exalted to the first principle of mediaeval culture. From pathology to ethics was swift change. Dante and Petrarch, the Troubadours of the Midi and the Minnesingers of Central Europe all welcomed the change; and they sang and danced in joy. Without a capacity for love no man, they said, could be a 'gentil' man, no woman a 'dompna' or a lady in the mediaeval sense. 'Courtesy'—into that word pressed the mediaeval weal; and courtesy, as a Troubadour explained, was nothing but love. "*Cortesia es d'amer*" (to be courteous is to love).

¹ A French translation of this article was read at a meeting of the Indo-Latin Society, Calcutta, in 1929.

Amidst the rush and tear of modern life, most of us have forgotten the once famous Andrean code of mediaeval love. Well! it was as thorough a code as any other, with its regulative inhibitory and penal clauses.' *Causa conjugii non est ab amore excusatio rect*—‘marriage is no bar to love’ was one of its Acts. *Qui non zelat amare non potest*—‘whoever cannot enthuse cannot love’ another. And, further, it embodied a whole series of Judgments on Love, delivered by the fairest of ladies, at once judge, jurist, patroness and inspirer, *incedens regina*. Even so did the solicitations of mediaeval society make love-making a necessity, inspire a code and even case law of love.

From the Middle Ages to the modern—what a big gap is that, again. How many long centuries have sunk between the two and disappeared beyond trace. History seems snapped, its logic confused, and one wonders if one has not been kidnapped. “Is it possible,” as Vernon Lee¹ asks “that strong men have wept and fainted at a mere woman’s name, like the Court of Nevers in Flamenca or that their mind has swooned away in months of reverie like that of Parzifal in Eschenbach’s poem; that worldly wise and witty men have shipped off and died on sea for love of an unseen woman like Taufre Rudel ?” No other occupation, diversion, attraction, interest in mediaeval life than mere love-making? Such, indeed, are our perplexed inquiries.

When large-hearted, healthy-minded, cool-headed Goethe said, “*Das Ewige Weibliche Zieht mich hinan.*” The Eternal Feminine draws me thither,” he, really, saw the Middle Ages and saw them whole. But to most of us moderns, all that open air mediaeval games of love, of continual chasing, missing and catching of the Protean god seems no more than the screening of a wild saga or a savage dance, misshapen “bungles” of the imagination and “blunders” of history. Worse still, you can accuse all self-complacent modern mediocrities of despairing

¹ V. Lee, *Euphorion—Mediaeval Love*, p. 346.

their more leisured ancestors foolishly and jealously, of calling their love illicit. The conviction is easy, for Nietzsche alone provides you with the most pungent of cynicisms about Cupid. Yes, " illicit love " how repellent is the phrase ! It seems to stink in the nostrils. Yet the lips have to be parted and the phrase uttered, for round it circles all the lambent glory of middle aged Cupid.

Gone are the good old mediaeval times—beyond salvage, ' past surmisal.' Modern life bears none of its mediaeval connotation. There is no room in it for listless browsing, for endless repetitive romance of passion. There is, on the other hand too much of struggle for existence, too much of wrestle with political and economic realities, too much of thrust and parry in ambush with psychological complexes. What was once a social necessity has long relaxed into a respectable desirability. Modern Love has come to be a thing from which one can step aside and even escape. The vagaries of Cupid no longer interest the bulls and bears of the Stock Exchange. *Amour fait tout; argent fait tout*—Love is potent, but, money is omnipotent. The present is an office-going age; and the office bell has tolled the knell of parting love.

Who wrote on Modern Love ? Of course, George Meredith, complaining of its expensive irresponsibility, its intangible volatility. Now, suppose Andreas come to life again and legislates for us moderns. How would he stare ? Certainly, his first commandment would be : thou shalt not love too much, for too much love spoils business.

G. KAR

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

For modern, or shall we say "ultra-modern," music I display nothing more than a passing interest. Honegger, Schonberg, Bela Bartok or Stravinsky have fulfilled no definite service to the great scheme of music as did Wagner, Gounod or Verdi. All sense of rhythmic form and melody appears to have vanished for evermore, which is very sad. Schonberg pleaded that by his new treatment of musical composition he had helped free the world of music from the thraldom of tonality. A neat way of saying there was no one left capable of continuing the work of the recognised masters of musical art. Vincent d'Indy when repudiating the greatness of Schonberg, was met with the answer that Schonberg's music was meant to be read and not heard ! To this Vincent d'Indy heartily agreed "since a conglomeration of sounds without reason, equilibrium or logic, cannot be called music. It may be noise, but I am no judge of noises, and I have no interest in noises, be they described on paper or found in the universe."

It is surely indisputable evidence that the method of composition and the style of composition adapted and used by the old masters, is pre-eminent, if only by reason of its prolonged popularity and interest. Sensationalism found but little favour in the eyes of the old school, to-day, it is the battle cry of the modernists ! I find a wandering oboe theme that is harshly interrupted at the fourth or fifth bar by the crash of a cymbal or the boisterous bang of drums only serves to irritate rather than amuse. Did the composer run out of ideas after the first few bars and fled to invoke the welcome aid of drums to help him cover up his deficiency ? Harmony is a thing unknown to Bela Bartok or Stravinsky. "We must have freedom and indepen-

dence" they cry and proceed to write page upon page of dissonent passages for each and every instrument.

Some little time ago, before hearing a performance of Honegger's railway symphony (!) entitled "Pacific, 231" I visualised Beethoven in the midst of his beloved woods and country side seeking inspiration against the spectacle of Honegger drugged with ecstasy listening to the whistles, shrieks, groans and roars in a locomotive shed. Honegger states "that he has always passionately loved locomotives as other people love women and horses." Which, to say the very least, is a very peculiar statement for any rational being to make.

That these modernists, are thinkers and able performers of music I do not doubt in the least. My argument is, that their energy in the matter of composing is misplaced to no little extent. When they have said what they have to say it is nothing of any note nor does it have any lasting effect. A large number of my friends, established in almost every branch of music, expressed themselves intrigued by the rhythmic suggestion of the engine gathering speed as it proceeds on its journey in "Pacific, 231," but admitted, for the most, it was a matter of indifference whether they heard it again or no.

Music is a very powerful force, it can be used to suggest and display all types of emotion from joy to sadness, from ferocity to calmness. But if it is handled wrongly it can become a source of great annoyance and irritation. The greatest masters the world of music has ever known drew the necessary inspiration for their music from Nature. They sought it in the shady stillness of woods, and in the great open sunlit fields. They sought the voice of the Divine Creator and having found it they endeavoured to portray it to us less fortunate beings through the medium of their music. What is the result? Why their music is as fresh to-day as ever it was and still as loved and popular in spite of the extremists and modernists who would perhaps pooh-pooh it?

On word more. Music is sacred and we all love it and worship it as a gift of God, don't turn and twist it into an unrecognisable shape or before many years have past the old traditions will have gone to the wall and music, because of its treatment in the hands of a few reckless people will become a laughing-stock and a bore.

LELAND J. BERRY

POEMS OF INDIA

I.—Lines to a Muslim Lady

All veiled in white, a ghost-like form
Moves down the road, with tinkling clash
Of ankle-bells, trailing the scent
Of sandal-wood. But two dark eyes
I see, and one pale ivory hand,
Be-ringed and slim and henna-tipped.
Would that I might lift your yashmak,
And see your hidden charms, O maid,
For I fain would know if all the
Rest of you fulfils the promise
Of that gracile hand, those tiny
Slippered-feet, and slumbrous mid-night
Eyes. But you pass me by, shrouded
In mystery, and never shall
I know what loveliness you hid
Beneath your jealous cloak. Ah well,
No matter, for beauty lives in
Forms half-seen, and knowledge often
Ends the dream. So you will always
Be lovely, Muslim maid, to me !

II.—To a Nautch-Girl

Lilimani, thy henna-tinted feet
Too tiny are to trample wantonly
Men's hearts beneath them in the dust, as thou
Danceth with all the witchery of Ind
Bound in thy swaying form, and weaving thy
Gracile arms and fluent hands in measures
Intricate and rhythmic, bending lissome
Body to the drum-throb and melody

Of flutes. Dusky-featured, mid-night haired, lips
That smile inscrutably; kohl-enchanted
Eyes that beckon; ruby nose-ring, gleam of
Jewels, and the little knowing caste-mark
Twixt the half-moon of thy brows; slim and young
Thy form, swathed in gold-embroidered sari !
Lilimani, cruel thou to mock men
So, with thy eyes and smiles and coquetry;
Cruel thou to dance so blithely on the
Breaking hearts that lie 'neath thy errant feet !

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE VICEROY'S ENGLISH HOME

Many in India will be interested in the English home of the Viceroy (Lord Irwin). Last year a book was published called "The History of Kirby Underdale" (with Garrowby), with a Preface by Lord Irwin, and dedicated to his father, Viscount Halifax, who is still active though ninety-nine years of age. The author is the Rev. W. R. Shepherd, who has been Rector there for thirty-three years.

A distinguished ancestor was George Wood, of Monk Bretton, near Barnsley, in West Yorkshire, who purchased that Manor House in 1610. The first to become a Baronet, Sir Francis Wood, of Barnsley, was born in 1729, and created Baronet in 1784. He died in 1795, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Francis Lindley Wood, the second Baronet, who was born in 1771 and bought the Garrowby estate in 1804. This includes the village of Kirby Underdale, of over five thousand acres, besides Buckthorpe and other property. He was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1814, and died in 1846.

Sir Francis Wood was succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, Sir Charles Lindley Wood. He was Member of Parliament for Great Grimsby 1826-31 : Wareham 1831-32 : Halifax 1832-65 : Ripon 1865-66. He held important offices in the Liberal Ministry. He was Joint Secretary to the Treasury 1832-34 : Secretary to the Admiralty 1835-39 : Chancellor of the Exchequer 1846-52 : President of the Board of Control 1852-55 : First Lord of the Admiralty 1855-58 : Secretary of State for India 1859-66 : Lord Privy Seal 1870-74.

While Secretary of State for India he took much interest in education, and in a well known despatch expressed the hope that it should be extended to all. He is regarded as a most enlightened Secretary, a forerunner in the beneficial legislation which is being carried out now while his grandson is Viceroy.

He was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Halifax of Mount Bretton, in the County of York, in 1866. He died in 1885.

Viscount Halifax was succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Charles Lindley Wood, who then became the second Viscount Halifax. He was formerly a Captain in the First West Riding Yeomanry Cavalry. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to King Edward VII, when Prince of Wales from 1862-77. He has devoted his long life to the work of the Church of England, and is greatly respected.

The Hon. Edward Frederick Lindley Wood (now Lord Irwin) was born in 1881 and educated at Eton, and at Christ-Church, Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1903,—a high honour only obtained by men of marked ability. The Garroby estate was transferred to him by his father, Viscount Halifax, in the year 1906. He was member of Parliament for Ripon, 1910-1925, Under Secretary for the Colonies 1921-22, President of the Board of Education 1922-24, Minister of Agriculture 1924-25. He was raised to the Peerage in 1925 as Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale, in the County of York, and became Viceroy of India in 1926, being well qualified for this responsible position. He married in 1909 Lady Dorothy Evelyn Augusta Onslow, younger daughter of the fourth Earl of Onslow. Their children are : Anne Dorothy, born 1910, Charles Ingram Courtenay, born 1912, Francis Hugh Peter Courtenay, born 1916, and Richard Frederick, born 1920. The sons are being educated at Eton, the famous school where many English noblemen have been educated.

Garroby Hall was reconstructed in 1892, in the style of an old English country house. It is one and a half miles from the village of Kirby Underdale and the ancient Parish Church. There are evidences of human habitation in the hills near the village from early times, and many "barrows" or circular mounds covering burial places. They belong to the Neolithic or New Stone Age, about eight thousand years old,

Two thousand years ago came the Romans, who conquered the land and remained for four hundred years. Recently a stone was found, which had been in the Church wall, on which a Roman soldier, had carved a figure of Mercury, their god of good luck. The large City of York was fifteen miles off, where many Roman remains have been found. In the 7th century the Saxons settled at Kirby Underdale. Later came the Danes, whose mark is found in the names of places where they settled. Kirby means Kirkby, the "farm by the Church." This shows that there was a church, perhaps built by Christian Saxons before the Danes came. Underdale means "Hundalfdale," the "Valley of Hundalf," a Dane. Garrowby means "Gerward's farmstead," from the name of a Dane called Geirvarth.

The present church of Kirby Underdale was built about the year 1150, doubtless standing on the site of an earlier building for Christian Worship.

Experts arrive at the probable date on architectural grounds, comparing it with other Norman Churches in the neighbourhood. The original building was very small, consisting of a nave and chancel, and low tower. About fifty years later, in 1200, it was enlarged by cutting arches through the side walls and adding side aisles. About 1250 the chancel was enlarged, and later the tower was made higher. Thus the building was adapted to the number and needs of worshippers. It stands in a romantic position by a little stream called the Hundle, which takes its name from Hundalf the Dane.

In the Great War of 1914-18, thirty-one men (including Major Wood—now Lord Irwin), served from this parish of three hundred people. Their names are inscribed on a brass plate in the Church. Three of them laid down their lives, and a beautiful stained glass window records their sacrifice. A stone crucifix has been erected in the village as a war Memorial. Thus the bravery of our men is kept constantly before the minds of the inhabitants.

Lord Irwin has his family pew in the Parish Church, and helps the Rector by reading the lessons from the Bible during Divine Service. Peer and peasant meet together for Public Worship without distinction of rank, all being equal in the sight of God.

The village school is in the Parish, with the teacher's house adjoining. There the children, about forty in number, are taught on five days of the week, by a Head Teacher and an Assistant.

Each day the school opens with prayers and a hymn, and with a Bible lesson of half an hour. Religion is believed to be the foundation of knowledge. Then follow lessons in other subjects. Children attend school between the ages of five and fourteen. Education is compulsory and without fee. It is intended soon to raise the age to fifteen for leaving. The children play games after school is over, and at intervals during school hours. For older boys and men there is a Cricket Club, which has a field for practice and for matches with other Clubs. There is a Village Library, from which all can borrow books free of charge. The books come from the County Library, and are changed every three months. Thus people can always have good books on many subjects. There is a Recreation Room where all who wish can meet in the evening and play indoor games and read the newspapers. Concerts and Whist Drives and other kinds of entertainment are held from time to time in the schoolroom. Dances are also held. These are very popular and are well attended.

Women and girls are remembered in their work and recreation. Lady Irwin is much interested in Women's Institutes, which are now set up in nearly all English villages. These institutions encourage the development of industries like glove-making, rug and mattress making, quilting, millinery, so useful for every home. Meetings are held monthly for music, singing and games. Lectures on literary and scientific subjects are given by experts. The dramatic instinct is developed by

plays from Shakespeare and other great English dramatists. Competitions are held in a central town before some competent judge.

In addition to the special work of the Women's Institute the County Councils send lecturers to hold classes in the villages for boys, girls, men and women, in various useful subjects, at a very small fee, the lecturers being paid by the County Councils out of the rates. For boys and men, classes are held in carpentry and gardening, and for girls and women in cookery and dress-making. In the larger centres, in towns, the range of subjects taught is widely extended, including almost every thing of a technical character as well as science and literature. Many of these are meant to enable suitable candidates to prepare for the higher education of the Universities.

This district is agricultural; there are no other industries. The land is partly arable and partly pasture. Farms average a hundred acres in size. Farm servants, when not married, live in the farmhouses and are given board and lodging and a yearly wage. They are hired by the year, at the end of November, when they all get a week's holiday. Hours of work and wages are fixed by authority. They all have a half-holiday on Saturday afternoon. The necessary feeding of animals, when the men are not at work, is done by the farmer and his family. Sunday is free from labour, thus giving opportunity for Divine Worship at Church, and for rest.

Years ago, few went away from the villages, except the farmer when he took his produce to market. But now there are motor-buses passing several times a day. People can go easily by bus to the neighbouring towns for shopping and amusement.

Lord Irwin's Home Farm covers a thousand acres. This is in charge of a young man who had a training in scientific farming at an Agricultural College. All the work is carried out on the best modern lines. Crops of wheat, barley and oats are grown, also root crops. Much of the land is good permanent pasture, providing hay for the horses, cattle and sheep,

Yorkshire is famous for its horses and at Malton, ten miles off, there are stables for race-horses. The Yorkshire Shorthorn cattle are well known. Large flocks of sheep find pasture on the Wolds—with their steep hill sides—where ploughing is impossible. At Garrowby Home Farm, Lord Irwin has model cow-houses, lined with white tiles, where the milking cattle are kept scrupulously clean. Adjoining is a model dairy where butter is made under ideal conditions. For some years the large City of Hull was supplied daily with milk from Garrowby, the milk being sent in locked cans by train.

In these ways Lord Irwin has given a good example of farming to his tenants, under the best modern condition. When at home he has mixed freely with all his estate, glad to hear their opinions on details of farm work, and ready to improve their houses and farm buildings when necessary.

All looked forward eagerly to the return last summer of Lord and Lady Irwin, and gave them a warm welcome. They visited every house, showing interest in the welfare of each family, sympathising with the sick and suffering, and regretting the deaths of various old and valued friends who had died since they left for India. Though the tenants fully recognise the value of Lord Irwin's services to the State in his high office of Viceroy of India, they miss his presence, and they look forward to the time when on retiring from office he will once more be resident amongst them during the greater part of the year.

Lord Irwin has contributed a Preface to the History in which he recalls that his parents always loved Garrowby, and that he remembered the delight with which as children he and his sisters used to be taken out riding down the Yorkshire dales, and then back to tea to eat delicious moor honey, followed between tea and bed time by their father reading a novel of Sir Walter Scott to assembled youthful listeners. The recollections of his boyhood were very happy and were enriched by countless friendships in every part of the estate.

WHY AMERICA HAS BECOME SO GREAT?

The United States of America in one sense, is the greatest country in the world. It is pure humbug on the part of Indians when they speak of the monopoly of spiritual qualities of the people of the Orient and of the materialistic tendency of the West. If the spirit of service and public welfare can be regarded as an index of "spirituality" in practice, then the people of the United States, with their material prosperity, surpass any other people. The following news-item from Washington, D. C. should be carefully read by Indian richmen and women and politicians :—

Washington.—“Creation of a graduate school of international affairs to be affiliated with one of the universities now existing in Washington is provided in the will of Judge Edwin B. Parker, a member of the mixed claims commission, who died, October 12, which was filed for probate recently in District Supreme Court.

Provision is made that the bulk of the \$2,000,000 estate shall establish the Parker endowment fund and that the Riggs National Bank, executor and trustee under the testament, shall have charge of the financing of the school.

The board of supervising trustees of the school is to be headed by Associate Justice Harlan F. Stone, of the United States Supreme Court, as chairman; Frank Fritts, of Chester, N. J., is to be secretary, and other members are Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, Attorney General William D. Mitchell and Harry T. Klein of New York.

Judge Parker specified that the school is to ‘teach high-minded young men of proven character and ability subjects calculated to equip them to render practical service of a high order to the United States government in its foreign relations.’ Suggestion is made that the school’s scope of work be ‘broadly conceived

and be always adjusted to meet the need of the times,' the Post reports.

The Katherine Parker music foundation also is established under the will. This is to consist of \$100,000 fund, the net income of which is to be used by the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association to establish and maintain a department of music to promote and stimulate the use of music in activities of the association. The will directs that this department give special attention to girl reserve organizations in industrial centres and rural communities."

Literally there are hundreds of foundations established by Americans for the promotion of human welfare. More than four billion dollars are the estimated assets of these foundations and philanthropic enterprises. Such institutions as Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Chicago and other universities are maintained through public support. American greatness lies in the spirit of public service among its citizens.

During the last five years I have made definite suggestion through various channels that the alumni of Calcutta University should make a systematic effort to raise two lakhs of rupees annually, so that this sum may be capitalised to maintain a chair on a special subject. I have particularly emphasised that Calcutta University should create a chair of "International Law," another chair of "International Relations," another chair of "Municipal Government." In fact steps should be taken to create a really efficient department of Political Science, in connection with Calcutta University.

It may be suggested that it cannot be done without financial support. It is well-known that the Government of India has never any want of money to maintain military forces, and C.I.D.'s. In provincial governments the situation is not different from that of the Central Government. *But if the struggle for national regeneration is to be carried on with a constructive plan then the existing Indian Universities must be supported by the Indian people with the necessary funds. The money*

spent to strengthen Indian Universities and to raise their standard should be regarded as the soundest of all national investments.

There are many rich men and women in Bengal who can do a great deal to aid Calcutta University and thus India as a whole and Bengal in particular. The magnificent gifts of the late Sir Taraknath Palit, the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose, the late Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy and others in the field of national education have brought about a new era of hope in the educational life of Bengal. Of course one should not forget to point out that the European community which has made millions of pounds annually out of Bengal has done practically nothing to aid the cause of education. However the time has come to make a systematic effort to raise "Endowment Funds" in connection with Calcutta University to make it one of the foremost educational institutions of the world. Will the alumni of Calcutta University take the initiative to fulfil their material and moral debt to their Alma Mater? Will they follow the American example and help to make India great? There is no gift higher than the gift of education.

TARAKNATH DAS

DAUGHTER OF THE SUN

The rippling laughter of the tender Spring
 Has fashioned her young limbs ;
 Some love-lorn *Apsara* upon the wing
 Has paused to paint the rims
 Of her soft eyes with love that's deep of dye.
 In spotless Samite white
 She stands, a seraph envoyed from the sky,
 A harbinger of light !

Her flowing, fulgent garments are confined
 'Neath carved, silver zone,
 As with a belt of cloud the moon is lined
 When summer is full-grown.
 The flower-like innocence of her chaste soul
 Sheds perfume on the air;
 Her dreaming eyes gaze at some mystic scroll,
 A high emprise they dare.

Youth beckons her to undiscovered lands
 Among the pathless stars,
 While childhood with its sportive cherub bands
 Keeps her in cloistered bowers :
 'Twixt unseen flute-call of sweet maidenhood
 That calls from far away,
 And girlhood's gamboling games so gay, so good
 Her trembling heart doth sway.

She sat upon a sylvan river bank,
 While evening shadows grew ;
 And one by one the tiny pebbles sank
 That *she* so gently threw....
 Methinks, a gleam of sunlight took this shape
 So human yet divine ;
 Beholding her no artist could escape
 That magic so benign !

THE NINTH SECTION OF THE REGULATING ACT OF 1773

In the middle of the eighteenth century the East India Company was no longer merely a trading body. It had become a military and territorial power, taking part in the politics of the country and fighting with its enemies, European and Indian. The sword had become more important than the ledger. Yet the machinery of administration in India was in essentials unaltered. For instance, nothing was done to place the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras under a unified control in India. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the French had each established a central government in the East exercising large powers of control. But the three English presidencies pursued their affairs independently of each other.¹

The inconvenience of the system began to be felt from the time when the Company had to fight with the French.² Civil and military authorities agreed on the need of some sort of central control over the affairs of the three presidencies. When in 1760 the English army laid seige to Pondicherry, Sir Eyre (then Colonel) Coote and his officers giving their opinion on the existing state of affairs said, "We cannot sufficiently lament the want of a power being invested in some particular person, who might order detachments from the other two presidencies to join the army at this critical juncture, by which means we might be enabled to undertake the seige of Pondicherry with a probability of success" without (as we imagine) endangering those presidencies³, Palk, who became Governor of Madras, also pointed out at this time the evil consequences of a system of having three presidencies independent of each other. He said, "...as each presidency has or can at all times pretend to have, apprehensions for

¹ The factory period is not being taken into consideration.

² Auber—Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, Vol. I, p. 337.

³ Coote's Journal—Orme MSS. (India), Vol. 8, p. 1933.

itself, a due attention is seldom paid to the danger of the rest .. Besides this division of power obliges each presidency to make different alliances, even with the same princes, which lessens the authority of the Company, and it has happened that one presidency refused to communicate to another a treaty just agreed on, though the other was negotiating on affairs of the greatest consequence with the same prince.”⁴ Again in 1764 Lord Clive spoke of the “appointment of such an officer as the ‘Governor General,’ who, he also said, ought to be established in Bengal, as the greatest weight of your civil, commercial, political, and military affairs will always be in that province.”⁵ However nothing was then done to bring together the power of the Company scattered in different parts of India. When the English triumphed over their European rival, they were faced with the necessity of contending with their Indian enemies. Warren Hastings in 1770 clearly foresaw the impending struggle with the Marathas, and in letters written to friends in England pointed out the importance of a union between the three presidencies as the only means of opposing that power.⁶ His description of the relations of the three presidencies corresponded with that given by Palk some years earlier. He said, “.....their interests draw them different ways, they may counteract each other’s motions, be at the same time allies and enemies to the same power, or inadvertently precipitate each other into wars without notice and therefore without due preparation.”⁷ The need of a central authority in India to direct the foreign policy of the English Settlements had become pressing.

Lord North who was then Prime Minister realised this clearly, and in 1773 laid the foundation of a central government

⁴ Palk’s plan (of a settlement with the French)—French in India Series, Vol. I, Bundle I, Packet 5, No. 38.

⁵ Clive to Directors—Forrest—Life of Lord Clive. Vol. II, p. 203.

⁶ Hastings to Lawrence Sullivan—Fort. St. George. 1 February, 1770. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. No. 29, 126, fo. 15....and Hastings to (Lord Shelburne ?)...Fort St. George. 16. July, 1771. Idem. ff. 74 (b)—75 (b) and 76.

⁷ Idem fo. 75 (b).

in British India. Introducing in the House of Commons his "bill for the better regulation of the affairs of the Company" he said, "there is one alteration which seems to be of great necessity for the company, that is that there must be some superiority lodged in one of their presidents in India in certain cases over the others." A controlling power was therefore to be given to one of the presidencies over the others in cases of commencing hostilities, and making treaties with Indian princes. That power, Lord North said, would be "most properly lodged at Bengal, the great and important seat of the English power in India....."⁸ Lord Clive, though advocating the establishment of a central authority in India, proposed that a discretionary power be left to Madras and Bombay to commence hostilities or negotiate treaties in such cases of necessity as would render it dangerous to wait till the orders from Bengal arrived. He said that during a great part of the year the presidencies were cut off from each other by a distance of two months, and it might not always be possible to wait for orders from Bengal. He then pointed out that if the president of Bengal had to wait for orders from the Court of Directors "we should not have at this time one foot of ground in the East Indies."⁹

Governor Johnstone objected to the union of the presidencies under one head. He was of opinion that under the circumstances a federal union would be a better system.¹⁰ Another member Mr. Jenkinson, proposed that the superintending body must move from place to place.¹¹ Nothing resulted from the two latter suggestions and it was enacted that ".....the said Governor General and Council or the major part of them shall have, and they are hereby authorized to have, power of superintending and controlling the government and management of the presidencies

⁸ Debates of the House of Commons—Reported by Sir H. Cavendish. Brit. Mus. Bibl. Egerton—No. 246, ff. 40-41.

⁹ Idem No. 249 ff. 193-194.

¹⁰ Idem ff. 140-3.

¹¹ Idem fo. 158.

of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively so far and in so much as that it shall not be lawful for any president and council of Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen to make any orders for commencing hostilities or declaring or making war, against any Indian princes or powers, or for negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty with any such Indian princes or powers, without the consent and approbation of the said Governor General and Council first had and obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaties until the orders from the Governor General and Council might arrive; and except in such cases where the said presidents and councils respectively shall have received special orders from the said United Company; and any president and Council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen who shall offend in any of the cases aforesaid, shall be liable to be suspended from his or their office by the order of the said Governor General and Council, and every president and council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen for the time being shall and they are hereby respectively directed and required to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive, touching the premises from the said Governor General and Council for the time being; and constantly and diligently to transmit to the said Governor General and Council advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall come to their knowledge relating to the government, revenues or interest of the said United Company... ...”¹²

Thus the proposals of Lord North with the qualifications suggested by Lord Clive were given effect to. The only power that was given by this clause to the Governor General and Council was one of saying “ Yes ” or “ No ” when matters of commencing war or negotiating treaties were referred to them. No positive power was implied in the wording of the clause. The limitations imposed upon the subordinate presidencies were

¹² 13. Geo. III, Cap. LXIII, S. IX.

qualified by such large exceptions that they were left practically in the same position as before.. The Governor General and Council could be ignored practically at every step on the pleas of imminent necessity and orders from the Directors.. It was left to the subordinate presidency to judge what constituted such a case of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone hostilities or treaties until the arrival of orders from Bengal. Again instuctions from the Directors could be contrary to the policy of the controlling government.

On the other hand a responsibility for the well being of the whole was fixed upon the Governor General and Council by the Directors who in 1774 instructed the new administration of Bengal to "fix your attention to the preservation of peace throughout India and to the security of the possessions and the revenues of the Company."¹³ This gave the Supreme Council sufficient inducement to intervene on almost every occasion in the affairs of the subordinate presidency, even without a strictly legal support for the intervention. The temptation to interfere was sure to be irresistible in times of war, as the subordinate government depended to a considerable extent on the Governor General and Council for men, money and supplies in such exigencies. The relations between the superior and inferior presidencies as defined by law would then appear illogical. However without legal support the Governor General and Council could not assume power equal to their responsibilities. At every step they were sure to find their interference questioned. The clause left the Bengal Government in the absurd position of having to support wars without possessing an effective voice in their commencement or conclusion. This therefore like other sections of the act was full of the seeds of dissension and set one authority against another.

Such a law could not work. The years 1774-1784,—years during which the Regulating Act was in force—were marked by

¹³ * Directors to Bengal—29th March, 1774. Para. I, Bengal Despatches, Vol. 7.

acute differences between the supreme council and the subordinate presidencies. The principal object of the Act, namely to enable the three presidencies to present a united front before their enemies could not be achieved. It will not be possible in the course of this article to dwell on the subjects of dissensions between the presidencies. Suffice it to say that after the Act had been in operation for eight years a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that, "the several presidencies have acted in a great degree upon their own separate authority, and as little of unity, concert or regular system has appeared in their conduct as was ever known before this institution."¹⁴ The dissensions between the presidencies were so notorious as to attract the attention of even the Indian princes. The Nizam complained to Hastings : " I find that none of the Company's chiefs will obey your orders, and that there is not between you that mutual confidence and dependence which is necessary for the administration of affairs, but on the contrary the government of Madras, Bombay, Surat and all the rest of them act by their own will and opinions,with whom can I negotiate."¹⁵

Such were the results of that section of the Regulating Act of 1773 which laid the seed of a central government for British India. Its defects were remedied by the grant of larger powers of control to the Bengal Government in 1784.

A. P. DAS GUPTA

¹⁴ Ninth report from the Select Committee to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.—1783.

¹⁵ Nizam to Governor-General—Received 27th July 1780—Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. No. 29,200, fo. 173.

THE TALE OF CHADDANTA

The Master said, "She weeps for a great wrong,
She did me in some dim-remembered life.

Now, learning of that monstrous sin she grieves,
And seeks to ease her aching spirit's strife.

"I once was a white elephant—the chief
Of the great Himalayan tribes that roamed,
Far from the haunts of men, and lived such lives
As pleased them best, where the pale lotus foamed ;

"I had two queens and each was well-beloved,
But once—when the great *sal* grove was in flower—
I took my herd and went with my two queens
To dally in the woods an evening hour.

"And, as it happed, I struck a great *sal* tree
Cullasubhadda stood to the windward,
So twigs, dry leaves, and ants showered down on her,
In her there leaped to life some jealous chord ;

"For on the lee Mahasubhadda stood,
And perfumed flowers and soft green leaves fell down
And cast a perfect mantle over her,
Cullasubhadda turned with dark'ning frown.

"Because she thought her rival was beloved
Beyond herself, she went to a far shrine
And made a plea : 'Let me soon pass away
To be reborn as some princess divine.

"I will that I become the queen of one
Who loves me well, that I may work my will
Upon this prince of elephants. I pray
That I remember I must work him ill.'

" In time she died and was reborn to state,
 But she remembered still her ancient vow,
 And when she was a mighty queen she called
 Her lord to her, and made submissive bow.

" ' I crave a boon,' she cried to him, ' for health
 Is mine no more. Among a distant herd
 Dwells the white elephant, Chaddanta, King
 Of elephants. List to my pleading word.

" ' He has six tusks, so long and strong and white
 That he destroys all that lies in his path.
 Kill me that beast and bring to me his tusks :
 Such gift alone with ease my spirit's wrath.'

" In time a poisoned arrow wounded me,
 And, when I asked the hunter why the deed
 Of hate, he told me of the vengeful queen,
 And of her strange, health-fain, insistent need.

" I gave to him my tusks of ivory
 To bring to her : I knew them of small worth
 For I was striving for Omnicience ;
 Then, dying, I sank slowly to the earth.

" But she, that vengeful queen, was filled with grief
 When she beheld my tusks of ivory :
 When she remembered I was dear to her
 In former years, a breaking heart had she.

" Yea, there she sits in yellow robe of grace,
 And craves forgiveness of that ancient wrong.
 Since I am freed from pain and grief of it,
 Then she in faith will soon be true and strong."

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

Happiness is with Shelley (as with Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics, Books IV and VII) the main object of morals. He observes in his essay "On the Literature and Arts of the Athenians" that "a summary idea may be formed of the worth of any political or religious system, by observing the comparative degree of happiness and of intellect produced under its influence." The happiness of the individuals composing a community is according to Shelley the real test of the proper management of human society. It shows his affinity with philosophers like Hutcheson whose system of moral philosophy aims at the highest happiness and perfection of men and Shelley specifically dwells on the idea of universal happiness. A very important modification of the principle is however proposed when Shelley says that "the object is not merely the quantity of happiness enjoyed by individuals as sensitive beings, but the mode in which it should be distributed among them as social beings and the distribution should be according to the just claims of each individual. The disposition in an individual to promote this object is called virtue." Shelley is not like Godwin utilitarian in his moral philosophy ; he rather accepts the Platonic view of virtue being happiness. Shelley does not unfortunately define happiness as the Greek philosophers have done. Virtue and the Good are well-nigh identical in the Stoic system and the Epicureans make virtue and happiness inseparable (even though their hedonism is egoistic). Aquinas too, following Aristotle, makes happiness the ultimate end of human action as the highest good but he places that good in God. He

distinguishes happiness from pleasure. Bentham is the first writer who definitely makes pleasure the very basis of morals and elaborates the principle of utility and of the all-controlling power of pleasure and pain. In his letters Shelley speaks of his "desire to establish on a lasting basis the happiness of human¹ kind" and of his plan being "that of resolving to lose no opportunity to disseminate truth and happiness."²

Shelley's moral philosophy has reference to his psychological *Psychological Views.* ideas. The most important part of moral science, according to Shelley, consists in due appreciation of the general effects of man's peculiarities proceeding from a profounder source within each man than that from which result the series of man's habitual conduct deriving its origin from without and in cultivating the habit of acquiring decisive knowledge respecting the tendencies arising out of them in particular cases. Practically Shelley anticipates the psychological view of the *subconscious* in man referring to it as "the deepest abyss of these vast and multitudinous caverns." In his "Defence of Poetry" we come across a strange remark about poetic inspiration—the evanescent visitations of thought and feeling—in which Shelley speaks of "the caverns of the spirit" inhabited by "vanishing apparitions which haunt the interlunations of life" from which there is "no portal of expression into the universe of things" for them. Indirectly and remotely Shelley, however, indicates unmistakably that the deeper aspects of man's mental and moral activities are traceable to the subconscious. Men differ, he holds, inspite of their apparently superficial uniformity in outward actions, fundamentally in that class of actions which have a vital influence on the happiness of others and their own—"those little nameless, unpremeditated acts of kindness and of love" as well as those deadly outrages which are inflicted by

¹ Letter of January 7, 1812, to Miss Elizabeth Hitchener.

² Letter of January 10, 1812, to William Godwin.

a look, a word—or less—the very • refraining from some faint and most evanescent expression of countenance. “Each individual,” says Shelley, “who composes the vast multitude which we have been contemplating, has a peculiar frame of mind, which, whilst the features of the great mass of his actions remain uniform, impresses the minuter lineaments with its peculiar hues.” In his “Essay on Christianity” he says—“Every human mind has what Bacon calls its “*idola specūs*—peculiar images which reside in the inner cave of thought. These constitute the essential and distinctive character of every human being; to which every action and every word have intimate relation; and by which, in depicting a character, the genuineness and meaning of these words and actions are to be determined.” A faint hint can be detected even in the approval given by Shelley to the line of distinction drawn by Hogg “between instinctive and rational motives of action; the former being not in our own power.”¹

Therefore he refers to “two classes of agency, common in a degree to every human being.” The external features of men’s conduct are subject to the influence of that “legislature created by the general representation of the past feelings of mankind which affects the surface of man’s being but *internally all is conducted otherwise*” (Italics mine).

Thus Shelley seems to have, however dimly and vaguely, The Intuitive View. an idea of the distinction between the intuitive and inductive schools of ethics, though it may not be safe to push this point far on the strength of the meagre evidence furnished by his suggestive hints. At any rate this important aspect of Shelley’s mental and moral philosophy has not received adequate attention from those critics who explain Shelley’s ethics as due to Godwin’s influence. Shelley at one time followed, no doubt, Locke in denying the very existence of innate ideas but in ethics Shelley cannot follow Locke who

¹ Letter to Hogg from Field Place (probably of January 23, 1811).

assigns our moral discernment to three things, *viz.*, (1) Divine Law, (2) Civil Law and (3) Public Opinion or Reputation.

It should be noted that though apparently accepting a view

Is Shelley's Moral Philosophy Utilitarian?

which may be taken for *utilitarian*, Shelley really suggests the intuitive view of an innate moral sense in man somewhat after the manner of Hutcheson. Shelley was influenced by Hume's "Enquiry concerning Morals." Clarke's theory of *fitness* of actions depending on man's relation with man reduces man's duty to his fellow men into Justice and Benevolence as Shelley too does in his "Speculations on Morals." Hutcheson also resolves virtue into Benevolence in the exercise of which man finds the highest kind of happiness.

At all events it is quite clear that Shelley's remark regarding the highest *pleasure* of the greatest number (even if pleasure is identified with happiness) becomes clarified in its real significance by the deliberate emphasis he lays on the element of disinterestedness. "How can the hope of a higher reward stimulating an action make it virtuous if the essence of virtue is disinterested, as all who know anything of virtue must allow!" (Letter of April 24, 1811.) Besides, as we have noted, to Shelley the mode of distributing happiness is of greater importance than its *quantity*.

In the emphasis Shelley lays on "the highest pleasure" his

Pleasure.

leaning is more towards a modified hedonism than to utilitarianism and he seems to be influenced more by Plato's *Protagoras* than by Godwin's *Political Justice*. Godwin, no doubt, identifies evil with pain (Book III, Ch. III) and good with pleasure (Book IV, Ch. XI). But Hobbes also makes pleasure the same as the sense of good and Locke, whose works Shelley read with care, makes pleasure and pain the standards of good and evil, happiness being the highest pleasure for man and misery the utmost pain. "The ultimate end of moral good and evil," says Locke, "is the production of pleasure and pain to sentient beings." Hutcheson gives an

elaborate analysis of pleasure in connection with his discussion of happiness which consists in the perfect exercise of man's noblest virtues. Bentham in his exhaustive analysis and enumeration of pleasures and pains divides them into self-regarding and extra-regarding ones making the presence of pleasure and the absence of pain the test of happiness considered as man's highest end. Shelley's emphasis on disinterestedness as the essence of moral good differentiates him from the strict utilitarian conception of morals. Though happiness is never clearly defined by Shelley, his implication is that it is the surplus (or, as he prefers to call it, *overbalance*) of pleasure over pain and its aim is the sparing of man's susceptibility to suffering. "It is because an action produces an overbalance of pleasure or pain to the greatest number of sentient beings, and not merely because its consequences are beneficial or injurious to the author of that action, that it is good or evil." Something like this is practically the view of Aristippus, the Cyrenaic. We do not know for certain if Shelley was acquainted with Butler's ethical ideas. The deliberate pursuit of happiness according to Butler will only result in a refined form of self-love; men should seek the good of others and by such a *disinterested*¹ pursuit of virtue they will necessarily enjoy the greatest happiness. Greater emphasis is put on benevolent dispositions, having no reference to private or personal interest whatsoever—not even to self-approbation—by Hutcheson who strongly affirms the existence in human nature of such an element as pure disinterestedness. Disinterestedness is made by such mystics as St. Bernard the fundamental characteristic of love divine produced by the exercise of compassion towards others and Shelley lays stress on sympathy. Hume bases the sentiment of moral approbation on disinterestedness as a principle of action and Richard Price lends support to Butler's

¹ Cf. "No cause do I esteem so indissolubly annexed to its effect as the sincere love of virtue to the disinterested practice of its dictates" (Letter of November 20, 1811).

view regarding the disinterested nature of human affections. Shelley says in his "Speculations on Morals"—"All the theories which have refined and exalted humanity, or those which have been devised as alleviations of its mistakes and evils, have been based upon the elementary emotions of disinterestedness, which we feel to constitute the majesty of our nature." Patriotism, chivalry, love are based on the theory of self-sacrifice and Shelley cites them "only to establish the proposition that, according to the elementary principles of mind, man is capable of desiring and pursuing good for its own sake."¹ The character of Jesus Christ powerfully appealed to Shelley's imagination on this account and inspired him in re-creating the ideal character of his hero Prometheus on the basis of Christ's disinterestedness and one of the Spirits called by the Earth in *Prometheus Unbound* to give solace and strength to the hero is the Spirit of Altruism. This ideal of the pursuit of good for its own sake has little to do with utilitarianism. Disinterested desires are desires of objects for their own sake and not as means to the pleasures which may actually be found, however, to accompany the satisfaction of such desires.

In the "Defence of Poetry" which embodies Shelley's maturest speculations, he examines what is meant by utility. A sensitive and intelligent being seeks, and when found acquiesces, in pleasure or good. "There are two kinds of pleasure: one durable, universal, and permanent; the other transitory and particular. Utility may either express the means of producing the former or the latter. In the former sense, whatever strengthens and purifies the affections, enlarges the imagination, and adds spirit to sense, is useful. But a narrower meaning may be assigned to the word utility, confining it to express that which banishes the importunity of the wants of our animal nature, the surrounding man with security of life, the dispersing the grosser delusions of superstition, and the

conciliating such a degree of mutual forbearance among men as may consist with the motives of personal advantage." In the next paragraph while admitting that such promoters of utility in this limited sense have their appointed office he solemnly warns them lest with the French writers, evidently of the rationalistic school, they "deface the eternal truths charactered upon the imaginations of man," lest they, with the "mechanist who abridges, and the political economist who combines, labour, by divorcing their speculatories from first principles belonging to the imagination, tend to exasperate at once the extremes of luxury and want." Godwin remained to the end an eighteenth century rationalist but Shelley passed on to Platonism. He strongly condemns the "unmitigated exercise of the calculating faculty." We want the generous impulse to act that which we imagine " * * " our calculations have outrun conception." His condemnation of utility in its narrow sense becomes still stronger when he says—"What were virtue, love, patriotism, friendship—what were the scenery of this beautiful universe which we inhabit ; what were our consolations on this side of the grave—and what were aspirations beyond it, if poetry did not ascend to bring light and fire from those eternal regions where the owl-winged faculty of calculation dare not ever soar ? "

He points out the difficulty of defining pleasure in its highest sense but adds that the production and assurance of pleasure in the highest sense is truly utility and that those who produce and preserve this pleasure are poets or practical philosophers. Whereas Godwin holds that "morality is nothing else but a calculation of consequences, and an adoption of that mode of conduct which, upon the most comprehensive view, appears to be attended with a balance of general pleasure and happiness." (*Political Justice*, Book IV, Ch. VI.) Godwin's utilitarian bias is evident also in Book II, Ch. IV and Book VIII, Ch. II, and in the latter he definitely lays down that "the criterion of morals is utility." He says that "a preponderance

of resulting good is imagined in every action." On the question of punishment for crime his idea is that justice can approve of the infliction of suffering if it is attended by benefit.

It is not suggested, however, that Shelley was not at all influenced by Godwin's views on morals. It is as great a blunder to altogether ignore that influence as to exaggerate it. We have attempted to discover the points of contact between the master and the disciple, bearing in mind that the master's influence began to appreciably decline after the year 1815 or 1816. Even in 1811 when Godwin's influence was very powerful Shelley wrote to Hogg—"what constitutes real virtue?—motive, or consequence? Surely the former. * * * Shall we take Godwin's criterion : Expediency? Oh! surely not."¹

Regarding the most practical question for ethics, *viz.*, "how are we to discover what actions are right?" Shelley's answer is definite and clear. He does not accept the Godwinian view of the moral criterion being utility or a calculation of consequences. The principle by which men are guided in deciding whether particular acts are right or wrong, good or bad, is a distinct conception of duty or obligation which men find in their minds as something primary and fundamental, as something elementary. Shelley holds that "the benevolent propensities are thus inherent in the human mind." According to Shelley, men can discover what actions are right by **immediate** judgment without any knowledge of the *consequences* of an act and without any special reference to the pleasure of the actor or of society in general. Then again, perfectionism makes moral well-being and not pleasure, whether of individuals or of the whole of humanity, the end of action. And Shelley, we have noted, considers perfection to be a rational end of man. If other ends than pleasure be once admitted, such, for instance, as moral welfare, intellectual or aesthetic activity, the system which does so cannot accurately

¹ Letter to Hogg from Cuckfield (probably of May 13, 1811).

be described as utilitarian. A thorough-going utilitarian holds that man can desire nothing but pleasure and that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is desired because thereby one's own maximum pleasure is ultimately secured. This is essentially a psychological question and against such a psychological assumption it may be fairly urged that it is more correct to say that pleasure does not condition desire but it is rather the desire which is the condition of the pleasure which results from the satisfaction of desire. It may also be urged that men may, and sometimes do, desire other things than pleasure and some kinds of pleasure proceed from the satisfaction of a desire for something other than the pleasure. The acceptance, however vaguely and indirectly, of the psychological idea of the subconscious in man means emphasis on instinctive action which is neither truly egoistic nor altruistic, even though primitive instincts may be favourable to self-preservation or race-continuity. The psychology of lower animals or of primitive men does not support the hedonist's contention that all desires are desires of pleasure. Moreover, in the strictest sense, utilitarian hedonism may be permitted to speak of pleasure in terms of quantity but not of quality. To classify pleasures as higher and lower is in essence to admit that pleasure as such is not the end. Dr. Rashdall points out that "so long as we regard pleasure as our only end, it is impossible to recognise differences in the quality of pleasures, which are not ultimately resolvable into differences of quantity. It is otherwise when we regard Morality as an end in itself, even if we still regard Morality as consisting in nothing but Benevolence, or rather Benevolence guided by Justice." This is what Shelley does. In his *Speculations on Morals*, benevolence and justice are the two constituent parts of virtue. "Benevolence is the desire," he says, "to be the author of good, and justice the apprehension of the manner in which good ought to be done" and they "result from the elementary laws of the human mind." "There is a sentiment in the human mind that regulates bene-

volence in its application as a principle of action. This is the sense of justice. Justice, as well as benevolence, is an elementary law of human nature." Butler in his *Sermons on Human Nature* affirms that benevolence is a principle of human nature.¹

Shelley in his analysis of utility does classify pleasures as higher and lower. The end therefore, by implication at least, is suggested to be something else than pleasure as such—it is some kind of the good. This good is referred to elsewhere as virtue. Man's duty according to Shelley is the pursuit of virtue.

Pleasure chiefly indicates emphasis on the importance attached to the inner emotional effect in a sentient being of a desirable state of feeling with which man's ultimate end is identified. Virtue lays emphasis on the nature or quality of the mind's activity in which man's welfare is alleged to consist. Here volition is an important factor. It must be admitted, however, that, like the Sophists, Shelley makes seeking of pleasure and avoiding of pain a justification of virtue. Even Socrates does not very clearly distinguish happiness from virtue. In *Philebus*, Plato raises the question whether pleasure is a part of good and though in *Protagoras* pleasure is maintained as the good, the opposite view is taken in *Phædo* and *Gorgias*. In the *Republic* pleasure purged of all sensual elements is again given a high place. Aristotle in a way asserts that to the virtuous person the very performance of virtuous acts is pleasurable but pleasure is not the good. By pleasure Epicurus meant more a tranquil state of mind and body than anything else and this can be achieved best with the aid of a rational attitude towards the world. The Epicureans requisitioned Reason to distinguish between varieties of pleasure, the gratification of appetites being vigorously condemned.

¹ James Mill considers benevolence and justice as important moral agents in producing happiness to mankind, their advantage over prudence and fortitude lying in the fact that they represent acts beneficial to others in the first instance and to ourselves in the second. Just acts are performed voluntarily under the motive of these two moral ideas.

Shelley's mind acknowledges virtue only as his master : and condemns disloyalty to virtue. Because of his devotion to virtue he considers himself to be a devout professor of true religion.¹

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

¹ Cf. Letters of October 10, 1811; of November 14 and 20, 1811; of December, 1811 (to Hogg) and of March 8, 1812.

Reviews

The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar—By Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A., Ph.D., Premchand Roychand Scholar, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1930.

It is generally believed even in educated circles that the Science of Philology, like many other sciences, is an invention of modern Europe, though the acquaintance of Europeans with the Sanskrit language made some contribution to its growth and development as is admitted by all. But the fact that India too had independently developed and cultivated a similar science from a very early period—long before the birth of the modern science of Philology was known to some extent only in the narrow circle of Sanskritists. No comprehensive exposition of this science of India as such is known to have been made by any Orientalist. It is true, Colebrooke, Goldstücker and Belvalkar each gave an account of the grammatical studies of India. Bopp, Whitney, Macdonnel and others dealt with the Sanskrit language from the standpoint of the modern science of Philology. But it was reserved for Dr. Chakravarti to present before the world of scholars a systematic and scholarly account of the principles of the science of Philology of the Hindus. The first instalment of the results of his studies entitled *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* in this direction was published sometime back in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* published by the Calcutta University. Quite deservedly did it commend itself to the notice of scholars. We have now before us the second instalment here in the work under review. Here in nine well-written chapters abounding in profuse quotations from original texts the author gives us the views of a galaxy of Indian thinkers beginning from the Vedic period down to the period of Navya Nyāya on the different aspects of the science of language. The eclectic spirit, the unusual love of minutest details and verbal accuracy, the delight taken in hair-splitting distinctions—the characteristics of Hindu thought—cannot be expected to have the same appeal and attraction for all. But it is sure that general students of Philology will deem it a great privilege to be able to gather the views of the Indians on the subject of their study without having to take the very hard labour of searching the Sanskrit texts for the purpose. The present work will undoubtedly supply them with much food for thinking and will be a valuable acquisition to the already extensive literature on Philology.

Lastly it seems to be quite in the fitness of things that a son of Bengal has been found to place before the world an exposition of Hindu Philology as Bengal, well-known to be the last resort of many a grammatical system, is the place which has produced a vast amount of grammatical literature and literature pertaining to the Philosophy of Grammar in the shape of valuable works on the *Sabda Khanda* of *Navya Nyaya*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Mysticism in Bhagavat Gita—By Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5/-. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

Prof. Sircar is an author of repute and is held in high esteem by the learned world for his illuminating writings on the Vedānta Philosophy, which have distinctly enriched our knowledge of that abstruse and profound system of thought in modern times. Prof. Sircar, be it noted, is not a mere interpreter of the ancient systems but brings to bear on his studies an independent, critical and constructive philosophic mind and presents them in an altogether new perspective, calculated to throw a flood of light on the ever-green problems of philosophy, which have exercised the philosophic minds of all ages and climes. In the present work, which is the first of its kind so far as our knowledge goes, Prof. Sircar has more than amply vindicated our expectations and our knowledge of the profound mysteries of the *Gītā* has received a tremendous accession of light. Mysticism has been regarded with an attitude of awe, if not suspicion and its claims in the field of philosophical speculations have been received with a shrug of shoulders, if not contempt. The author of the book under review has done a distinctive service to the cause of philosophy by his unfaltering vindication of the claims of mysticism, both as a method and as an attitude, for the sure and unerring envisagement of the ultimate Truth. "The mystic teaching might not appeal and excel by the niceties of categories, but surely it is an appealing force when it vivifies the intellect and helps to see significant meanings in insignificant things." (p. 18) It was an irony of fate and a lack of philosophic perspective, that were responsible for the presentation of the *Gītā* to the western world as a full-fledged philosophic system and the result was a grievous underestima-

tion of the philosophic achievements of ancient India. The approach of philosophy to the problems of life is essentially intellectual and ratiocination is the only accredited instrument of philosophic thought. There is philosophy in the Gitā in its abundance, but as the author emphatically points out, "Its philosophy, therefore, is not discursive thinking but involves visions which are to be systematised by mystic insight and intuitive penetration." (p. 21)

The Gitā advocates all the different disciplines, to wit, karman (active service), bhakti (devotion) and jñāna (knowledge and life of philosophy), the exclusive claims of each one of which were advocated with the partisan's zeal by the different schools of thought in ancient India; but it is not for the matter of that "an eclectic attempt anxious to reconcile the claims of the irreconcileable tendencies of the soul." The Gitā has squarely envisaged their claims and has given a graduated hierarchy of values, thereby giving a quietus to the acrimonious wranglings of the warring groups. The Mīmāṃsists and the later theists of the Rāmānuja school cried hoarse over the claims of a life of active philosophy or philosophic activism (jñānakarmasamuccaya) and Sāṅkarācārya in his polemics against these thinkers advocated the efficacy of philosophic illumination as the only road to the realisation of the highest goal, viz. salvation. But Sankara has not been chary to recognise the values of activism and devotionalism as propædeutic to philosophic illumination and in this he seems to have interpreted the message of the Gitā in its true spirit. The controversy has reached its apex in the śls. 16-18 of chapter XV. and Prof. Sircar's interpretation seems to give a clincher to the debate once for all. The protestation of Viśvanātha and other theistic interpreters of his ilk, that Purusottama is the "Concrete Universal" and as such is the "Highest Principle," have been shown by Prof. Sircar to be based on a false philosophy and a misreading of mystical experience. We quote the illuminating observations of the author, "The abstract is never experienced, though it is presupposed in the concrete spiritual life. As such, the spiritual life in its transcendent uniqueness can be felt when we cross the concrete consciousness." (p. 52) We ask all to read the pages 48-53 and ponder and we have not the least doubt that the reader will be convinced. Again, the author's analysis and exposition of the different disciplines enjoined in the Gitā are not only philosophically convincing, but they bear the stamp and warrant of a personal intuitive vision and they set all doubts at rest and go home direct to the heart. In the section on 'Modern vitalism and Prāṇism', we do not know which to admire most, his scholarship or his penetrative insight. In fact, the pages of the book are replete with

sage observations, which are striking and arresting alike for their philosophical cogency and intuitive realisation which they indicate. Considerations of space deter us from taking excursions into the rich planes of critical insight and philosophic illuminations that have been laid bare in almost all the pages and we do not wish to forestall the reader's judgment. But we cannot help adverting to a few outstanding features before concluding this insufficient review. The author's comparison of the divine man of the Gītā with Neitzsche's super-man and his illuminating dissertation on that tangled problem of philosophy and religion, *viz.*, the problem of Avatāra, show his originality as a philosopher and the depth and range of his scholarship.

We only wish that the learned author would have discussed some of the knotty problems of the metaphysics of the Gītā, particularly, the nature of the Absolute and the Individual souls and their relation in a fuller and more comprehensive way and the illuminating exposition, that we legitimately expect from Prof. Sircar's pen, would have immensely benefitted a student of Philosophy. Of course the writer's interest and objective in the present work are more on the side of mystical realisation than philosophic ratiocination; but we only press the claims of the students of philosophy on the indulgence of the author and we hope that the author would not forget their claims in his future works and the gratitude of students would be his guerdon.

S.M.

The Adyar Pamphlets, Nos. 133 to 135.—The Theosophical Publishing House of Adyar (Madras) has revived the publication of the popular series of Theosophical pamphlets known as the Adyar Pamphlets, which had been withheld since 1921. We welcome the publication of these Pamphlets, for though we may not agree with all the views expressed therein, there is much in them which is highly instructive and thought-provoking.

The January issue of the Series is pamphlet No. 133, which has been named *Karma Once More*. It is the substance of a lecture delivered by Dr. Annie Besant at Edinburgh, and is really a supplement to the Adyar Pamphlet No. 125 "On Karma." The subject of Karma is so vast and complicated that it is not to be wondered at that many misconceptions

are formed about it, and Dr. Besant has done her best in their pamphlet to remove them. "Nothing perhaps gives rise to more misconceptions" says she, "than the idea that Karma is a kind of command from higher regions, which ought to limit our activity. You so often hear people using phrases which show that they entirely misunderstand the real meaning of Karma, phrases about interfering with Karma, phrases which seem to imply that we are under some sort of subjection to Karma, and ought to obey it, and so on, as though it were a kind of divine law from a law-giver. All these phrases show a fundamental misconception of what Karma is." (P. 2). Further on, she says that educated people "speak as if interference (with Karma) were in some sense irreverent, as if you were insulting God in some curious way if you counterbalance the action of an uncomfortable pieces of Karma. It is that that I want to get rid of from the whole of your minds. It hinders ; it fetters you. This kind of view of the omnipotence of Karma is working untold event in India where a misconception of it has arisen. It constantly puts the Indian at a disadvantage when he is dealing with the white man who knows nothing about Karma. He (the Indian) does not use exertion to fight where he chooses to assume that Karma is against him ; he simply sits down and allows the law to play over him." (P. 10). Dr. Besant has correctly depicted, in the above words, the usual attitude of the average Indian mind, which stands in the way of his material, moral and spiritual progress. Part wicked Karma gives rise to certain baneful tendencies which should be withheld and counteracted as soon as they are discovered to be baneful. This will go to break the force of our bad Karma to a certain extent. We were the creators of our past Karma, and it is he who can neutralize or nullify its effect by exertions acting from an opposite direction. "Karma becomes a force, like any other natural force, which the stronger may ward off from the weaker, which can be suspended, quickened, retarded like other energies. There is no peculiar sanctity about it that we should yield to it" (pp. 26-27). We recommend a careful study of the pamphlet to those who feel interested in the study of the Laws of Karma.

The February issue of the series is Pamphlet No. 134, named *Krishnamurti's Message* by C. Jinrajadasa, which contains the substance of addresses delivered by him in Australia in March, 1928. This pamphlet will be found interesting by ardent Theosophists, and those who take an interest in the present phases of the Theosophical movement. Krishnamurti is believed by Dr. Besant an advanced Theosophist to be the Great Teacher through whom Lord Maitreya has been sending the Great Message of Liberation for the present and future, which is *for all*. "This Liberation" says

Krishnamurti, " which is for all, will begin with a *vision of the end.*" Even if you are a savage, and not a perfect man, a saint, a scientist or a philosopher, " it is possible for you, if you will turn in the right direction, to gain a vision of the goal, of the mountain-top, of the kingdom of happiness. He says too, that, even from where you are you can pledge yourself to go directly to the end, not through intermediaries, not through all kinds of devious ways that the world is accustomed to as religion. This direct vision is declared by him as something which is possible even to a child-soul, not only to those whose vehicles have been very carefully and highly developed."

There is one passage in the pamphlet regarding the time when Sri Krishna came to the world, with which we do not agree. Mr. Jinrajadasa says that Sri Krishna came three centuries later than Lord Buddha. This is contrary to the accepted view that Sri Krishna had flourished many centuries before Lord Buddha graced the world. The Mahabharata, in its present form, may have been compiled later than the time of Lord Buddha ; but Sri Krishna's teachings had been in existence long, long before it. The period from the great Kurukshetra War down to the time of Lord Buddha is a dark blank page of Ancient Indian History, which yet remains to be written and illumined by careful investigation. Sri Krishna laid great stress on, and directed the attention of spiritual aspirants to the inner kernel, and not to the outward hard shell of Religion. While deprecating *Yajnas* He did not discard their use altogether. But He insisted on the importance of spiritual culture above all things, through *Karma Yoga*, *Jnana Yoya*, or *Bhakti Yoga*. These paths, though well defined, were difficult of access to the ordinary people, who preferred to trudge on the ancient path of *Yajnas* and sacrifices, to which they attached undue importance, to the detriment of their spiritual culture and development. It was then that the necessity for the advent of a great Teacher like Lord Buddha arose, who discovered a comparatively easy path for salvation for all. Buddha's teachings uplifted not only the Indian masses, but the masses of other nations as well, and His religion soon became a World Religion. Though it does not exist in its pristine form in the land of its birth, its essence having been completely absorbed by the present-day Hindu religion, it is still a living religion in Burma, Indo-China, China, the Malay Archipelago and Japan, and professed by millions of ardent votaries.

The March issue of the series is Pamphlet No. 135, named *The Work of the Ruler and the Teacher* by Dr. Annie Besant. It is in the nature of a politico-religious pamphlet, and furnishes, as it

were, the *raison d'être* of Dr. Besant's political and religious activities. We know that non-Theosophists will not be prepared to swallow all her statements and assertions without the proverbial grain of salt ; but nevertheless her views are well worth reproducing here. Orthodox Hindus believe in the existence of the great Vaivasvata Manu who has been guiding the destinies of races and nations, with the help of a great Hierarchy of Teachers or Rishis ; but we know of no ordinary mortal who has been in direct touch with Him or His Hierarchy, or come face to face with Them. Dr. Besant claims to have known Them, and received from the Great King Himself "the charge to work for the Freedom of India." Says she : " When first the charge to work for the Freedom of India was given to me—in 1909, by the King at Shamballa—(which Dr. Besant says is situated in the midst of the Gobi Desert), it was specially marked by two directions: one was to claim India's place in the Empire ; the other was to be firm but not provocative. I have tried during all these twenty-one years to carry out that command. It has been behind the whole of my political work. The steady claim has been carried out and is now verbally accepted, to be worked out, we hope at the coming London Conference.

" I have tried to avoid provocative action, though even firmness may be regarded in some quarters as provocative. And another Order, saying that I must be careful that triumph was not stained by excess, has been the secret of the whole of my policy through all these years. I want my co-workers now to understand this, because of course it is to continue during the very critical time that lies in front. There is no longer any need not to say that it is the inner government of the world that formulated that policy in the outside world. It was that which led me to oppose Gandhiji, because I knew that the movement that he started would lead to bloodshed as well as to other dangers, as it did. You can very much strengthen the work of the Masters for India's freedom by observing especially during the coming months, those Rules which, though given to myself personally, are also useful to others—a steady claim for India's freedom ; a firm but not a provoking attitude, notwithstanding the many excuses that may arise for provocation. Long ago it was said to H. P. B. that one of the purposes of the Theosophical Society was to raise India among the nations of the World. That is the work which is now going on, and it will be the line that is desired by the Lord Vaivasvata Manu, and also by Him whom we call the Regent of India, the great Rishi Agastya, who has had India in His charge

for many thousands of years, and who lives in the South of India, as far as His physical body is concerned." (Page 1 & 2)

The perusal of the above statement provokes certain thoughts in our mind, which we venture to put down in a very reverent spirit. The line of action, dictated to Dr. Besant by Lord Manu, and strictly followed by her without deviation, is the very line that is being pursued by a host of Indians also (both Moderates and Liberals), none of whom has probably the honour of being known to the Great Lord or His Regent of India. But these ardent workers for the freedom of India have, so far, achieved very little, and are gradually giving way to despair. How long is their patience to be tried ? If Dr. Besant knew that Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation would surely lead to bloodshed and end in disaster, did she not feel it to be her supreme duty to dissuade him from moving on the perilous path, and convince him of his error ? Even now when Gandhiji is starting the campaign of civil disobedience all over India, is it not her duty to exert her influence over him and his followers so that there may not be further bloodshed and disaster ? What would it avail to Dr. Besant, if she alone avoided provocative action, and remained firm and steady in her demand for the freedom of India ? Is it not high time for the great Regent of India to make Himself manifest to Gandhiji, as He has been manifesting Himself to Dr. Besant, and dissuade him from pursuing his present course ? Dr. Besant says that the great Rishi (Rishi Agastya) has had India in his charge for many thousands of years ? May we ask whether India has progressed or retrograded during these long millenniums ?

Dr. Besant further writes: "One important matter, on which the Rishi has laid great stress, especially since 1913, is Social Reform. That He regards as vital. As India has moved far too slowly in that direction, He has permitted the writing and circulation of what I generally call a political novel, Miss Mayos book *Mother India*. It is a 'novel.' It is not a valid statement of facts with grounds ; but such grounds as it has formed the reason why the Rishi has permitted it to be circulated. If people will not learn by precept by the proclamation of their duty, then the only way is practically to force them into it ; and that is what this wicked book does" (Pages 2 & 3). To be candid, this appears to us to be a very dubious and indirect way for effecting social reforms. None knows better than the great Rishi Himself that infant marriage was a thing unknown in Vedic times, and no girl was ever given away in marriage unless she was youthful and ready for "healthy child-birth." But this salubrious custom was

discarded in a later age by a number of Hindu Law-givers also known as Rishis who advocated or rather enjoined on the necessity of infant-marriage, and ever since that time this baneful custom has been in vogue. As the Vedas are still regarded by the Hindus as the final authority, people could easily be induced to give up the custom, if the sanction of the marriageable age of girls in the Vedas were made more widely known to them. Those who have faith in the sacred Scriptures long ago gave up the custom. The matter is less difficult with the Moslem community who, we believe, have no such serious religious objection against infant-marriage as the Hindus have. The rest of the pamphlets is a plea for accepting Krishnamurtiji as the Great Teacher of the age which is believed to be synchronous with the advent of a new advanced type of Races in the world, with its beginnings in California.

A. D.

Ourselves

I. E. AND B. E. EXAMINATIONS.

The 21st July, 1930, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next I. E. and B. E. Examinations.

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LAW EXAMINATIONS DATES.

The following dates have been fixed for the Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law, to be held in July, 1930 :—

Preliminary ... 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th July, 1930.

Intermediate...14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th July, 1930.

Final ...21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th July, 1930.

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RESULT OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW, JANUARY, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law, held in January, 1930, was 627 of whom 363 passed, 184 failed and 80 were absent. Of the successful candidates 8 were placed in Class I and 355 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 66·4.

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RESULT OF THE FINAL B. L. EXAMINATION, JANUARY, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Final B. L. Examination, held in January, 1930, was 562, of whom 281 passed, 91 failed, and 190 were absent. Of the successful candidates 24 were placed in Class I and 257 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 75·5.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1930

THE SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE OF PRESENT JAINISM

Jainism is one of the oldest religions of India, older than Buddhism, and older perhaps than even the oldest systems of Hindu philosophy. Though according to present opinions, it never attained the power and extension of Buddhism, nor spread beyond the boundaries of India, still it *acted once a prominent part* in Indian religious life: counting, at a time, kings and nobles amongst its followers, and enforcing the influence of its humanitarian principles on other religious and philosophical systems. During the last centuries, however, *it has lost a great deal of its power*, and at present, the number of its actual followers, decreasing from census to census, has come to a minimum standard of eleven lakhs (1,100,000) at last.

It would be unjustified, however, to infer from this fact that the *Jaina* religion itself is declining in proportion to this development, and ceasing to exercise its influence on the spiritual life of India. As a matter of fact, *Jainism is not confined to those people who are Jainas officially*, i.e., Jainas by birth and tradition, but Jainism is indeed far wider spread over the country than the census reports tell, and its tenets are clung to by far more people than the outsider could possibly guess. For Jainism has constantly been, and is still being, carried from place to place, by highly learned, refined and enthusiastic *Jaina* ascetics, who have always known how to attract not only the broader masses, but especially educated people all over the country, and to arouse, even amongst the heterodox of them,

liking and esteem, if not enthusiasm, for the religion they profess themselves. Thus there are many persons, and I know a number of them personally, who, though never thinking in the least of giving up the Hindu, Parsee, or Musalman creed they profess by birth, tradition and ritual, could still be called convinced Jainas, regarding their view on life and their ethical ideals. Nay, there are even numbers of heterodox people who though sticking to their old creeds, still regularly visit Jaina temples, worship Jaina idols, and even perform various ascetical and other Jaina observances as ardently as only good Jainas could do. I may be allowed to quote, as an illustration of the latter fact, the example of H. H. the present Maharana of Udaipur and his heir-apparent, who, though orthodox Hindus, are known to worship the Jina idol in the famous Temple of Kesaria Nath (near Udaipur) in all publicity. And there are quite a considerable number of princes who could justly be styled protectors and devotees of Jain ascetics, in whose sermons they take delight, and on whose instigation they have even issued decrees in order to promote the protection of animal life, etc., in the sense of Jainism.

Now one should think that there cannot be such a large step from admiring Jainism and living up to its ethical standard, or in a word, from being a Jaina by conviction,—to being a Jaina by birth and tradition. Nor is indeed the gap between the two states such a wide one in the light of the situation as it represents itself in the peaceful *South of India*, amongst those calm-hearted intelligent *Dravidian Jainas*, who have preserved, in a state of rare purity, an old form of Digambar Jainism, one of the two chief confessions into which Jainism is divided. All their knowledge and all their observances are based on oral tradition, handed down from father to son, and from mother to daughter, without clerical interference. To them, Jainism is indeed nothing but a moral standard, and the key to the ideal view on life. It is therefore a powerful bondage connecting all the Digambar Jainas of the

South (and there are no other Jainas in the South, except late immigrants) indissolubly with one another, as though they were members of one and the same lodge of freemasonry. Whether their mother-tongue be Tamil, or Kanarese, or Malayalam, or Telugu; and whether their respective caste be a high one or a low one : all the autochthonous Jainas of those parts are one great community, in which subsectarian and sectarian differences are unknown, and in which there exists an unexceptional mutual messmateship and complete freedom of intermarriage. To those pure-hearted and pious people, every Jaina is indeed a brother and friend, no matter if he be a born Jaina or not.

In north and central India, however, where both the great confessions, Digambars as well as Svetambars, are represented with their various sub-sects, and where there exists a regular system of Jaina schools and other educational institutions as well as a vivid Jaina propaganda, exercised both by laymen and by ascetics, the situation is quite a different one. Here, the title "Jaina" implies not only the obligation of undergoing the most rigid ascetical and other practices and minute observances, but it also involves that the individual bearing the title is being entangled, from his very birth, in a net of *caste and sub-caste regulations*, which are exercising their influence on the individual's whole household and personal affairs, during his whole lifetime.

The reader must be wondering what religion can possibly have to do with caste regulations, all the more since the Jaina religion itself is known to plead for universal love and tolerance, and to recommend a close and indiscriminate alliance especially of all "Svamibhais," *i.e.*, "Brothers in the Lord," to whatever caste or profession they may belong, just as the one existing amongst the Southern Digambar Jainas. Still, the miracle-working hand of history has succeeded in bringing about that incredible and apparently inextricable combination of the two heterogeneous elements, caste and religion, in the case of the Northern Jainas.

The present representatives of Northern Jainism belong practically all to one or another of the *Baniya castes*, which form the bulk of the Vaishya or commercial group of Indo-Aryan society. Like the castes of the Brahman or priestly, and those of the Kshatriya or warriors' groups of Indian society, those Baniya castes too are very ancient institutions, of some of which we hear at as early a date as the sixth century A.D., and even earlier. All of them, the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Baniya castes of Northern and Central India go back, in the last instance, to *local communities*, bound to certain places of Marwar and Gujarat, the influence of the names of which is, in many cases, still visible in the names of the castes themselves. Thus, the present Modh Brahmans and Modh Baniyas go back to the town Modhera, the Nagar Brahmans and Nagar Baniyas to the place Vadnagar, the Osval Baniyas to the place Osia near Jodhpur, the Shreemals to a place named Bhinmal (likewise near Jodhpur), etc., etc. Most of those *Brahmans* of old who had originally been Jainas gave up their religion under the influence of Sankaracarya and his school. Thus, the Brahman castes have no practical importance in the later history of Jainism. The *Kshatriya Jains*, however, gradually gave up their old profession in favour of the more peaceful, and, in the sense of Jainism, less harmful pursuits of trade, and were soon completely absorbed by the old Baniya castes. We know for certain that, e.g., the present Osval, Shrimal, and Porval castes partly consist of descendants of the Chohan, Rathod, Chavada, Solanki, and other famous Rajput clans, the names of which still appear in some of the *gotra*, i.e., family names of modern Baniya Jainas.

Thus, it is the *Baniya castes alone that have been representing Jainism in India for many centuries*. Not only this much, but the greater part of them were even *pure Jain castes originally*, as is known 'for certain with reference to' the Osval, Shrimal, Porval, Vayad, Disaval, Nagar, Modh, and other Baniyas. Of the rest of the "84 Baniya castes" of which tradition knows, this much is certain that all of them contained

a greater or smaller number of followers of Jainism, many of whom have handed down their names on inscriptions of Jina statues and temples erected on their behalf. It was only since the 16th and 17th centuries that, owing to the decline of the Jain clergy and to the rise and zeal of the Vishnuitic Vallabhacarya sect that many members of the old Jain Baniya castes gave up their inherited religion and "*bound the Kanthi* (*i.e.*, the necklace of Tulsi beads, symbolical of Vaishnavism)," or, in other words, became Vaishnavas in great numbers. Late Jain Acarya Buddhisagara says in the introduction to his "Jain Dhatupratima Lekh Sangraha," I, p. 18, that he heard a Vaishnava Pandit boast in a public assembly in Surat that the Vallabhacarya sect had converted three hundred thousands of Jainas to Vaishnavism, and the author adds that this may very well be true.

Now the old Jain castes, whose members had to live, from the very beginning, in the middle of a heterodox and, in their eyes, ritually impure and barbarous majority, very early developed, independently of one another, a number of *strict regulations concerning messmateship and intermarriage*. And when the main castes again split asunder, and various *sub-castes sprang into life*, such as the Shri-shrimal, Visa-shrimal, Dasa-shrimal and Laduva-shrimal, or the Visa-osval, Dasa-osval, Panca-osval, and Adhia-osval, etc., castes, those restrictions and regulations multiplied in the same measure. These sub-castes, in their turn, became divided into *as many different branches as there were places, chiefly in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Marwar, where colonies of Baniyas had settled later on*, up to a certain date.

And these sub-sub-castes again kept each strictly to their own regulations of messmateship and intermarriage. In many cases, moreover, the caste did not form a uniform religious community, but was *divided into different sects and sub-sects*. Thus, a Jain Baniya caste may not only be divided into the two main confessions of Shetambars and Digambars, but there may be again idol-worshipping Shetambars, non-idolatrous Sthanakvasi

Svetambars, and followers of the still more rigorously Calvinistic Terapanthi Svetambar sect, and there are, on the other hand, again Vispanthi Digambars and Terapanthi Digambars, each group refusing (with exceptions) to keep up messmateship and intermarriage with the rest.

Thus it came to pass that *the groups within which messmateship and intermarriage were allowed, became smaller and smaller*, and that even in such an enormous caste as, e.g., the Shrimalis are, it has become a difficult problem for the head of a family to find out brides for all the marriageable young men. For in many places of Gujarat and Kathiawar, it would even now-a-days be considered quite an unheard of case and liable to out-casting, if, e.g., a Visa-shrimal Svetambar Idolator would give his daughter in marriage to a Visa-Shrimal Svetambar Sthanakvasi even of the very same place; and if a Dasa-osval Svetambar Idolator of Veraval would marry his daughter to a Dasa-osval Svetambar Idolator of Vala, it would be considered just as heavy a crime.

Owing to the strictness of the prohibition of widow-re-marriages on one, and the frequency of even old widowers' remarriages on the other side, owing to the great mortality of Indian women as a consequence of improper hygienic conditions in child-bed and of too early marriages, owing to the prohibition of marriages within certain distantly related clans, and many other reasons, there has always been a scarcity of marriageable women in India, which again resulted in such objectionable customs as the selling of brides for high prices. It was in order to prevent marriageable girls to be given away outside the respective communities, and in order to secure brides for poor and uneducated fellow-citizens for whom it has always been difficult to secure brides, that those circles of caste restrictions were drawn narrower and narrower. It is typical that these restrictions refer only to the giving away of brides, whereas there is complete liberty as to bringing brides home from outside,—provided they belong to the same chief caste.

Many of the ancient Jaina castes had moreover been decimated by those conversions to Vaishnavism alluded to above. Messmateship and intermarriages between the now heterodox parts of one and the same caste were in most cases soon stopped, owing to the pressure exercised by the renegades, who tried to force the rest of the caste by this kind of boycott to become Vaishnavas likewise. Wherever there was a Vaishnava majority and a Jaina minority, the latter had to give way, *i.e.*, they had to give up their faith in order to get wives for their sons or for themselves, no matter how firm their innermost convictions as to their old creed might be. Old men in grey hair have indeed been seen weeping at the feet of Jain monks, confessing with utter grief how it came that decades ago they had been forced to give up the still beloved faith of their fathers for practical reasons, and how much grieved they were at seeing their children growing up in the atmosphere of the new faith.

Thus it could happen that, within the last hundred years, many castes which had been pure Jaina castes before, have lost the claim to this title, the small rest of Jainas amongst their members dwindling quickly away, as it is the case with the *Modh*, *Maniyar* and *Bhavasar Baniyas*. Only a few years hence the last Jainas of the *Vadnagar Nagar Baniyas* have adopted Vaishnavism definitely, because the isolated, small, but enthusiastic flock could not, in their social needs, prevail upon the *Visa-shrimali Jainas* to receive them into their midst, and to allow them to join their messmateship and marriage-circle. The narrow-mindedness of their "Brothers-in-the-Lord" drove them straight into the arms of Vaishnavism. Thus the report of Jaina Acarya Buddhisagarā (I, I. p. 11 f.).

In the same way, the *Lingāyat* of the Deccan and the *Sarāka* of Bengal, both of them pure Jaina castes at a time, do not count even a single Jaina amongst their members at present.

Thus, the unreasonable caste and sectarian organization of the Jainas of North and Central India is indeed responsible for

the greater part of the numerous cases of apostasy amongst the Jainas which happened in the last decades.

There are *other reasons too*, such as the want of proper schools, where people could be taught to understand the inner reason and sense of those long prayers, hymns, etc., they mechanically recite, and of the various rites they daily perform without knowing why and where they could learn to connect the rigorous ascetical and other practices they have to undergo, with their beautiful philosophical justifications. The wealthy Jain Seth, enthusiastic over his beloved religion, does spend Lakhs of rupees for religious purposes, such as pilgrimages, processions, Pooja-ceremonies, etc. The famous pilgrimage of about four thousand Jain laymen and four hundred ascetics, who went from Patan to Girnar some years ago, had been undertaken and patronized by a well-known merchant prince of Gujarat : it had cost no less than about twelve Lakhs (1,200,000) of rupees. Many of them do spend money in this way out of the purest motifs ; still they have not yet learned to spend it for education, the very basis of all religion and culture, being over-anxious to see their sons and grand-sons earning money and becoming settled in life as early as possible.

That many noble Jaina families gave up their faith in consideration of the heterodox belief of a royal master to whom they were attached by service and tradition, and from whose more intimate company their caste restrictions cut them off, is also a well-known fact, illustrated by the example of the ancient minister families of the states Udaipur, Jodhpur, etc., whose ancestors, convinced and faithful Jainas, once acted a great part in the history of their countries.

Many of those discontented and disheartened Jainas who did not find the courage boldly to face those caste regulations, and who, on the other hand, did not desire to join the Vaishnava faith, ran into the open arms of the *Arya Samaj*, that institution of reasonably reformed and liberal-minded Hinduism which pays so much attention to education and which plays such an

important part in the India of to-day. Many of those poor renegades may well have remained good Jainas in their heart of hearts, or even Jainas by conduct and observances : still what can the census report possibly know of them when stating the number of actual official Jainas? And what does the Jaina community care for it who are bewildered at seeing the number of their followers dwindling away from year to year?

They have much pondered over the problem and have been trying many remedies, but in vain, for nobody has as yet dared even to look with an unfriendly eye on the sacred institution of the castes and their strange laws, which seem as unfit as possible for the century of general awakening and of a reasonable economy of powers.

Well, what have they been devising after all? There are *two distinct parties* with distinct views and suggestions. One of them is the *conservative party*, who, ignoring the actual reasons of the evil, are inclined to derive every damage from the tendency towards abandoning old views and old customs, and from the increasing influence of Western education with its revolutionary conceptions and theories. They recommend, as the only remedy, to cling in all rigidity not only to the general customs and views of old, but even to such ancient regulations as their ancestors once had to introduce in order to redress the needs of their own time, however out of place they may be in the present age. Thus they forbid every closer connection and collaboration with heterodox people, forbid travelling to Europe, forbid the sacred writings to be studied by laymen and disapprove of any education based on Western lines. Narrow-mindedness and an unreasonable conservatism can be said to be the chief characteristics of this party. Its spirit, though in a moderate form, can be said to dominate as yet with the majority. Still, this party has begun to lose ground, and it will soon enough cease to be taken in full earnest.

The other party denotes itself as the *reform party*. Having recognized with a clear eye the true causes of the rapid decline

of Jainism, but still not daring to do anything openly and directly against the caste system, they have adopted an indirect way of fighting it ; namely they eagerly propagate education on broad and modern lines, encourage and deepen the knowledge of the Sacred Writings, popularize Jain literature not only in India, but even in the West, show how to separate the true essence of the Jaina Religion from the profusion of traditional observances and conventions, by which its true nature is being concealed, improve the social position of women, propagate tolerance and sympathy everywhere, and last but not least try to create unity within the camp of Jaina sectarianism itself. The measures taken are no doubt useful ones, for with the progress of education, the conviction of the necessity of openly doing away with those caste regulations must arise in a daily increasing number of individuals. And on the other hand a closer union and collaboration amongst the different sects must needs create a more vivid feeling of responsibility, and strengthen the fighting lines.

At present, it is true, this aim is still far from being reached, the two chief confessions, the Svetambars and the Digambars being still engaged in furious *mutual quarrels* about the possession of certain places of pilgrimage, such as Antarksha (near Akola), Pavapūri Rajagrihi, and Sametsikhar (all three near Patna), Kesariaji (near Udaipur), Mallsi (near Ujain), and others, and millions have been spent and are being spent in those fruitless strifes. And on the other hand, the Idolatrous sect of the Svetambars, and the two Non-idolatrous Svetambar sects, *viz.*, the Sthanakvasis and Terapanthis, are still violently fighting each other about insignificant dogmatic discrepancies, whereas the Diagambar party too has its own internal troubles. Within the aforesaid sects, there are again sub-sects, parties and schools of opinions, which cannot keep peace with one another, but often enough cross each others' schemes, the one spoiling what positive work the other may have achieved. So there can be no doubt that by stopping all these fruitless strifes many,

powers would become free to engage in the necessary work of caste reform and general uplift.

That reformatory work of this kind can hope to succeed even in present India, is shown by the example of the Jainas of the Punjab, who are heard to have formed, some years ago, one single great circle of common messmateship and intermarriage, and who are now collectively known as *Bhāvadā*, which name is likely to abolish the few caste distinctions which still survive. Examples of great circles in which at least the sub-caste is ignored in the case of marriages, are the *Marwari* and *Baboo Jainas* of Eastern Rajputana, the United Provinces, and Bengal, all of whom form a unity, and the Jainas of the Deccan on the other side, who are at least partly united. Both are cases, it is true, in which small numbers of Jainas are spread over vast areas. Still they show what is possible where there is good will and tolerance.

There are also instances of such Jain communities in Gujarat in which certain messmateship and intermarriage circles comprise even members of different chief castes, as is the case with the intermarriages between member of the Dasa-porval, Dasa-shrimal, and Dasa-osval castes of *Putan*. This is, however, not due to progress nor reform, but it is the outcome of a time-honoured local usage.

On the other hand, there are some such circles in Gujarat and Kathiawad, as comprise heterodox members of one and the same caste, as the result of which *intermarriages between Jainas and Vaishnavas* occur. Still instances are relatively rare.

Leaving aside those few exceptions, as well as the ideal unity existing in the great brotherhood of the Southern Digambar Jainas, the social atmosphere of present Jainism is a very unwholesome one, with its regrettable tendency of sacrificing religious ideals to material advantages, and the incomprehensible want of courage on the part of the less prejudiced amongst its followers. For the future of Jainism, it seems to admit of prospects little short of distressing.

One asks oneself with utter concern whether the time will ever come, when, as they all hope and wish, the powerful old Religion of the Tirthankaras, freed from the suffocating influence of those unreasonable caste regulations, and unhampered by the undergrowth of prejudice and blind faith, in which the former are so firmly rooted, will once more return to a fresh and healthy life.

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CONCRETE UNIVERSAL¹

The doctrine of the Concrete Universal is admittedly Hegelian in origin—and may, indeed, be called the very 'secret' of Hegel—but the germ-plasm of the doctrine may be traced, with a fair degree of accuracy, to Spinoza's distinction of the two stages of *ratio* and *scientia intuitiva*, reinforced later by the Kantian distinction of Understanding and Reason, pointing, in the end, to the problematic and essentially negative concept of an *intellectus archetypus* or intuitive understanding. So far as Spinoza is concerned, the emphasis, however, is on the concrete nature of the individual rather than on the universal, and the emphasis is essentially misplaced in the contestable thesis that was worked out anew, in evident sympathy with the Spinozistic position, by Bradley and Bosanquet, especially the latter—the thesis, namely, that individuality is the true pattern and type of universality and that universality can be found only in the individual in proportion as it is truly individual. To start with Bradley, the problem that is staring him in the face is as to how in spite of recognised differences—'differences forced together by an underlying identity, and a compromise between the plurality and the unity' being 'the essence of relation'³—Bradley can consistently allow even 'the shade of diversity' or appearance of separateness to hold its own within the all-comprehending system, the Absolute, which alone is to be regarded as real. Thus, as a consequence of his denial of real plurality and separateness which 'exist only by means of relations,'⁴ Bradley was constrained, along one line of reflexion, to disown the Hegelian

¹ Read before the Metaphysics Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Lahore, December 1930.

² Vide *Cogitata Metaphysica*, Pt. II, Ch. VII; *Short Treatise*, Pt. I, Ch. VI; also Duff. Spinoza's *Political and Ethical Philosophy*, Ch. V.

³ *Appearance and Reality* (2nd ed.), p. 180.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

'identity-in-difference,' and to view the universals as merely self-identical characters. Without parrying the question like Bosanquet, who thinks that identity-in-difference must go 'in the end,'¹ Bradley acknowledges that 'identity obviously by its essence must be more or less abstract.'² Nevertheless he insists, on the other hand, that it would be one of the coarsest of prejudices to suppose that sameness or identity excludes diversity, and that on the contrary, 'sameness is real amid differences.' While it is true that 'that which is identical in quality must always, so far, be one and its division, in time or space or in several souls, does not take away its unity,' it is no less true that variety or diversity 'does make a difference to the identity, and without that difference and these modifications, the sameness is nothing.'³ Hence this fact of sameness through diversity points to a 'real unity, a concrete universal'⁴—'as the identity of analysis and synthesis' in which we may be said to have returned to truth and made our peace with reality.⁵

What, then, is the nature of this 'concrete universal'? The first thing to realise is, it is contended, that the universal as placed in opposition to the particulars, and the particulars, as placed in opposition to the universal, both involve contradiction and pass into each other. The true universal is rather the principle that permeates the particulars and that develops itself now into one and now into the other, and the idea appears to be that, if we had insight into the nature of the universal, we should see that all these differences arise out of it. And, following Hegel, Bradley and Bosanquet express this by saying that the true or concrete universal is the individual. Strictly speaking, 'the *abstract* universal and the

¹ *Logic* (2nd ed.), Vol. II, p. 279.

² *Appearance and Reality*, p. 351.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵ *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II, p. 487.

abstract particular are what does not exist. The *concrete* particular and the *concrete* universal both have reality, and they are different names for the individual'—which is only 'the identity of universal and particular.'¹

Now, I begin by questioning the soundness of the principle to which both Bradley and Bosanquet alike subscribe—the principle, namely, in Bosanquet's words, that 'the key to all sound philosophy lies in taking the concrete universal, that is, the individual, as the true type of universality.'² Such a doctrine of the 'concrete universal' seems to me to involve the entire obliteration of all conceivable distinction between the universal and the particular as has hitherto been found to hold. The individual in the sense of an independent substantive existent, vanishes and there is substituted in its place a phase in some whole, which is, in its turn, a phase in another, and so on, until ultimately the culmination is reached in the Absolute which is, in truth, only a huge particular. It will be sufficient here to urge two considerations.

In the first place, taking the term 'universal' in the ordinary sense, we need to distinguish the *act* of cognising a universal both from the universal itself and from the way in which that universal, in and through the act in question, is cognised. The mental act of cognising is undoubtedly concrete—a concrete event or occurrence—but it is, as such, neither a concept nor a universal. It is characterised, like every other concrete fact, by a plurality of qualities which it has in common with other mental acts, but in itself, it is as definitely *particular* as any other fact or event in nature. A concept, on the contrary, is the way in which a universal is conceived—the mode in which it is grasped by thought,—and manifestly, is not to be confounded with the act through which it has been attained. As Bradley himself put it, a concept can, in no intelligible sense, be said to happen or have a definitely assignable place

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¹ *Principles of Logic*, Vol. I, pp. 188, 189.

² *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, p. 40.

in the temporal series. But it is equally important to distinguish the concept from the universal of which it is the concept. A *concept* is doubtless a product of thought —of thought exercised upon a world of objects which are found to exhibit certain identities of character. Psychologically viewed the genesis of the concept may be traced to a process of the mind, which is at once analytic and synthetic—a process, on the one hand, of singling out what lies embedded in the complex structure of reality, and, on the other of filiating or stringing together, so to speak, what appears here, there and everywhere under widely diversified conditions, and in numerical difference. The universal to which this concept refers is a quality or property characterising a number of particular entities, often widely separate from one another in time and space—a ‘pervasive character of things’ as Professor Alexander expresses it.¹ Surely, no mere synthesis of such concepts will enable us to reach, even at the furthest end of the road, the universal or the so-called ‘concrete universal,’ for the matter of that, which is taken to be the same as the individual.

In the second place, it is of essential importance to avoid the confusion, occasioned by ‘mere verbal analogy,’ as the late Prof. Cook Wilson has put it,² of ‘the unity of the universal *in* its particulars’ with ‘the unity of the individual substance as a unity of its attributes (or attribute-elements).’ The source of this confusion is to be traced, of course, to a famous but none the less cryptic dictum of Hegel’s in which he affirms that ‘the universal is the ground and foundation, the root and substance of the individual,’ that ‘which permeates and includes in it everything particular.’ This is, as the late lamented Professor L. T. Hobhouse justly complained, the much too prevalent tendency, in certain quarters, of identifying the universal with the concept of it. If one thinks of colour,

¹ *Vide Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, N.S. XX. 1920, pp. 150-1.

² *Statement and Inference*, Vol. I, p. 156 n.

for example, as a characteristic of things in the physical world, to describe it as an individual wears at once the aspect of perversity and paradox. Appearing, as they do, here and everywhere under all sorts of varying conditions, colours exhibit no resemblance whatsoever to the unity and continuity of an individual thing. If, on the other hand, one chooses to think of the concept 'colour,' one can reasonably look upon it as a kind of schema, which in order to be realised must be filled in some definite way, but which *as a schema*, maintains its unity through its differences of expression. Thus, to describe a thing as having a specific colour will seem to be tantamount to placing it within the scope of this *schema*, and, as such, colour would be, in the words of Meredith, 'a spirit upon things by which they become expressive to the spirit.' Summarily speaking, the conceptual system is one thing and the reality to which it refers is another. Related to one another they certainly are, but the relation in question is obviously not one of identity. In the last analysis, then, the fallacy, lurking in this Hegelian doctrine of the 'concrete universal,' is that of attributing the unity, which, in a way, belongs to the concept, to the varied instances of the universal to which the concept refers. The real unity of a universal consists in identity of character—an identity which no doubt is realised in countless, different instances,—but it does not most certainly consist in any substantive or causal continuity of the type exemplified in an existent individual. It seems to me, then, that although in a sense it may be legitimate to describe the inter-connected system of reality—understanding by that, however, something very different from Bradley's 'supra-relational unity'—as an individual, we are bound to recognise that within this interconnected system, universals, relations and particulars have their place and are alike entitled to the designation 'real.'

It is for this reason that I find considerable difficulty in Prof. Stout's theory of the universal as the 'distributive unity of a class'—which, as a rebound from the somewhat dogmatic in-

sistence on the tenet of the 'concrete universal,' commits the same fallacy of hypostatising the universal that he begins by castigating in others. Accordingly, it is hardly fair on his part to convict the 'traditional view' of the error of hypostatisation in its representation of the universal as a 'single indivisible entity' which as 'numerically the same in all' or 'ubiquitous without having parts or members' 'spreads undivided, operates unspent.'¹ While it is not denied that the traditional view is very often amenable to this charge, it can and does obviate this error, so far as it keeps rigorously to the 'epistemic' issue proper and thus does not need to be superseded by Prof. Stout's peculiar view of the universal—which, as a remedy, turns out to be as bad as the disease itself.

What I am concerned to maintain, in the first instance, is that Prof. Stout's theory of the universal reveals on closer inspection, what I venture to think to be, an *ignoratio elenchi*. The decisive issue centred in the problem of universals is, as I conceive it, not whether characters or qualities are 'numerically same' or 'distinct,' 'locally separate' or not, but how in spite of numerical distinctness of concrete things or particulars, characters or qualities can yet have such sameness or identity as is predictable in the same sense and relation of their relevant particulars. In this matter Bradley's phrasing of the issue, quite irrespective of the solution offered by him, seems to be more to the point. Repudiating at the very start the 'existential' interpretation of the issue involved in 'numerical sameness' or 'distinctness,'—"the idea that mere existence could be anything or could make anything the same or different, seems a sheer superstition"²—he holds all identity and continuity to be ideal, a matter of content. Then he proceeds to reinforce his own position by interpreting anew the Leibnitzian principle of the 'Identity of Indiscernibles' in the words that bear full quotation in this context: "it is because the ideal content *seems* the

¹ *Relativity, Logic and Mysticism*, Supplementary Volume III, pp. 115-6.

² *Appearance and Reality*, p. 592.

same that we *therefore* assume it to be really identical, and identical in spite of change and diversity, despite the difference of its two presentations.”¹ When, therefore, Prof. Stout goes on to affirm² that ‘the same indivisible quality cannot appear separately in different times and places’ unless it is locally or temporally separate, he is only begging the question concerning the nature of universals at the very start, and precluding the very possibility of ever coming into close quarters with the nature of the universal. For, his contention virtually amounts to saying *totidem verbis* that a character which characterizes a particular must characterize a particular only and therefore must be only a particular—or, to use his own words: ‘characters *as such* are instances of universals.’ But the reasoning in this regard does not appear to be at all convincing. Simply because characters are never found except as characterising particulars, it by no means follows that characters are only *instances* of universals, *i. e.*, are ‘particulars,’³ or as one recent writer,⁴ in avowed sympathy with Prof. Stout’s view, concludes herefrom that ‘what is in particulars is itself particular, a character such as a quality (or relation).’ Such a conclusion, however, is altogether untenable. Straining the analogy between characters exemplified in concrete things and the things themselves, the mode of reasoning employed herein has been betrayed into a confusion of the unity of the universal in its exemplifying particulars with the unity of the individual as a unity of its attributes. I do not offer to discuss here how far the conclusion has been influenced and precipitated by Prof. Stout’s view of substance as nothing apart from its qualities. What I find to be one of the most fatal pitfalls in his argument is his faltering grip on the distinction between the identity of a ‘continuant’ and the identity of a ‘recurrent’ character,—a distinction which, thanks to Mr. Johnson, is so useful in deter-

¹ *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II, pp. 567-8.

² *The Nature of Universals and Propositions* (Hertz Lecture).

³ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁴ L. A. Reid, *Knowledge and Truth*, p. 199.

mining the issue concerning universals. Indeed, the one essential aberration of Prof. Stout's theory, so far as I can make out, is that there could, according to it, be no 'unit classes' no universals with only one instance, in as much as the admission of such a universal would stultify the formula of 'the distributive unity' of a class. Yet there is absolutely no reason for refusing to admit the possibility of such universals.

While admitting that the traditional identity of differences, is ill adapted, by reason of its inherent ambiguities, to express the nature of universals, I do not yet see how we can mend matters by making universality consist 'in the identity of a type, that is recurrent in separate particulars.'¹ This type, kind or pattern, we are told,² is strictly 'what is recurrent' in qualities and relations which "are, as existences always particular"—though 'each is apprehensible only as a 'so-and-so,' as a 'such'"—and, further, 'the mode in which particulars are thus known is also the form in which they exist.' Much as I agree with the general tenour of Prof. N. K. Smith's criticisms, I am yet bound to dissent from this way of putting the case. I fail to see in what way exactly the 'type,' beyond introducing needless complication and an abstraction of the third degree, can solve the outstanding difficulties of the problem. Cannot a recurring character, by the very fact of its recurrence, be that 'pervasive character of things' which is essentially what we mean by the universal and thus dispense with the necessity of interpolating a 'type' into the analysis of the situation? Is not the nature of the universal better expressed by the identity of recurrent character than by the substantive unity of the 'type'? Moreover, it is essentially misleading to identify—no matter whether it is a particular or a universal of which you are speaking—'the mode in which things exist' with 'the mode in which they are known.' That is why we have the somewhat

¹ N. K. Smith, *The Nature of Universals*, Mind, No. 144, p. 420.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 408, 420,

otiose bifurcation of qualities and relations into an existential aspect and an aspect of content or character, *viz.* 'so-and-so,' proceeding presumably, from the belief in an existential status of universals, grounded in a 'theory of universals' which 'does not require us to resort to any such doctrine'¹ as the 'subsistence of universals.' Though not propounding a doctrine or defining the realm of 'subsistents,' Prof. Smith himself is confronted with the need of recognising, all the same, such a realm—of which he has, at least provided a negative justification in the contrast that he draws between 'the actual' and the 'non-actual' universal. His failure to recognise the importance or the essentially negative concept of 'subsistence,' has not infrequently led him to confuse the universal with the concept of it, and the word 'type' is typical of this confusion. To sum up therefore, what follows from a closer scrutiny of the doctrine of the 'concrete universal,' whether in the Hegelian or non-Hegelian version of it, is the total inaptness of its description as 'individual.' It is, in Bradley's opinion, the 'idea of system,' 'where difference and identity are two aspects of one process' exhibiting itself in the 'identity of analysis and synthesis' that is at bottom the notion of a perfected individuality—'the goal of our thoughts'² 'Our criterion,' in short, is 'this perfection—which is but 'individuality or the idea of complete system.'³ Thus, Bradley is debarred, by his very definition of 'individuality,' from predicating it of any other being except the Absolute. What I contend, however, is that the universal can neither be concrete nor individual; and therefore, to describe the individual as 'both a concrete particular and a concrete universal'—both being 'names of real existence'⁴—is but doing violence to language. To call an individual a concrete particular is something that one can readily understand, but at the same breath to designate an individual a 'concrete universal' is perplexing in the extreme.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

² *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II, pp. 487, 490.

³ *Appearance and Reality*, p. 542.

⁴ *Principles of Logic* Vol. I, p. 188.

It can only be entertained on the abrogation of the specific distinction between the universal and the particular. The perplexity is to be raced, however, to that cryptic dictum of Hegel's in which he holds that 'the universal is identical with itself with the express qualification, that it simultaneously contains the particular and the individual.' Now the term 'contains' is singularly inappropriate in the context. It owes all its plausibility to a radical confusion of the "is" of predication with "is" of equation or identity. To illustrate by Hegel's own example, Caius, Titus and Sempronius, as human, are each identical with the property of humanity, and thus humanity as a universe contains as its particulars Caius, Titus and Sempronius. But it is a mere truism that physical inclusion is one thing, and logical comprehension another—an individual inclusive of its properties is something fundamentally different from the universal as comprehending and manifesting itself in its particulars. It is far better to say, therefore, that the universal characterises the individual or the particular.

It is not at all difficult to see how this view reacts on the nature of the individual—representing it ultimately as a mere conflux or 'meeting-place' of universals. This is how the notion of the 'concrete universal' is obtained. But, as I have already argued, this is in effect to abolish the distinction between the universal and the individual. Individuals, in the Aristotelian sense of *πδωτη ουσια* are no mere combinations of, or complex, universals merely, simply because universals are not individuals, and no mere synthesis of "what's will bring us any the nearer to the concrete existence of an individual which we signify by the "that."

The root trouble for Bradley originates, however, from his systematic attempt to measure and define the concrete individual in terms of an abstract, formal individuality—the attempt in other words, to reduce the substantive into the merely predicative. Hence the inadequacy, and the inevitable bankruptcy of the logical criterion of individuality 'under double form of

inclusiveness and harmony,''¹ that leads him to declare that nothing is, properly speaking, individual or perfect except the Absolute; for, this means no more than that Individuality is individual or that Perfection is perfect. Individuality is to be defined, if at all, from the human end, and not from the side of the Absolute, which remains, in spite of what one may contrive to say to the contrary, an abstract universal. Such a reversion of the philosophic method cannot but entail consequences that are disastrous, and however much Bradley may try to retrieve the situation by calling the individual the concrete universal, the concreteness of the individual evaporates in its reduction to the universal, or at the most, survives only in name. That is why he proceeds, with unsuspecting consistency, to equate the 'true individual' with 'system'² as equivalent expressions of the nature of Reality—though it is reckoned that 'a self-contained individual (like the System itself) remains in a sense an ideal.'³ Now 'system' even with a capital S, will ever fall far short of, and fail to express, that concrete wholeness which reveals itself in the individual. In itself the system is a very useful category, so far as it exhibits a far more complex and comprehensive unity than that we meet with in individuals. But that does by no means imply that the more complex a unity is, the more concrete it necessarily is. Common sense would, however, declare that the relation is just the reverse. Nevertheless Bradley, no less than Bosanquet, is labouring under this very assumption, so far as they are bent upon resolving the difference of *kind*, that exists between the abstract and concrete, into one of *degrees* in completeness, and treating it like individuality, as a matter of degree, to be found in its perfection only in the Absolute. Measured by such a standard, the finite must necessarily appear to be abstract and ideal, and not, therefore, truly individual and concrete. There is, therefore, nothing strange that they should perpetually

¹ *Appearance and Reality*, p. 27.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II (Terminal Essays), p. 658.

be talking of a concrete universal or concrete unity, when what they are evidently meaning all the time is simply a complex unity, or the unity of a system. Founding, as he does, his conception of unity on differences, that are only precarious and superficial, he fails to justify herein the character of true universality which consists, as Bosanquet phrased it, in 'sameness by means of the other.'

It is true that Bradley has declared no less emphatically than Bosanquet that 'there would be no meaning in sameness unless it were the identity of differences, the unity of elements which it holds together, but must not confound.'¹ But the real meaning of the 'sameness' which he has enshrined in his views of unity is to be recovered from the significant use of the metaphor of 'elements' and the curiously grudging and disparaging tone in which he habitually speaks of differences. Forsooth, in a system where 'difference itself is but phenomenal' and 'not ultimate'—in as much as 'plurality and separateness themselves exist only by means of relations'² that are unreal—what in reality we can be, and 'are asserting' is simply 'that notwithstanding other aspects this one aspect of sameness persists and is real.'³ But this is not assuredly what he originally meant by the true universal or unity in difference; as a matter of fact, it answers exactly to Bosanquet's definition of generality as sameness in spite of the other.' What he was out to demonstrate and justify is the reality of the 'concrete universal' or 'unity in difference'; what he ended by demonstrating is the merely general or abstract universal. That is why Bradley is so anxious to maintain the aspect of identity or sameness at the expense of differences, and regard universals as being identical in their diverse instances, so that ultimately he discovers the main evidence in justification of concrete universals not in recurrent characters common to separate existences—for such there are none—

¹ *Appearance and Reality*, p. 348.

² *Ibid.*, p. 350.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 351 (*italics mine*).

but in the self-identity of the 'continuant.' This is what he calls the true, that is to say, concrete universal which is also the individual or system of members, each of which is likewise a system in miniature. Once we set our foot on this path, we cannot hope to discover, even at the furthest end of it, anything which can, with strict justice, be called 'individual.' For once we start by de-realising or de-individualising the individual—in pursuance of some abstract idea of perfect individuality—it is vain to attempt to reconstitute, by a process of re-concretion that individual with which the so-called 'concrete universal' is seeking to re-unite. Try, however much we may, to persuade ourselves, by the delusive gospel of the 'concrete universal,' that this is the Individual we had been all along in search of, it shall,—to repeat his own verdict in another context,—'no more *make* that whole which commands our devotion, than some shredded dissection of human tatters is that warm and breathing beauty of flesh which our hearts found delightful.'¹ For, evidently, in this suicidal pursuit, the individual as a substantive existent has disappeared, and, what we have instead is merely a phase of some universal which, again, in its turn is a phase of another universal until in the long run it reaches its consummation, in the manner of a 'note absorbed in the harmony of its higher bliss,'² in the Absolute as the one true Individual. It is futile to go on calling a mere synthesis of universals, however concretised, an individual—for, so to insist would be a more or less fallacy of verbalism; nor would it do to claim it as the 'Paradise regained' for thought, because, on his own showing, the 'Paradise to which one returns unless one's self could come back unchanged, is Paradise no longer.'³

It is apparent, therefore, that following the lead of the category of 'identity in difference' one must terminate in something that is neither concrete nor individual, but is assuredly universal

¹ *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II.

² *Appearance and Reality*, p. 172.

³ *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II. T. E. IV, p. 654.

and therefore, abstract. Though the notion of the 'concrete universal' as the true type of universality, is somewhat paradoxical, if not self-contradictory, it has nevertheless had an eventful history within as well as outside the Hegelian school proper. It may have fallen short of its immediate purpose—of substantiating the nature of Reality as Individual—but it may truly be said to have succeeded in that it seems to fail, *viz.*, in stressing the character of Reality as a concrete unity. It has influenced even such an un-Hegelian thinker as Professor Stout in his treatment of the universal as being concrete—the universal being 'the unity of a class as including its members or instances.' Now, this seems to be an extreme and literal carrying out, in an extensional reference, of the Hegelian view of 'the universal' as containing 'the particular and the individual.' It is true that Professor Stout stops short of extreme nominalism or particularism, and retrieves the situation by the admission of the universal as a 'distributive unity.' I have already commented upon the profound ambiguity lurking in the Hegelian dictum, and on the impropriety of an extensional rendering of the universal. What I am concerned to point out here is that the view of the universal as a 'distributive unity'—markedly the epithet 'distributive' as used in this context—is illustrative of that error of psychological and metaphysical hypostatisation of the universal into which many a noted thinker have slipped inadvertently. So construed his view is separated by a very thin margin from that of undisguised and avowed nominalism. Just as in Bradley's rendering of it, the individual is dissolved into a collection of universals that are ultimately housed in the Absolute, so the universal, in Prof. Stout's version of it, is concretised—or, in other words, 'distributed' and instantialized—to the very detriment of its character as universal. But the ultimate sequel to both these characteristic attempts is the same, *viz.*, the abolition of the specific distinction between the universal and the particular. Here is clearly a meeting of extremes, which has an interesting parallel in the Hegelian school itself. It is an historic common-

place that the objective or absolute idealism of Hegel which is sometimes styled, though paradoxically, 'ideal-realism,' has in its ambition to be absolute or thorough-going frequently tended, on account of its much too pretentious 'Panlogismus,' to degenerate as among the left-wing Hegelians and 'ultra-Hegelians,' into naturalism, historicism, or materialism of the most unmitigated type. That is indeed inevitable; an idealism that seeks, by its over-emphasis on the dictum 'all that is real is rational,' to obliterate the irreducible antithesis—I say, antithesis which must, at all costs, be maintained, although antagonism is denied—between the ideal and the actual, is sure to defeat its own end and is ultimately destined by its natural Nemesis to border upon a crude naturalism or materialism with its apotheosis of the actual. The modern Italian neo-Idealism which upholds the main Hegelian tradition seems to me to have been betrayed into the very same fallacy.

It is apparent that the doctrine of 'the concrete universal' as the very 'secret' of Hegel, has, passing through its varying formulations in the Hegelian school, come perilously near crass nominalism in what may be called Prof. Stout's concretism or particularism. For, what does his so-called 'distributive unity' amount to? It amounts to saying, in so many words, that the universal is a mere name for the totality of actual and possible instances, and as such, it is only nominally contra-distinguished from nominalism which it virtually is. It is, assuredly, straining the resources of language, and of ordinary speech, to say that all that we mean by the proposition 'the rose is red' is that the adjective 'red' stands, not for the characteristic being of the universal 'red,' but only and always, for all the actual and possible, instances of red. Granted, further, that the 'distributive unity of a class' or kind 'is an ultimate and unanalysable type of unity,' how does it avail in enabling us to realise that the separate instances of 'red' are only instances of the universal 'red,' without a prior knowledge of that of which they are recognised to be the instances? How, in other words, do the

instances come to be referred to the unity of one class if they have no common character except that of belonging to the class? The case for 'distributive unity' is only proved by a proleptic use of the terms employed; and it is made to rest ultimately upon what may, in all fairness, be described a clear *νοτερον προτερον*. By no stretch of imagination can these diverse instances of red be conceived to possess this characteristic prior to their classification, and cannot, therefore, serve as the basis of classification itself. Once it is clearly grasped that universals are integral to reality, and are to be interpreted not in a merely extensional manner—which has been found to be so forced and unnatural—but in a direct connotational reference, it is easier to realise that the unity of the universal is secured by the common character which is compatible with, and, in fact, pre-supposes diversity in respect of its exemplifying particulars. What is needed, therefore, is the whole-hearted recognition and consistent application of the notion of an inter-related system, for relatedness within a system as a category has been found to be much more fundamental, and ultimate, and essentially calculated to do justice to the reality of relations and characters than either of those of 'individuality', 'identity-in-difference', 'concrete universal' or even 'distributive unity.' What is the more note-worthy is that the unity which is characteristic of an articulate system is 'sameness by means of the other'—a phrase truly descriptive of individuality, not of universality as Bosanquet would have it—and therefore concrete.

S. K. DAS

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS¹

I. Whilst the generality of mankind is naturally inclined to believe that all that has existed and held good

Four questions constituting the problem of progress.

for a long time past and during many hundred years is the best of all things and of all institutions, the thoughtful man of all ages and of all countries has asked himself these questions : What does progress mean ? Wherein does it consist ? What are its conditions ? And how can it be effected ?

These queries are apt to suggest themselves to the thinking man who is either dissatisfied or is not, at any rate, fully satisfied with developments in the past either as regards the notion of progress, or as regards the methods adopted, or even as regards the results actually obtained, and has somehow caught glimpses into and believed in the possibility of a new form of existence ushering in another state of things which is better suited to the needs of humanity, happier and prosperous than any of those experienced heretofore. The preamble of the Seventh Pillar Edict of King Asoka of India will, I think, clearly bear out this point. In the introductory statement of this famous edict His Gifted Majesty and Grace the King says :

"The monarchs who had reigned in the past ages of mankind desired to see the people sufficiently grow in the growth of piety and morality, but they did not sufficiently grow. Now by what path should I lead them to progress, by what means can I enable them to sufficiently grow in the growth of piety and morality, and how can I uplift them by effecting the desired growth in piety and morality ? Then this thought occurred to me : I will cause proclamations of the ideals of piety and morality to be proclaimed and instructions in the laws of piety and

¹ This paper is substantially just a fuller form of two lectures, one addressed to the Philosophy Club of the Presidency College, Calcutta, on the Problem of Conflict, on January, 18, 1930, and the other to a select gathering of the public of Chinsurah, on Progress and its Conditions, on February, 15, 1930.

morality to be imparted, being attentive whereto they will abide by them and elevate themselves."

Though by my professional duties I have been concerned with the past history and civilisation of India, I cannot but welcome this occasion when I am called upon to express my views on a subject on which every thinking man or woman, I dare say, has some definite opinion, and that in response to the call of those who have failed to remain satisfied with developments in the long past of this country either as regards the notion of progress, or as regards the methods adopted, or even as regards the results actually obtained, and somehow entertained a belief in the possibility of a better state of things to come. And whatever the real weight and value of my reflections on this fundamental problem of human society, I will frankly lay them before the reader for his sober consideration.

II. At the very outset arises the question : What does Meaning of progress. progress mean? It goes without saying that stepping onward is the accepted etymological sense of the word progress, or that continuous advancement, improvement, change for the better, perfection, elevation, and such other words pass current as its synonyms. I can quite see their usefulness for common understanding in daily conversations of men. Keeping them within their reasonable bounds, I may even utilise them for explaining what I understand to be the meaning of progress, never forgetting to beware of the danger of misinterpretation when one's ideas are presented in terms of common parlance.

It is easy to detect that the commonly accepted etymological sense and various synonyms of progress carry with them certain metaphorical implications and vagaries of imagination which, if not carefully guarded against, are likely to produce confusion. For as soon as one begins to talk of progress as stepping onward, one is apt to have at the back of one's mind the fancy of moving on and on by a set path of the journey of man's life to

a set destination or goal.¹ In the same train of imagination one may be led to think of proceeding step by step in order to effect a continuous advancement and a continual change for the better up till the final stage of development or evolution is reached.² As, on the one hand, this play of imagination appears happy on account of its optimistic appeal so, on the other hand, it arouses the dread of fatigue of journeying through a weary path compelling the human mind to eagerly seek final repose or rest in an eternal home, a perfect state of things, a glorious paradise. It is necessary to guard against these poetical associations and creative fancies of art.

I may be prepared to accept stepping as an interpretation of progress provided that it does not suggest the imagery of the cycles of movement,—of moving forward and backward, of envelopment and development, progression and retrogression.³ I can

¹ For instance, the Kali-samtarapa Upanishad emphatically declares that there is no better means of crossing the fearful sea of existence in this Dark Age than repeating this formula of the Lord's name :

*Hare-Rāma, Hare-Rāma, Rāma-Rāma, Hare-Hare |
Hare-Krishṇa, Hare-Krishṇa, Krishṇa-Krishṇa, Hare-Hare ||*

And in the Kindred Sayings, the Buddhist herald of paradise sings out in this strain :

“ Straight is the name that Road is called, and Free
From Fear the quarter whither thou art bound.
Thy chariot is the Silent Runner named,
With wheels of Righteous effort fitted well.
Conscience the Leaning Board ; the Drapery
Is Heedfulness ; the driver is the Norm,
I say, and Right views, they that run before :
And, be it woman, be it man for whom
Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
Into Nibbāna's presence shall they come.”

² This is indeed the substance of the Brahmanical doctrine of four *āśramas* or stages of effort, and of the Buddhist doctrine of *chariyā* or *pāramitā*. In the Gaṇaka-Moggallāna-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya the Brahmanical doctrine has been set forth in these words : “ Just as a mathematician counts the numbers in an ascending order, one, two, three, and so on, or just as one walks up a staircase step by step, so the Brahmanical teachers have graduated their system of training and rules of practical life.”

³ Here the allusion is to the Brahmanical and Buddhist notions of cosmical eras (*samvarta-sivarta-kalpas*), and to the Jain notion of *utsarpinī* and *avasarpinī yugas*,

concede stepping only in the sense of the preparedness and possibility of mankind for taking certain definite steps, another set of such steps, and yet another set *ad infinitum*, sufficing, as devised each time, to suit their manifold needs and diversify their works of creation. In following certain definite courses of action the utmost that may be expected is the consciousness of a felt advance in the sense that the steps previously taken were not the last or final ones (*charama* or *parama*) but that now they are capable of taking other courses, after that other ones, and so on. The degree of progress is to be determined by the measure of preparedness and possibility of humanity for taking certain definite courses of action sufficing, as devised under varying circumstances, to suit its manifold needs and diversify its works of creation. It is immaterial, as I shall show below, that certain courses now taken should always be consistent with those known to have been taken before. The soundness is to be tested rather negatively, namely, to see that steps that are now being taken are not inconsistent with the preceding ones.¹

I am not surely juggling with mere words when I maintain that in judging the soundness of the steps of progress the really important thing to consider is not whether the devised courses are consistent in all respects with those tried before but rather whether these are not inconsistent with them. The Indian dialectic recognises position, counter-position, juxta-position and trans-position as the four different modes of determination of

¹ Consistency is the insistence of all cults of conservation (*sthiti*). One of the clauses in the valedictory address of the teacher to the pupil on the latter's leaving the school (*Taittiriya Upanishad*, I, 9) is : "Perform only those good works which have been done by us (predecessors), and not others." One of the seven essential conditions of national or communal well-being that are said to have been laid down by the Buddha *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*, Ch. I) is : "So long as the individuals of a nation or community do not seek to establish that which is not established and to upset that which is well-established, so long they may be expected to prosper and not to decline." The pious wish expressed by King Asoka in his edicts is that "his sons, grandsons, and the descendants who follow them, as long as the present world-system continues, should abide by the principles and ideals of piety and morality inculcated by him." The repeated insistence of Brahmanism is on the consistency of man's actions with the Vedic injunctions, and the exceptions are only the cases where the departures may be excused.

truth relating to all matters of fact. The position is the putting forth of the thesis in the form of an affirmation that 'something is something (say consistent).' The counter-position is the contradiction of the thesis by an antithesis in the form of a negation that 'something is not something (say, not consistent).' The juxta-position is the combination of incompatibles or the explaining away of the fact of opposition between the thesis and the antithesis by a half-hearted synthesis in the form of an analytical discrimination of the parts that 'something is in some regard something (say, consistent) and in some regard other thing (say, inconsistent).' Lastly, the trans-position is the further step of synthesis in the form of an artistic appreciation of its total effect that 'something is, upon the whole, neither something (say, consistent), nor other thing (say, inconsistent), and yet partakes somehow of the character of both.'¹ As will be evident from the following illustration, 'not inconsistent,' here proposed as the sound test of the steps of progress, covers the ground of all these four modes.

If in devising the best conceivable food for the modern civilised man we be all along concerned to make it consistent, rigorously consistent, with the food of the first man who used to eat all things raw and uncooked, we can never dream of the art of cooking, and what to speak of its progress! If, on the other hand, our main consideration be that it will not be inconsistent with the first man's food, that it will not be inconsistent with any other man's food, and even that it will not be inconsistent with any food which is the subsistence of life in general, we may be sure to get wider and wider scopes for investigation, comparison, deliberations on relative excellence and drawback, and suitability and unsuitability, improvement of the technique of the art, fresh discovery and invention, determination and choice.

¹ It may be noted that the seven modes of the Jain dialectic (*sapta-bhaṅgi-naya*) are nothing but further elaborations of the four mentioned above.

The insistence on consistency is needed, as one may reasonably contend, to secure and widen the domain of the first man's food and of food at large. But the rigorous insistence on it is bound to be detrimental to the art of cooking, and it is likely to be an impediment to man's existence where, for some reasons or other, the natural food is not available. Too much insistence on consistency is destined to create what the poet of Bengal aptly calls "the incubus of petrified tradition." If the insistence, however, be that it will not anyway be inconsistent, I may venture to think that no food which has been carefully devised after deliberations from all possible standpoints will not only not contradict either the first man's food, or another man's food, or food at large, but will deepen its significance along with the greater and greater realisation of the possibilities of the art of selection and preparation of human food. The fetish or false pride that the last man's food is not what the first man's food was, that the last man's food is all dressed and cooked and the first man's food was all raw and uncooked will vanish as the testimony of fact will show that in no stages of human evolution the man has done or could do away with the first man's food. One can say indeed that the degree of progress depends on the measure of clear recognition that may be given to the first man's food, to the second man's food, to all men's food, nay, to all food; and it depends also on the possibility of being followed by another kind of best devised food, and yet another kind.

It may be pointed out that so far as the best devised food of the modern man leaves room for the raw and uncooked edibles, it is consistent with the first man's food; that so far as it makes due provision for the edibles dressed and cooked, it is inconsistent; that in respect of both, considered as two distinct elements or constituents, it is a compound, aggregate or composite; and that so far as the total effect of both on the human system and their combined effect on the æsthetic sense go, it is neither consistent nor inconsistent.

Even further analytical discrimination may be attempted

enabling one to form judgments which will be of a quantitative, or of a qualitative, or of a proportional character. And what is in all these respects true of food, holds equally true of dress, habitation, social organisation, economic scheme, political constitution, method of administration, language, thought, art and education.

Continuous advancement as a synonym of progress has its significance if it implies that continued, repeated, sustained and strenuous efforts are necessary to produce the diverse and best possible results. But if it implies, on the contrary, that mankind should at all times and in all cases follow the beaten track and travel by the same kind of vehicle to a fixed paradise, it dwindles into monotony, and hence dullness. Perfection as another synonym may have its significance as representing the last stage of the history of a single course of action devised to produce a particular kind of result. But if it impels one to believe that no other courses can be devised to produce other good results and that it is advisable in the economy of human thought and energy to keep to that single course of action under all conditions, the consequence is stagnation, and hence death. The idea of improvement is dependent on the notion of standard. It also has its significance as a means of checking pretentious claims to the originality of method or of production, and no less, as a means of preventing thoughtless imitation and waste of energy. But if it implies the stifling of all efforts because these are not commensurate with a set standard, it tantamounts to strangling the life of the whole human race.

Thus one may entertain all the current and generally accepted ideas in a reasonable and limited sense, not losing sight of the suggested meaning of progress as stepping in the sense of the increasing preparedness and possibility of mankind for taking certain definite steps, other such steps, and after them other ones, sufficing, as devised each time, to suit their manifold needs and diversify the products of thought and art, not contradicting in essence the traditions of the past, and

not expecting any more than the consciousness of a felt advance.

Upon the whole, the claim made is that if we devise the best conceivable food or think the best conceivable thought, in this food or thought, the food or thought of all ages, countries and peoples will receive its due recognition, gain in significance, that is, will, to use the noble phrase, fulfil itself. If we truly and vigorously live the full life, in the fulness of life that we are able to live, will live on the forefathers who are otherwise dead and gone.

So far regarding the meaning of progress.

[To be continued.]

B. M. BARUA

THE MAKING OF A NATION

An attempt is made here to discover what elements have been found helpful, necessary or indispensable in the building up of nations in order to get some guidance as to what may be done in India towards bringing about a sense of national unity.

To-day the term 'nationality' is used so much and so loosely that a little time and thought devoted to it will not be entirely wasted. Being so much a part of our mental aptitude we seldom pause to find out what it is, how it is constituted and how aroused.

Says Bluntschli, the German political writer : "While diversity of races is *natural*, the nations into which they divide or which have arisen from the fusion of the different races are clearly the product of history. Nations are historical members of Humanity and its races." "History by processes of separation and fusion as well as by change and development has in the course of time severed nations and produced new ones. Hence the peculiarities of nations appear less in their physical appearance than in their spirit and character, their language and their law."¹ Races break up into nations through the operation of certain forces, and so there can be several nations in one race, and even several races in one nation. We start with races and in course of time come to nations.

To make intelligible what we mean by a nation, we may define it provisionally in Ramsay Muir's words as "a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied when disunited, and cannot tolerate subjection to people who do not share these ties."² This, of course, is when the process is more or less completed. A personification of this unity may be said to be the spirit of nationality.

¹ Bluntschli, J. K., *Theory of the State*, Book 2, Chap. I, pp. 84-85.

² Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 38.

What are the factors in the making of nationality, the ties of affinity necessary to constitute a nation ? We shall deal with them severally and somewhat exhaustively. What has history to say ?

The occupation of a defined geographical area with a character of its own is often assumed to be one. It cannot be denied that most of the clearly marked nations have enjoyed a geographical unity, and have often owed their nationhood, in part, to this fact. But this is not indispensable for nationhood. One of the most persistent and passionate of European nationalities, the Poles, has no clearly defined geographical limits on any side. On the other hand, between France and Germany, two different and hostile nationalities, the line of geographical division seems almost accidental; again, the real geographical unity which belongs to the Hungarian plains with its ring of encircling mountains and its single river system has not availed to create a national unity. Geographical unity may help, but it is not the main source of nationhood.

Unity of race is often considered to be one essential, perhaps the one essential, element in nationhood. History does not support this belief. There is no nation in the world that is not of mixed race, and there never has been a race which has succeeded in including all its members within a single nationality. In his ' Nationalism and Internationalism,' Ramsay Muir, granting that "some degree of racial unity is indeed almost indispensable in nationhood," adds that "it is enough that the various elements in the nation should have forgotten their divergent origins and that there should be no sharply drawn cleavage between them. In other words, racial mixture is not hostile to the growth of national spirit, so long as the races are merged and there is free intercourse, by intermarriage and otherwise, between them. What is fatal to the growth of a sense of nationality is that one of the constituent races should cherish a conviction of its own superiority and that this conviction should be embodied in law or custom." One cannot help asking "What

about the United States of America where everyone of the conditions quoted as antagonistic to the building up of nationality is obviously present ? ” Muir has either overlooked this case or deliberately set it aside as not yet a nationality. No one who has seen nationalistic demonstrations in the States can doubt the vigour of her nationalism. How long such a nation can hold together, however, time only can say.

A third factor in nationality, far more important, perhaps, than race, is unity of language. A common language is the special mark of a people, especially because the colour and quality of a language and the colour and quality of the thought of those using it have not a little to do with each other. Those who cannot understand it tend to be regarded as foreigners, strangers. It is the expression of the common spirit and the instrument of intellectual intercourse. A national language keeps the sense of nationality living and awake by daily exercise. Even strange races entering the heritage of a new language are gradually transformed in spirit until their nationality is changed. Thus the German tribes of the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy became Italians, the Celts, Franks and Burgundians in France became French and the Slavs and Wends in Prussia became German. There is scarcely any racial affinity between the people of northern Italy and those of the extreme South; but they speak a common language which has been standardized by a great literature. But for this how could Mazzini’s young prophets have appealed to all the Italians ? A common language means also a common literature which is the means of community of thought and feeling, a common inspiration of great ideas, a common heritage of songs and folk-tales, embodying and impressing upon each successive generation the national point of view.

And yet unity of language does not necessarily bring about national unity, and disunity of language does not necessarily prevent it. The Spanish language dominates Central and South America but these lands have long ceased to feel any such affinity

with Spain as would lead them to desire political unity with her. The Americans speak English but they are a perfectly distinct nationality. Here not language but the difference of natural circumstances and pursuits, of historical, social and political conditions, which has divided one people into two. On the other hand, the Swiss are a nation though they have no language peculiar to themselves, but are divided into French-speaking, German-speaking and Italian-speaking districts. Belgians are a nation though they speak Flemish, French and German. Unity of language, therefore, though it is of great potency as a nation-building force, is neither indispensable to the growth of nationality nor sufficient of itself to make a nation.

Religious unity has sometimes been regarded as a factor in the development of nationality and there are cases in which it has proved a potent force in nation-making. The national character of the Scots is probably more due to the work of John Knox than to any other single cause. But religion of itself has seldom or never sufficed to create a nation. It may be more plausibly argued that religious disunity is hostile to nationhood. Ireland is a notorious instance. On the other hand, there are not wanting cases where religious disunity has not been an obstacle to national unification. Germans are conscious of unity as a nation apart from the differences between Protestants, Catholics, Pantheists and Jews, and are distinguished from foreign peoples of the same religion. England has never known religious unity since the Reformation. Religious freedom which is valued more highly than unity of belief in most Western lands has never been found to weaken national feeling. In conclusion we may say that while in some cases religious unity has powerfully contributed to create and strengthen national unity, and while in other cases religious disunity has placed grave obstacles in its way ; on the whole, religion has not been a factor of the first importance in the making of nations. It must be added, however, that when the fundamental conceptions, ideals and implications of the religions are so widely dissimilar as to make

mutual understanding and friendly co-operation very difficult, religious unity becomes almost indispensable for national unity. The fundamental antagonism between the outlook of the Moslems and of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire made the growth of national sentiment among these communities quite unrealizable. The instance of the antipathy between the Hindus and Moslems of India has often been cited in this connection. But it must be remembered also that there are other factors at least equally strong drawing these people together.

Common subjection to a firm and systematic government, even if it is despotic, may well help to create a nation especially if a system of just and equal laws is created which the subjects can fully accept as part of their mode of life. The nationhood of France owes a great debt to its practically despotic kings from Philip Augustus downwards. It was again the despotism of Charles V and Philip II which hammered the divided states of Spain into a real nation. Common subjection and hostility to a foreign rule is one of the most potent forces making for national unification as it tends to make divergent groups willing to unite in the face of a common crisis. The political unity brought about by the British has greatly assisted the sense of national unity in India. In view of all that has been said so far, we are led to remark that there is no single infallible test of what constitutes nationality unless it be the people's own conviction of their nationhood. The final deciding factor in nationality is psychological, "National characteristics," according to Pillsbury,¹ "are not discovered directly but only through responses of the individual, and through the responses that betray his emotional and intellectual activities. Ask him if you want to know to what nationality he belongs and you will have a better criterion than his racial descent or physical measurement. Nationality is first of all a psychological and sociological problem; only indirectly can it be determined by anthropometry or even by history." (Pillsbury, p. 20.) In other words, the essence of

¹ W. B. Pillsbury : *Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism*, New York, 1919.

nationality is a sentiment and is to be seen in the common spirit and common character which inspires it.

In the language of Ramsay Muir,¹ "The most potent of all nation-moulding forces, the one indispensable factor which must be present whatever else may be lacking, is the possession of a common tradition, a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common, expressed in song and legend, in the dear names of great personalities that seem to embody in themselves the character and ideas of the nation, in the names also of sacred places wherein the national memory is enshrined.

"The indestructible nationality of the rude mountaineers of Serbia is not due to race or language or religion, though all of these have contributed to form it, so much as to the proud memory of Stephen Dushan, the tragic memory of Kossova, and the four bitter centuries of slavery that followed it; it is deepened by the memory of the long obscure struggle against the Turks from 1804 to 1829 and enriched by the triumphs of 1912 and 1913; it is made imperishable by the heroic sufferings of the men of 1914 and 1915, by their agony of defeat quite as much as by their victories. Here is the source of the paradox of nationality; that it is only intensified by sufferings, and like the great Antaeus in the Greek fable, rises with redoubled strength every time it is beaten down into the bosom of its mother earth. Heroic achievements, agonies heroically endured, these are the sublime food by which the spirit of nationhood is nourished; from these are born the sacred and imperishable tradition that make the soul of nations." "No one contributes so much to light the flames of national patriotism as the conqueror who gives it the opportunity of showing that it is inspired by the unconquerable spirit of liberty by whose appeal the meanest soul cannot fail to be thrilled." The fire of German patriotism itself was inextinguishably lighted by the tyranny of Napoleon. Why are the Swiss a nation though made up of detached fragments of three great

¹ Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 48.

neighbour peoples? They are made a nation by the memory of their long common defence of freedom, among the mountains. Once memories of servitude, exploitation and suffering have been branded into the soul of a people, their nationhood becomes indestructible.

Nationality then is an elusive idea, difficult to define. It cannot be tested or analysed by formulae. Its essence is a sentiment and in the last resort we can only say that a nation is a nation because its members passionately and unanimously believe it to be so. No single factor, neither geographical unity nor race, nor language, nor religion, seems to be indispensable to nationhood, and even the possession of common traditions, though the most powerful of all binding forces, need not prevent the inclusion within a nation of elements which do not fully share those traditions. Some, at least, of the ties of affinity the people that claims nationhood must possess, but no one of them is essential or can be used as a certain criterion.

Since it is not solely or even mainly based upon racial homogeneity, nationality can be nursed into existence even where most of the elements of unity are lacking in the beginning. It is often said of India, as formerly of Italy, that she is "only a geographical expression;" yet Italy, that never was a nation even in the days of Imperial Rome, has become one during living memory. So also of Germany might the same expression have been used, yet Germany has sprung one nation from a congeries of separate and often warring states.

The nation must be an ideal before it can become an actuality. The ideal must be preached everywhere. This is the lesson we learn from history. Italian poets sang of their land. Italy as ideal was pictured and chanted until Italian hearts throbbed responsive to Italy as Motherland. Then came Mazzini the idealist, who wrote his words of fire; Garibaldi, the warrior, who drew his sword and battled, and Cavour, the

statesman, who built the Italian polity. Italy was born ; she came from the world of ideas into the world of facts !

The common past must be shown forth and dwelt upon. Education can help tremendously in this direction. History must be taught in every school in a new way. The example of most Western countries suggests that the historians who write for boys should be patriots pulsing with love and pride in the splendid story of their country's past. The oath which young Italy imposed at initiation is a fine specimen of one of the ways to which men have had recourse. " In the name of God and of Italy, in the name of all the martyrs of the holy Italian cause who have fallen beneath foreign and domestic tyranny.....by the love I bear to the country that gave my mother birth, and will be the home of my children.....by the blush that rises to my brow when I stand before the citizens of other lands, to know that I have no rights of citizenship, no country and no national flag by the memory of our former greatness, and the sense of our present degradation by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons dead on the scaffold, in prison, or in exile, by the suffering of the millions.....I swear to dedicate myself wholly and for ever to strive to constitute Italy one free, independent, republican nation."¹ Men who have risen to national fame through service should be held up as examples and ideals in schools all over the country, and citizenship education should be stressed. Prize contests for the composition of national songs, the designing of a national flag, the writing of biographies of national heroes, and the like, are calculated to serve not only the immediate end, but also the remoter purpose of informing the intelligence and developing a sentiment for national unity among students. A host of other ways and means have been, and still are being tried, with not a little success, as one might see in the educational programme for the assimilation of aliens in a country like the United States of America.

¹ Rose, J. H., *Rise of Nationality in Modern History*, pp. 81-2.

In defence of the sentiment of nationality it may be said, using the language of J. H. Rose,¹ that "The cosmopolitan who sneers at his country and raves about humanity is like a man who despairs the use of stairs and seeks to leap to the first floor. Such efforts have always failed.....Because narrow-minded people can't see beyond their town or country, you do not therefore abolish the organization of the town or country. You retain the organization and seek to widen their outlook. The true line of advance is not to sneer at nationality and decay patriotism, but to utilise those elemental forces by imparting to them a true aim instead of the false aim which has deluged Europe with blood." The reason why nationality has often been a conflict category is because of its tendency to forget the rights and needs of other nationalities. 'My country right or wrong' is an attitude bred by false patriotism and does not make for peace. Nationalism in the West has been the means of mobilization with a view to aggress and conquest, and worse, it is turning some peace-loving countries into military camps. As Tagore picturesquely puts it in his book on Nationalism, the Western nations with their armies and cannon stood before the shores of Japan, and thundered forth saying "Let there be a nation," and a nation was born.

All that we can claim for the rousing of national consciousness in the countries of 'No-nation' is that it is necessary for commanding the hearing of the Councils of the Nations and indispensable for making any worthwhile contribution that may be distinctive of their culture and heritage. The Orient, as a rule, has never cast covetous eyes on other men's land or gold or oil. The keynote of Eastern nationalism, as noticeable in the demands of China and India to-day, is the desire to have a chance to develop in ways which are natural and normal to them, with the hope that, unhampered and unmolested, they may bring their peculiar treasures, as once indeed they did, to the altar

¹ *Ibid.*

of Humanity. One humanity, parting into many peoples, enables it, by their competition and their manifold energies to unfold all those hidden powers which are capable of common development, and to fulfil its destiny more abundantly. In closing, it would not be out of place to quote the sublime conception of nationality expressed by no less a nationalist than Mazzini himself. "Every people has its special mission which will co-operate towards the fulfilment of the general mission of Humanity; that mission constitutes its Nationality."

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Bombay.

The annexations of 1818 gave to Bombay a territorial importance similar to that already possessed by the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Imposition of salt tax was one of the steps which was needed as much to place the finance of the province on a footing of equality with those of other parts as to supply the ways and means of an improved and expensive administration that must at the same time forego the proceeds of some indigenous forms of obnoxious taxation. But the whole of our present period was to pass away in deliberations and discussions and no action was actually taken till the beginning of the next.

The investigation of the year 1816 showed the practicability of substantial improvement of Government's resources through the levy of such duty on salt as would not bear heavily on the people. On the basis of those returns, the Bombay Government proposed to establish a salt monopoly at the maximum monopoly price of a little more than Rs. 1-13-6 per maund. To safeguard the monopoly, it proposed the imposition of a prohibitory duty on the import of salt into any part of the province and on the transit of all salt through the British territories annexed to the Presidency except on such salt as might be purchased at the Company's sales or depots. The Bombay Government satisfied itself by previous enquiry from Madras, where the conditions were in many respects similar, that the monopoly was working there satisfactorily from every point of view. And we should not forget that the opposition against the Bengal monopoly had not yet become strong though it had begun to make itself felt.

It was in 1823 that the draft of a regulation, embodying the above proposals, was forwarded to the Court of Directors for approval. But the latter turned it down for "in districts recently acquired and still in great measure unsettled, the taxation of an article, necessary to subsistence must be considered as grievous and oppressive."¹

The question was then dropped, but only for a short while. Early in 1825 the matter was again referred to the Bombay Customs Committee, which was just then appointed. It was taken for granted that the duty was susceptible of increase. The Committee was only asked to suggest, after proper investigation, the highest rate of duty that might be advisable to adopt. Monopoly having meanwhile fallen into discredit, the Government did not contemplate its establishment. The Committee was therefore asked to suggest some other mode of raising the revenue that would be most suitable to the conditions of the country.

After a very assiduous and thorough inquiry, spreading over almost a year, one of the members of the Committee, who was deputed for the purpose, submitted his views in 1826. Mr. Bruce—for that was the name of the gentleman—recommended no drastic change in the method of management which already existed but suggested many minor improvements of very great usefulness. To speak generally, he framed his recommendations with an eye to the establishment of greater freedom of manufacture and trade, to secure as far as practicable, an equality of conditions for all by doing away with all privileges, whether of the government or of favoured individuals and also suggested measures for simplifying the unnecessarily cumbrous process of administering the revenue. He eloquently advocated the urgent need of abolishing the transit duties and proposed in its stead the levy of three duties, of which one was an excise on salt at the rate of 6 *as.* 4 *pies* per maund, being an increase of 90% on

¹ Reply of 11th February, 1824.

the previous rate. Mr. Bruce did not apprehend that the higher duty would appreciably increase the burden since he estimated that the transit duty, collected from salt alone, amounted to nearly a third of the whole amount obtained in that way.

The Bombay Government, on the whole, accepted the recommendations. A draft regulation was prepared in very broad outlines, leaving the important questions, such as the rate of duty and the mode of realizing the revenue, undecided, and was transmitted to the Court of Directors in the middle of 1828.

About the same time in the following year, the Court of Directors communicated their approval of the measure on the distinct understanding that it was merely meant as commutation for the more inconvenient duties of transit and not as adding to the burdens of the people. They had no doubt that the revenue proposed to be raised upon salt would be paid with much less inconvenience by the people than an equal amount in the shape of transit duties.

As regards the undecided points the Court of Directors commended the principle of a uniform excise duty and of the rate proposed by Bruce. "The method," in their opinion, "has great advantages and it is only when local circumstances interfere with the means of protection against the smuggler, that any other plan ought ever to be preferred." They considered the rate of duty suggested by Bruce to be reasonable. "It was not so high as to add materially to the cost of the article even to those, who, from their locality, had been the least subject heretofore to the burthen of the transit duty and would be compensated for to those at a distance from the place of supply by the discontinuance of the transit duty."

In the meantime, the India Government, to which a copy of the draft regulation was sent, had asked the Bombay Government to give a decided opinion of their own regarding the rate of duty and the mode of management. Accordingly in April of

1829, the Bombay Government had despatched another regulation that was definite on those points. The Government had great misgivings about the propriety of a flat rate throughout the Presidency. It had consequently proposed that only a statutory maximum of 13 *as.* 3 *pies* per maund was to be fixed, and the actual rate to be levied would depend upon the circumstances of each locality.

The new regulation received the sanction of the Court of Directors in 1830. It is somewhat curious that the Court had so readily subscribed to the proposition of the Bombay Government since only a decade ago it had discountenanced a similar proposal of the Madras Government as unsound. The Government next started to settle the preliminaries and work out the details. Inquiries were instituted to ascertain the actual rate that was to be levied in each district. The inquiries lasted till 1835.

Meanwhile the publication of Trevelyan's report focussed the attention of all upon the evils of the inland duties as on no previous occasion and the Imperial Government had in consequence to appoint in 1835 a Customs Committee to suggest means for improving the customs revenue of the whole of India.

Since the subject of the Committee's investigation had an important and direct bearing on the question of Bombay salt duty, it was decided to defer the final decision in the matter till the publication of the above-mentioned report. The Customs Committee at first recommended the abolition of inland transit duties and the substitution of a uniform schedule of export and import duties. But when the India Government objected to do away with the inland duties on grounds of financial stringency, the Committee, on second thought, suggested, among other things, the adoption of a uniform excise and import duty on salt in Bombay at the rate of eight annas per maund in order to make up for the loss that would result from

the abrogation of the inland duties in the province. Subsequent discussion as to the actual rate that would be most suited to the conditions of the province proceeded on the new line of a uniform duty thus suggested. The Bombay Government's regulation founded on the principle of a variable rate receded into the background and ultimately proved abortive.

(To be continued.)

PARIMAL RAY

AUTUMN SONG

(After Paul Verlaine)

The long sighs
That arise
From Autumn's violins,
My heart distress,
And weariness
Begins.
O'erwhelmed with rue,
And pallid too,
When the hour's near ;
I call to mind
Day left behind,
And shed a tear.
Then do we go
Where ill winds blow,
I and my grief ;
Till here and there
We're twirled in air
Like a dead leaf.

F. V. W.

INDIAN NATIONALISM AND BOLSHEVISM

A section of Indian Nationalists, in their struggle against British Imperialism, is consciously or unconsciously inspired by what looks like the success of the Russian Revolution. Some of them are admittedly worshippers of "communism" and believe that the Indian Nationalist Movement should, at least in matters of foreign relations, become an adjunct of the Soviet Russian Foreign Policy. They advocate that the Indian National Congress should be *affiliated* with the Anti-Imperialist League, which regards the Indian Nationalist Movement, as represented by the All-India National Congress, as merely capitalistic and concludes that the masses--workers and peasants--of India consequently should not have anything to do with it, but, on the contrary, they should organise an "Anti-Imperialist League" in India towards the ultimate goal of the establishment of a Communist State in India.

These saviours of Indian workers and peasants believe that they should preach and practise "Class War" in India. They are anxious to propagate a doctrine which carried into practice will inevitably lead to civil war in India. Sincere Indian Nationalists should not forget that "civil war" in India was the principal cause of her subjection to foreign rule. They all realise the fact that the spirit of communalism (Hindu-Moslem disunity) is a great obstacle in the way of achieving national unity. *One cannot deny the fact that "communism" as represented by the philosophy of "class war" is a violent form of communalism or tribalism ; and it will hinder the cause of national unity in India.*

No doubt, some of the Indian Princes and members of the landed aristocracy and some Indian capitalists have sided with the alien rulers of India and they have shown very little concern for the welfare of the masses. Naturally these Indian

allies of foreign rulers, who are determined to keep India under subjection at any price should not be trusted as leaders or friends of the Indian nationalist movement. But to class Indian intellectuals and rich Indians as a class as enemies of Indian freedom (enemies of Indian workers and peasants) is absolutely untenable from the standpoint of historical facts as demonstrated by the evolution of the Indian Nationalist Movement. No one can deny that the seed of the present Nationalist Movement in India was sown by Indian intellectuals and they were supported by many well-to-do men and women. The history of Indian Nationalist Movement shows that during its infancy more than 99% of those, who had to suffer imprisonment, deportation to the Andaman Islands or had to face the gallows, came from the intellectuals or so-called upper classes and the workers and peasants did not take any part in it. It was the Indian intellectuals who deliberately worked and are still working to instil national and social consciousness into the masses.

The principle which should guide Indian nationalists in their activities for gaining freedom, is not "class struggle" but co-operation among the nationalists of all strata of life to make their country free and independent. National freedom is but a means towards the betterment of the condition of the masses of India. It cannot be denied that the Indian masses are victims of exploitation by Indians of a certain class while the people of India as a whole are being exploited by the British. Yet it will be a criminal folly, if Indian Nationalists at any stage of their struggle for freedom, make "class war" the principal issue or adopt it as their policy and an appropriate means for the attainment of their goal.

The philosophy of "class war" has been the directing principle of the Communist Party in Russia ; and it has been practised through the hierarchy or autocracy of the Soviet State, during the last 15 years, supposedly to bring about a new and ideal social order. It seems that the practice of the philosophy

of "class war" has brought about a new form of tyranny. It may be said that it has produced a new form of reign of terror, denying the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness for many millions in Russia. The Philosophy of "Class War" practised by the communists has undoubtedly accentuated the present "party wars" among the various brands of communists in all lands, but especially in Soviet Russia. The best example of it, is that Trotsky, once the saviour of Soviet Russia from foreign invasions, once the Commander-in-Chief and founder of the Red Army, is now being regarded as a dangerous counter-revolutionist and has been exiled from Soviet Russia. It cannot be denied that hundreds of Russians who were the pioneers in the movement for the overthrow of the Tsardom, have met with death, because they dared to disagree with the present rulers of Soviet Russia.

Indian masses—workers and peasants—are in abject poverty; and Indian Nationalists must do their best to raise them from their present pitiable condition. But this desired change cannot be brought about by preaching "Class War" or Bolshevism in India. The study of history does not provide one instance that the masses of any country have been raised merely through a successful "class war." But it is abundantly proven in our times that any revolutionary movement which has given undue emphasis to destructive philosophy has ultimately failed in its real purpose of bettering the condition of the masses.

In all revolutionary movements, "mob psychology" plays a very important part. Spectacular demonstrations and "catch-phrases" always rouse the imagination of the masses who are often used by selfish and unscrupulous leaders. During the French Revolution, its leaders approved the policy of the "reign of terror," to crush opposition; but when they tried to stop the excesses, they themselves became the victims of the very "guillotine" which was used against the French aristocrats.

Some Indian political leaders feel that the application of destructive tactics of "Class War" may be an effective weapon against their enemies. They however should not forget that the same weapon might be used against them; and it may eventually undermine the very existence of the Nationalist Movement. Recovery of Indian freedom and promotion of genuine welfare of the people of India is the ultimate goal of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Therefore Indian Nationalist activities should be directed in such a way as will lead to the harmonising of the varied interests of the various strata of the vast population, affording the best opportunity for the development of national life. If the Indian Nationalist Movement is to become a factor for human progress, then the gravest responsibility for the Indian political leaders lies in the fact that they should not allow it to degenerate into activities for spreading class-hatred or race-hatred.

TARAKNATH DAS

TO DAISY

In the stillness of dusk on my heart lean thy cheek,
 And unfold in shy glances the message I seek,
 In that language that only fond lovers can speak,
 Sad, sad lovers can speak !

Let thy arms cling about me like tendrils of vine,
 Like the whisper of leaves let thy life speak to mine
 Of that newer, mysterious, sweet secret of thine,
 Sweet, sweet secret of thine !

Not my ears but my soul shall attend ever nigh,
 Not my lips but my joy-lipped devotion reply,
 Not in words, dear my Love? with a kiss, with a sigh,
 And a kiss and a sigh !

Put the flute of my self to thy lips young and fair,
 That thy breath may breathe life in what died thro' despair,
 And its silence shall break into pæans so rare !

Into pæans so rare !
 CYRIL MODAK

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK OF THE INDIAN JOINT-STOCK BANKS

III

Hard Times and Depressed Trade.

The prosperity of banks is purely a relative phenomenon mainly depending on the prosperity of its customers. If the depositors and bank customers suffer from a fall in the price of land which they bought at fabulous prices in the boom days of 1921 or if dullness of trade were to prevail in the days of post-war depression, it is bound to tell adversely on the banks also. There is indeed a lot of truth in the above remark. It is only in 1927-1928 that Indian trade and commerce reached their pre-war level. Trade and commerce are feeders to banking and without banking they themselves cannot be fed properly ; they are as much dependent on the banks as the banks are on the traders and merchants.

Failures.

Lastly, the incessant and never-ending¹ failures of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks often remind the people of the fact that it is altogether sheer folly to place confidence in such mismanaged

¹ The following table shows the failures of the Joint-Stock Banks in this decade—(see Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India) :—

Year.	No. of Banks involved.	Paid-up Cap Rupees.
1918	7	1,46,185
1919	4	4,02,737
1920	3	7,24,717
1921	7	1,25,329
1922	15	8,29,991
1923	20	465,47,325
1924	18	11,93,629
1925	17	18,75,795
1926	14	8,98,145

institutions as the Joint-Stock Banks generally prove to be as soon as their management changes hands from the original set of people. Without the continuity of experienced management a deposit in a bank cannot be considered safe. Repeated failures¹, are shaking the credit fabric of the Joint-Stock Banks. It must be borne in mind that a "system of banks is like a crowded city where a fire breaking out in one house may soon spread to many others and every house has to bear not only its own fire risk but some risks of all the rest." Without a far higher standard of banking prevailing among the Indian Joint-Stock Banks it is impossible to consider the banking structure as a sound and strong one. The present-day Joint Stock Banks are not regarded as national institutions endowed with the trust of the community.

Having seen a correct representation of the difficulties under which the Indian Joint-Stock Banks are labouring, it is the bounden duty to plan the future of the banking system in such a way as to provide a harmonious atmosphere congenial to their rapid development. What then are the remedies needed to cure their weaknesses? Can the Indian Joint-Stock Banks hope to improve their situation by their own efforts and measures in the direction of setting their houses in order? What can an external agency like the Central Bank of Issue hope to do for them? How far would the legislative and administrative action on the part of the Government and the co-operative action of the depositing public and the borrowing customers be of any use to them? Are there any other tentative measures by which it would be possible to help them at the present juncture? A thorough discussion of these varied factors would be impossible within the scope of this short paper.

But the definite programme of banking reform falls broadly under two headings, *viz.*, internal and external. The internal

¹ Quite recently the Karachi Bank failed and a fragmentary acquaintance with the history of Indian Banking would show how the lack of confidence created by bank failures has been a well-marked feature since the second half of the 19th Century.

reorganisation has to be brought about by the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. This is more important than the external aid for without the former the external agency would either decline to lend aid, or even, if it were to be rendered, no lasting and permanent improvement can be achieved in the position of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. An external agency can mend the evils but what is required is a radical cure which can arise out of a proper internal reorganisation.

Of the external remedies the administrative measures of Government, further legislation and a more enlightened public debt policy are given proper attention. The co-operation on the part of the depositing public and the borrowing customers and close co-operation amongst the bankers themselves would go a long way in improving the situation. But the creation of a Central Bank of issue is the proper remedy for many of the present-day defects.

Taking the internal remedy first into consideration the Indian Joint-Stock Banks would have to sacrifice or give up the unnecessarily large holding of Government securities.¹ In their endeavour to incline towards safety they are leaning too much

¹ Broadly speaking the banking policy in the matter of investments is to select liquid and easily realisable securities possessing steady value and a wide market. As gilt-edged securities possess these features the bulk of bank investments consists of Government securities. But these do not form the only item in the matter of investments. If the Bank conducts issuing business the shares of new companies floated by it are generally held by it till the time the investing public digest these shares. Similarly a city bank seeking to extend its operations in the most safe and economical manner tends to acquire shares in the banking companies of the interior and hopes to influence its policy and seek an outlet for its surplus funds. The shares of a foreign banking company might be required so as to affiliate it to itself. This might not be done with the express purpose of conducting foreign banking on any large scale but merely to render more efficient service to its own customers in the direction of financing foreign trade. Indian banks do not generally possess such a wide range of securities and shares of few stable industrial companies form the major constituents of the investment items of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. The acquisition of interests in other banks domestic or foreign is not yet a marked feature of any one of the important Indian Joint-Stock Banks. The daring yet fruitful policy of the Lloyd's Bank or the Barclay's Bank in this direction finds no counterpart in the Indian Joint-Stock Banking System. Too large a part of their investible surplus finds its way into gilt-edged securities. This has to be rectified.

on this support. Sound commercial advances marshalled in a steady succession of maturities are more lucrative than gilt-edged securities. Banks must invest wisely and not speculatively. True wisdom in the matter of bank investment consists in avoiding "frozen assets." The problem of finding adequate business for the released funds would have to be faced. Indirect financing of agricultural interests through approved indigenous bankers or the financing of the small artisans or traders purely on the personal knowledge of the indigenous bankers can provide the needed avenues and unless they care to cultivate more regular business dealings with the indigenous bankers the mere financing of trade and industry in the big centres would not absorb all their liquid resources. The banking net must be spread wider so as to cover a greater area than at present. It is the financial life of the big cities alone that they are able to influence at present. They must descend to rural tracts and hope to influence the lives of the masses in a significant manner. The real problem of Indian Banking is to secure to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks power so as to enable them to control the indigenous bankers and they should themselves be controlled in their turn by the Central Bank of Issue. This is the unity and organic relationship that ought to pervade our banking structure. The present-day loose and unorganised system has to be displaced by a more concentrated and highly integrated banking system.

Secondly as one reputed Professor of Economics stated 'a banker ought to be two-fifths gentleman, one-fifth economist, one fifth lawyer and one-fifth accountant.' Unfortunately the lack of such high qualities renders possible mismanagement of banks. A weak, loose and inefficient audit unable to influence the bankers usually tolerates such inconsistencies, till the day of final reckoning comes when some important incident leads the depositors or lenders of money to doubt of the standing of the bank and the attempt on their part to collect the deposits brings to an end the existence of the tottering bank.

An efficient and expeditious service and the expending of general agency business done by them is sure to bring in greater deposits and more constituents. Banks have to go to the people and not wait for the people to come to them. If sufficient employment for these funds is secured the financial strength of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks is bound to increase. No time should be lost in attempting to reform and reorganise the internal framework on a sound basis. It is not for the sake of mere self-interest that this reorganisation has to be undertaken by the volition and prescience of bankers themselves. Unless this is carried out immediately the mere setting up of any external agencies would not solve the riddle and even these external agencies would consider these Indian Joint-Stock Banks a constant source of anxiety. The help that any external agency would render can bear fruit only under improved management of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. In the absence of any such reorganisation it would tend to postpone the evil day. It is foul financial weather that is the real test of sound banking and I venture to think that without real improvement in the internal management of the banks their position would become strained, if another crisis of the nature of 1913-1915 period were to happen.

External Remedies.

A more enlightened policy on the part of the Government with reference to Rupee loans and the Treasury bills is needed and everything depends on this important reform. It is absolutely imperative that no further suspicion should be roused that the Government is bent on floating further Rupee loans in the Indian money market. The slackened response to the last Rupee loan means after all that it is high time to consider the advisability of proceeding slowly in the matter of capital expenditure on the part of the Government even for productive undertakings. The present market value of gilt-edged securities should not be tossed about hither and thither as a result of the vacillating

public loan policy. Further depreciation of the value of Government securities means further cuts in the profits of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks and the dividends they declare. Lower dividends mean lower deposits. The lower the working capital the lower would be the profits unless it is offset by greater turnover of the capital resources. This is the vicious circle that is being induced by the present-day public loan policy.

Administrative Measures.

Several critics have pointed out the necessity of pursuing a strictly scientific policy in the sale of the Treasury bills. The resort to the Treasury bills as a deflationary measure in order to support the sterling value of the rupee in the slack season is undoubtedly tending to the reduction of deposits available to the Banks. Firm money conditions induced by their sale may succeed in bringing about an improvement in the rate of exchange and maintain it at a safe level. The high rates paid for them as well as the long term loans would mean in the long run greater inroads on the taxpayer's purse.¹ This unnecessary increase of tax-burden when the taxable capacity is so very low has to be borne in mind. It would have an adverse effect on the purchasing power of the people and trade would not recover rapidly as a result of this deflationary policy which of

¹ It is not germane to this topic to discuss the economic effects of public debts. The floating debt even though it might consist of Treasury bills has its effect on the Bankers. Apart from financial danger to the State, the inconvenience to trade and commerce is no less grave. The possibility of habitual renewals tends to make it permanent. This acts as a detriment to banks for their deposits would be cut down and the discount rate would rise. Prices of goods rise and the standard of living tends to become very high. The Banks might hold these safe Government promises and refuse to take risks involved in commercial loans and discounts. It is liable to provoke inflation. Lastly it might lead to grave consequences if renewals of Treasury bills are slackened. Foreign holders of these lose confidence in these certificates and national money and this loss of confidence affects adversely the national rate of exchange.

For a more complete discussion see the *Revue de Science et de Legislation Financières*, January-March Number, 1925, pp. 100-102.

See also H. E. Fisk, "French Public Finance in the German War and Today," pp. 15-17. See also H. C. Adams, "Science of Finance," p. 526,

course is due to their anxiety to keep the exchange rate above 1 s. $\frac{49}{64}$ d. the gold export point from this country. So long as the sterling resources are few there can be no sale of gold exchange or gold at this export point in spite of the Act IV of 1927, Clause V. This perhaps is the reason for the anxiety of the Government not to allow exchange to fall to the low level of the Gold export point from the country.

Legislative Measure.

Another direction by means of which the Government can hope to protect the directors as well as the public lies in passing helpful and suggestive legislation. Government guarantee of deposits or the formation of a "Safety fund" are bound to be mere palliatives and do positive harm to the conservative banks. The possibility of few depositors being selected as bank directors is a remedy which can only be permitted by a change in the existing legislation with reference to the Joint-Stock Banking Companies. Those taxes which are interfering with the development of banking amalgamations should be removed. A readjustment of the other taxes on a lower level than at present would act as a further impetus in the starting of more banks and in view of the fact that the indigenous bankers are to develop into modern banks this recommendation has to be virtually carried out. The possibility of selecting a few other banks "as public depositaries"¹ after exacting due security would have its own efficacy at the present juncture when even the established Indian Joint-Stock Banks are not able to create the needed confidence. It is indeed true that the false tongue of rumour cannot be controlled in any effective manner. Its vivid conjectures can be silenced only by publication of relevant facts indicating the general financial

¹ See the U. S. A. where there are a large number of banks—7,224 acting as public depositaries. See the annual Report of the Treasurer, 1926, p. 604. "One Bank in every four is a Government depository."

strength of the Banks. The financial intelligence of the reading public can after all be a more effective safeguard than any legislative enactment.

Co-operative Efforts.

The depositing public and the shareholders would have to co-operate with the bank management in every way. If the depositors are taken into confidence by the managing board there is no reason why they ought to get shy of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. Advisory committees of depositors and influential traders to help the branch managers in the matter of investment of bank's funds would be very helpful.

Sometimes the frauds and malpractices which the Banks have experienced from time to time have led to stricter regulation and restriction of credit by the banks with the result that *bonafide* constituents suffer as a result of this vigilant attitude. This attitude should not be mistaken by the *bonafide* constituents.

The Central Bank of Issue.

The starting of a Central Bank of Issue would indeed improve their situation in several ways. Besides providing rediscounting facilities and thereby enabling them to convert their assets easily into liquid cash, a Central Bank is bound to confer inestimable advantages on them in the following directions. A careful scrutiny of the Central Bank, which would be made at the time of rediscounting the eligible commercial paper would automatically raise the standard of banking. The very example of its conservative management would act as an elixir or life-giving tonic to the almost stagnant Indian Joint-Stock Banks of the present day. If the constitutional position of the Central Bank¹ is so devised that it precludes competition

¹ This can be done by confining its business to note-issuing and discounting trade bills of short currency and it would be prohibited from doing ordinary banking business of a commercial bank.

with the commercial banks this by itself would afford an impetus to the Joint-Stock Banks to extend into the interior in their endeavour to secure fresh business. But the starting of a Central Bank would indeed take time. In the interregnum, the Imperial Bank can render some good to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks by hoping to act as a Banker's Bank. There is infinite possibility in this direction and all credit institutions can be granted liberal advances at one per cent. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below bank rate on the security of gilt-edged stocks or investments so long as they fail to convert them into liquid resources. It is not by merely lowering the bank rate that the lending policy can be liberalised or made elastic.¹ Less harsh restrictions than are prevailing at present would mean helpful overdrafts to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks and a part of the interest-free national balances secured by the Imperial Bank can be utilised in this manner. This is not entirely a new and dangerous innovation for it is a definite policy of the Imperial Bank to grant accommodation in this manner to business houses and industries. Timely help and succour and not mere spoon-feeding should be the object of this liberalised lending policy. Mere facilitating of internal transfer of funds or remittances at low rates is not by itself a very great help to the Indian Joint-Stock Bank. The starting of more clearing houses is another estimable service for which the Joint-Stock Banks ought to feel grateful to the Imperial Bank. Something further is needed in the direction of cordial relations between the Indian Joint-Stock Banks and the Imperial Bank. Both of them must realise the lessons of the past and be aware of the current developments and current thought.¹

¹ Even the English Joint-Stock Banks which are considered as "paragons of conservatism" have changed their policy towards industries. Even in America the banks have followed a liberal lending policy. Extended loans and less rigorous insistence in the matter of repayment are evidently a proof of their sincerity that they do not hold a too detached view towards industries as in the past. This elasticity in the matter of lending has to be noticed. See H. W. Macrosty, "Trade and the Gold Standard"—Paper read at the Royal Statistical Society of London, December 18, 1926—Quoted from the London Economist, December 25, 1926, p. 117.

Conclusion.

A clear and consistent action on the part of all the interests concerned is necessary and the co-operation of the different sections would secure to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks a solid ground for their future expansion and economic development of the country. Small Indian Joint Banks or Loan Companies are being started here and there. If the monthly report of the Registrar of the Joint-Stock Companies is examined the activity of the people in this direction can be immediately realised. But in the economic sphere it is not mere quantity but quality that tells. Few sound banks can achieve more lasting good and confer more permanent outstanding benefit on the country than many bogus banks which tend to put back the clock of economic progress. National well-being, price-levels, profits, employment and purchasing power of wages are of essential importance. Their control by a sound banking policy under the capable leadership of a nationally managed Central Bank would secure the welfare and happiness of the teeming millions of this country.

To sum up this survey reveals much that is defective in the present-day situation of the Indian Joint-Stock Bank. To increase their usefulness, self-improvement, external aid and thorough reorganisation of the entire banking structure are pointed out as the measures which can guard them against further deterioration. All parties should co-operate in this endeavour as it is a problem of national importance. The present Joint-Stock Banking system must be made safe, economical, adequate and efficient at the same time so as to afford maximum utility to all sections of the community. Incidentally it can be remarked that the present-day absence of definite trustworthy information or banking statistics has to be remedied as early as possible and such figures as would furnish real information or artfully unfold the tale of banking progress should be published by the different units of our banking system.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

ANCIENT HINDU TRADITION AND THE PRESENT AGE OF THE EARTH¹

In all civilised countries, through all ages from the very dawn of civilisation, an effort had always been made to answer the question—"How old is the Earth?" Philosophers and astronomers have tried with insatiable zeal and curiosity to arrive at the solution of the problem. Numerous solutions had therefore been put forward from time to time, until very recently after the discovery of radio-activity, the question was finally settled and reliable results were obtained. From the researches of antiquarians it is found that astrologers of Babylon held that the earth could not be more than a million of years old, while Archbishop Ussher deduced from Hebrew writings that the earth was created in the year 4004 B. C. The Persian sages were of opinion that the earth originated about twelve thousand years before, but quite opposite to these limited ideas of a definite beginning, the Hindu astronomers regarded the earth as eternal, it being created, destroyed and recreated again and again through eternal time. The creations and destructions following each other alternately after a definite period known as Kalpa (कल्प) or a day of Brahma.

¹ *Editor's Note* :—So far as the writer uses the modern 'Surja Siddhanta' he is correct; and the age of the earth according to this work, is indeed, $(1953720000 + 2160000 + 1851 + 3179 = 1955885030)$ 1955885030 years. The current 'Surya Siddhanta' is a very modern book and most probably took its present form, at least, after the time of Brahma Gupta (*circa* 628 A. D.). According to Brahma Gupta in 78 A. D. the age of the earth was 1972947179 years or up to date the age is $(1972947179 + 1851)$ 1972949030 years. But according to Aryabhata (499 A. D.) the present age of the earth is 1986125030 years. All these theories of Hindu Astronomers are, however, based more or less on the Smritis or rather on the Manu Samhita as we learn from a statement of Brahma Gupta, who was a staunch adherent of the ancient Hindu beliefs. The writer of the paper should therefore have based the Hindu estimate of the earth's age on the Manu Samhita or more ancient Hindu religious works of the same type and not on any one astronomical work like the modern 'Surja Siddhanta.' The second part of the thesis is at best a scientific speculation and may be of interest as such.

The Kalpa, which we shall presently see consists of four thousand three hundred and twenty million years—is calculated by the Hindu astronomers to be the period at the beginning and end of which the sun, the moon, and all the planets then known with their nodes and apsides are in conjunction. How—by what process of calculations, this value of the Kalpa was deduced cannot be found in the ancient Hindu astronomical works. It is generally found in all ancient writings of the Hindus that a strict secrecy is observed about the methods and processes of calculations and the results obtained are expressed as so many empirical formulas. In astronomy particularly we find a student is advised to add, subtract, multiply or divide or to perform some other mathematical operations to arrive at the result but no reason whatsoever is mentioned why he should do so.

Now let us see what is said about Kalpa and what is the age of the present Kalpa which must be the age of the present creation or that of the earth. Surya Siddhanta (सूर्यसिद्धान्त) which is believed to be the most ancient treatise on astronomy of the Hindus, gives an idea of Kalpa at the very beginning. The following is the extract from the Surya Siddhanta :—

“ A solar year consisting of twelve solar months is a day of the Gods who were supposed to reside on the mount Sumeru (सुमेरु) under the North pole where the day lasts for six months.”

“ Three hundred and sixty days of Gods make a divine year (दिव्य वर्ष) ”

The time containing twelve thousand years of Gods is called a Chatur Yuga (चतुर्युग) or an aggregate of four yugas Krita, Treta, Dwapar and Kali (कृत, त्रेता, द्वापर, कलि) including their sandhis (सन्धि), the periods at the beginning and end of each Yuga.”

Thus we find that a Chatur Yuga with its sandhis consists of 4,320,000 years of the mortals.

“ The tenth part of this Chatur Yuga, i.e., 432,000 years is a Great Yuga (महायुग) and this Mahayuga multiplied by 4, 3, 2, 1 respectively make up the years of each of the four yugas, Krita and others including their sandhis.”

" Seventy-one Mahayugas together with the number of years in a Krita yuga constitute a Manwantara (मन्वन्तर), a period from a beginning of a Manu to its end."

" Fourteen such Manus with their sandhis (a sandhi being equal to 1,728,000 years, *i.e.*, the number of years in a Krita yuga) constitute a Kalpa at the beginning of which is the fifteenth sandhi."

" Thus a thousand of the Great yugas make a Kalpa, a period which destroys the whole world. It is a day of God Brahma (ब्रह्मा) his night being equal to his day."

" The age of Brahma consists of a hundred years according to the enumeration of his day and night. One half of his age has elapsed and this present Kalpa is the first in the remaining half of his age."

Thus from the above tables it is clear that the day of Brahma or a Kalpa¹ is equal to 4,320,000,000 years of mortals.

In the 22nd and 23rd sloka or verse of the same work, Surya Siddhanta, we find that from the beginning of the present Kalpa there have passed away six Manus with their sandhis, and the sandhi which is at the beginning of the Kalpa, 27 Mahayugas and the Kritayuga at the beginning of the 28th. The sum of these is 5,474,400 Deva years, from which if we subtract 47,000 Deva years which were passed by Brahma in creating animate and inanimate objects, the remainder is the time from the beginning of the present order of things before the end of Kritayuga. Thus 5,427,000 Deva years which is equal to $5,427,000 \times 360$ or 1,953,720,000 solar years is the time from the beginning up to the end of Kritayuga. We are now living in Kaliyuga,

¹ This Kalpa, a great period of time, however ridiculous it may seem was of great use for the Hindu astronomers for their calculations of the positions of the heavenly bodies. Mr. W. Brannand in his admirable work, Hindu Astronomy, says : " The Kalpa and its subdivisions although appearing at the first sight so ponderous and ridiculous is really very useful in computations of various astronomical problems for the purpose of reducing errors to a minimum and of ensuring accuracy. In short the Hindus used these great assigned periods much in the same way as we use decimal fractions to eight or nine places when expressing elements relating to planets, the decimal system not being then known."

hence to this we must add 2,160,000 years the period of duration of the Treta and Dwapar Yugas together. Thus the time up to the end of the Dwapar Yuga amounts to 1,955,880,000 years.

Now to find the time elapsed from the beginning of the creation to the present year, to this great number must be added the years that have passed since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Mr. Bailly and other scholars of ancient Hindu astronomy estimated that the Kaliyuga began at midnight between the 18th and 19th February 3102 B.C. The number of years which have passed from the beginning of the Kaliyuga to the initial day of the present year which is the 14th April, the beginning of the Hindu solar year, the day on which the sun enters the first sign of Zodiac in the first point of Nakshatra Aswini (**अस्विनी नक्षत्र**) is therefore (3101 and 1929) years or 5,030 years. Thus according to the most ancient Hindu writings the age of the present creation is 1,955,885,030 years, which may be taken to be two thousand million years approximately.

Now let us see what is the age of the earth as estimated from the most recent scientific investigations. There are a number of standpoints from which this problem may be attacked.¹ Here since our space is limited we shall deal with a few of them. The geologists approached the problem from the consideration of the formation of rocks. The rivers, streams, fountains and other natural outlets carry away the rock waste and sooner or later it is deposited. The upper levels of the earth's surface are being constantly attacked and worn out by denudations while depressions are being steadily filled up by depositions of sediments. By measuring the amount of sediment deposited by a river near its mouth every year it was thought possible to find the age of the particular land through which

¹ An account of almost all the methods and considerations to solve the problem is very nicely put in by Dr. Arthur Holmes in his little volume,—“The Age of the Earth” from which book the writer of this article has derived great help.

the river flowed. But there are other things which ought to be taken into consideration. First the deposition is not uniform year after year, secondly there are violent catastrophes such as earthquakes, volcanoes, floods and other terrible convulsions of nature. The result obtained, therefore from the above consideration is not so reliable. It was after the discovery of radio-activity that reliable results were obtained.

In the year 1896, the French physicist Becquerel discovered that minerals containing an element uranium or its salts give out rays that can pass through some opaque substances such as a sheet of black paper, and can produce an effect on a photographic plate wrapped within the black sheet. Mme. Curie following the above remarkable discovery found later on that another element, thorium, and its salts have also the same property of sending out rays capable of penetrating black sheets of paper and effecting photographic plates. She also observed that some substances containing uranium such as pitch-blende were far more active in their emission of rays than could be accounted for by the amount of uranium present. This led her to the discovery of radium and other radio-active substances.

Sir Ernest Rutherford then showed that the radiations that are emitted from radio-active substances are of three kinds : —(i) the Alpha rays (α -rays) which were found to be electrically charged atoms of a gas known as helium but ejected with a great velocity, (ii) the Beta rays (β -rays) which are nothing but electrons having a still greater velocity than those of the Alpha-rays and (iii) the Gamma rays (γ -rays) which are identical with X-rays or Röntgen rays of very small wave-lengths. Now it is clear that an atom on losing these α , β and γ -rays cannot remain the same as before but is changed into a new atom. Thus from a radio-active element other elements are constantly being formed as a result of these rays being given out. From Uranium after the discharge of these rays in several stages we get radium, a very radio-active element, which in turn decays, i.e., gives out rays of the above three kinds and

ultimately an end-product is left which is chemically identical with the element lead. The whole family is then in a state of equilibrium and then there is a constant ratio between the parent element and each of its offsprings. The ratio of Uranium to radium for example is 3000000 to 1 and this explains why radium is so rare in Earth.

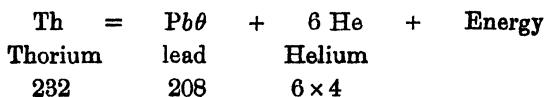
By disintegration of one atom of uranium we get eight atoms of helium and one atom of lead. Since helium and lead are stable, these two elements accumulate as their parent uranium is slowly destroyed. Thus every radio-active mineral acts as a natural chronometer by registering time by the atoms of helium and lead that are produced unceasingly within it year after year. The ultimate change of uranium into lead may be represented as follows :—



i.e., from 238.2 parts of uranium 206 parts of lead and 32 parts of helium are obtained. From the rate of production of helium from uranium it is calculated that a million grams of uranium produce $\frac{1}{700}$ of a gram of lead (called uranium lead) every year. Thus in a mineral if the ratio between the uranium lead ($\text{Pb}\mu$) that has accumulated and parent uranium (U) be found out by careful analysis, then the time required for this accumulation must be

$$\frac{\text{Pb}\mu}{\text{U}} \times 7400 \text{ million years.}$$

Thorium similarly disintegrates through a closely analogous manner to that of uranium, helium and lead called thorium lead ($\text{Pb}\theta$) being produced ultimately



i.e., from 232 parts of thorium 208 parts of thorium lead and 24 parts of helium are obtained. The rate of production

of helium from thorium shows that a million gram of thorium give rise to $\frac{1}{19500}$ of a gram of thorium lead in a year. Thus the time required for the accumulation of thorium lead ($Pb\theta$) in a mineral is given by

$$\frac{Pb\theta}{Th} \times 19,500 \text{ million years or } \frac{Pb\theta}{.38 Th} \quad 7,400 \text{ million years}$$

where $Pb\theta$ and Th are the percentages of thorium lead and the parent thorium in the mineral.

When both uranium and thorium are present in the same mineral as is usually the case then the time required for the accumulation of lead (both uranium and thorium lead) in the mineral

$$= \frac{Pb}{U + .38 Th} \times 7400 \text{ million years},$$

where Pb, v, and Th are the percentages of lead, uranium and thorium respectively in the same mineral.

Thus by finding the ratio $\frac{P}{U + .38 Th}$ which is known as

lead ratio of a radio-active mineral the age of the mineral can be estimated. Radio-active minerals from different parts of the world have been collected and analysed and from their lead ratios their ages have been calculated. These ages are found to be different for different samples but ranging from a few to 1,500 million years. The oldest radio-active minerals indicate that the age of the Earth must be greater than 1,500 million years.

From astronomical considerations also the age of the Earth has recently been calculated. According to the tidal theory of the origin of the Solar system which was worked out by Dr. J. Jeans and further developed by Dr. H. Jeffreys, the newly born planet must have moved in a highly eccentric orbit in a gaseous medium. The orbits were made more and more circular due to the resistance offered by the medium through which the planet moved. The orbit of Mercury is more eccentric

than that of any other planet. From this fact Dr. Jeffreys calculated that the time T required to reduce the orbit to the present shape would be $\frac{4000}{D}$ seconds where D is the density of the gaseous medium around Mercury. But the medium has almost disappeared and the time, t , required for this to be so is calculated to be $16D \times 10^{29}$ seconds. Since T and t are practically equal, the age of the universe is calculated to be

$$T=t = \frac{4000}{D} = 16D \times 10^{29} = 8 \times 10^{10} \text{ seconds} = 2500 \text{ million years}$$

(approximately)

Another method of calculating the age of the earth is based on the assumption that the moon originated from the Earth when it was in a molten state. The ocean tides are produced, it is well known, by the attraction of the moon and consequently the friction produced by the tides are gradually slowing down the rotation of the earth and thus the moon is retreating from the earth. The time required for the present distance to be produced between the earth and the moon is, as calculated by Dr. Jeffreys, about a few thousand million years.

Still another method, very recently put forward, is based on the consideration that the whole solar system is moving slowly across the void of space towards another greater sun. Assuming that this solar system originated from the Milky Way where the stars are more thickly crowded together, the present rate of movement leads us to infer that about 2,000 to 3,000 million years before this journey of the solar system must have commenced.

Considering all the above evidences and other estimates about the age of the earth, as is given by Dr. A. Holmes and other geologists, its age may be taken to be between 1,000 and 3,000 million years, or taking the mean we may say that it is 2,000 million years old. It is remarkably surprising and a matter of great gratification to us, the Indians, that the results of the

calculations of the ancient Hindu astronomers about the age of the earth as is found in Surya Siddhanta which, it is believed, must have been compiled at least a thousand years before the Christian era, are in so close a coincidence with the most recent estimates about the same. Naturally therefore one is inclined to think that their prediction that the present creation would be destroyed at the end of the Kalpa that is to say 2,320 million years hence, may also be fulfilled.

D. BHATTACHARYA

THE CYDNUS

(*After the French of de Hérédia*).

In glittering sunlight under prosperous skies,
 The silver trireme froths an ebon river ;
 Fumes as of incense from her wake arise
 With sound of flute and stir of silks a-quiver;
 And at the falcon-headed prow that gleams,
 Out from her royal dais tensely bending,
 In sumptuous evening Cleopatra seems
 A great gold bird her distant prey attending.
 For they're at Tarsus, and her warrior there
 Weaponless waits. She opens to the air
 Passionate arms whose purple sleeves disclose
 Rose-tinted amber flesh. But she sees not
 So near her. Love and Death her fated lot—
 On the grey waters casting a ravished rose.

F. V. W.

POEMS OF INDIA

I.—A Blue Bead found in a Temple.

I found a bead of turquoise-blue,
Dropped from some necklace of the Past;
Perhaps it clasped in buried years,
A maiden's throat of ivory hue.
A Deva-Dasi, Slave of Gods,
Whose form moved with a sinuous charm
In measures of an ancient dance,
To plaintive flutes and drum-throbs.
Perhaps once in this self-same place
She danced with tinkling ankle-bells.
And scattered scent of sandal-wood,
Or gave men of her lissome grace.
All turned to dust, her smiles and tears,
The dance is done, the dancer mute ;
Still on the broken altar-steps
The blue bead lingered through the years.

II.—Indian Pastoral.

A shepherd-boy, with a staff and a flute,
Watches a flock of brown and dusty sheep
That browse on the jungle-grass in a field.
He sees the high white clouds go sailing by,
And wonders whence they come and where they go ;
He hears the sudden song of a bulbul
•Burst in a golden shower of melody,
And he tries to catch the song in his flute.

He watches a shy little fox that darts
From the edge of the wood across the road,
And he feels that he would like to be free,
To run and follow the fox to its lair;
His father has told him to guard the sheep,
And see that the lambs did not run away,
Or he'd go supperless to bed that night :
So he sighs, and takes up his little flute
And plays a wistful tune, putting his thoughts
In music, as the hours drift by, and the
Cool shadows lengthen on the grass at dusk.
Then he picks up his staff and calls his flock,
And soon they all go down the winding road,
The sheep, shepherd, and his childish dreams.

LILY S. ANDERSON

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIAN CURRENCY

"In every civilised country in modern times a number of different coins of different values are in circulation together. These have certain relations to one another which are fixed by law; and these coins in their relationship as established by Government are spoken of as the currency system of the country. The coins composing a currency system usually consist of three or four metals—gold, silver, nickel, copper or bronze."

STANLY JEVONS

The above definition may be found incomplete as the currency systems of the civilised world, to-day, have reference to paper money as well as metallic money; and India is surely not an exception to this general rule. It is well known that the present-day Indian currency consists of metallic money and paper notes.

"We might however with perfect reason widen our definition of currency to include everything either of metal or paper commonly accepted in payment of goods and services."

—*G. F. Shirras.*

In the primitive ages the problems of money were few and very simple. It was a device to facilitate exchange transaction by removing the inconveniences of barter among families or individuals in a tribe or a Parish. Thus its circle of operation was limited and its functions were not much complex or complicated.

But in the modern age, with the world-wide extension of the international trade, the problems of currency for every country are not only internal but also external and extremely complicated. In the case of India, because of the particular political status of the country, the currency problems seem almost to be insoluble. The Indian currency system is, in

addition to the ordinary internal and international problems, is to cope with the delicate situation of the relation between the Indian money and that of England. The currency of this dependent country cannot be arranged without any reference to the English currency and the British trade. Thus the special feature of the system is that, at least in its external aspect, it is complicated by problems which are not merely economic but also political in their nature. The well known remark of Prof. Nicholson that "the gold exchange standard system is available only for a dependent country" very aptly expresses the above-mentioned feature of the Indian system.

The same politico-economic difficulty of the Indian currency has been expressed in a rather strong and exaggerated language by Mr. S. K. Sarma in the introduction of his Indian Monetary Problems :—

"The complexities are particularly striking in India. A mother country strongly wedded to Gold monometallism.....a dependency which insists upon consuming as much of the white metal as possible...a bureaucracy which has to ship 18 millions of sterlings to the dominant state....a mercantile community which never forgets its domicile but is vociferous enough to influence the currency policy of the Government...and an indifferent mass of 300 millions which is indifferent to...the manipulation of the monetary system by the irresponsible bureaucracy these are some of the factors to make the monetary problems what they are."

Thus the Indian currency system may be said to have in it three different sets of problems for treatment and solution. The Internal, the International, and the Indo-British.

Of course the above sets of problems cannot be regarded as altogether detached from each other. The internal problem of price or value of money cannot but be related to the international value of the basic metal or the purchasing power parity of the standards in the world market. The international problem of exchange affects the internal price of commodities of

export or import ; and the Indo-British problem of regulating the Indian currency, with a view to the imperial country's interests, affects the internal situation, the price-level and the rate of interest. Yet there may be a necessity for separating the problems into different classes for special attention and minute study.

I. The Internal Problems of the Indian Currency.

From their very nature they cannot be much different from those of the Currency system of the other nations. The question of the stability of the price-level or the value of money is universal. But India is vast in area ; her communication is undeveloped ; her seasonal variation in the demand for money is of peculiar significance, her people are ignorant and unenlightened in the principle and practice of the modern currency ; her banking system is in its infancy ; there is no good provision for automatic increase or decrease of the money circulation at the needs of the internal trade and at the initiation of the people ; and ultimately the system is thoroughly artificial and without, at least up to a recent date, any natural metallic basis.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Government and the people of India were much troubled by the internal high prices and the falling value of the rupee ; and recently the difficulty of " moving the internal trade " in its seasonal variation has become acute.

II. The International Problems of the Indian Currency..

The international problems of the Indian Currency have been much complicated by the prevalence of an artificial standard of value in the country. The silver rupee and paper mostly based on it are the current money, but silver is not the standard of value. The so-called gold standard is only a name without any real significance. Because gold is neither coined on the presentation of bullion, nor the value of commodities in the country has any direct or practical reference to it. Gold was only, up to the recent reform, made available in England for

international purposes through an elaborately artificial process. But even that arrangement had to be abandoned for sometime *after the war*; and for the time being *there* was no other alternative but to calculate the rate of exchange by comparing the value of the token rupee with that of the paper sterling of England which was again an extremely variable token dependent on the American dollar which might then be regarded as the metallic standard of value for India's foreign transactions. The recommendation for the introduction of the gold bullion standard by the Hilton-Young Commission has not improved the situation much in this respect. Still the rupee and the notes have remained the only internal currency; still there is no coinage free or gratuitous in India; still the rate of exchange is not automatic and natural but artificial and managed; and still the controversies *re* interested manipulation, artificial rate and the location of the reserves are troubling the experts and merchants. In a word the gold bullion standard with its obstructive clause to the free interchangeability between the standard and the token inside the country is far away from the orthodox and effective gold standard, which may be the only solution of the difficulties.

III. The Indo-British Problems.

These are uniquely peculiar to India and have their origin in the political status of the country as a dependency of the United Kingdom.

. India is bound to make considerable payments to England which are not of the nature of dues in course of ordinary mercantile transactions. She is to pay for compensating the losses of her European salaried administrators due to exchange fluctuations. She is to pay interest on her sterling debts; she is to pay in sterling for the expenses of an unusually large number of her countrymen in England who are compelled to go there for various reasons, and she is to provide currency suitable to the convenience of the English merchants in an extraordinary way through the good offices of her Secretary of State in

England. In this connection Mr. Chablani says, "the Indian standard of value is at the mercy of the currency changes in England."

At present the important issues in the study of the Indian currency are :

(1) Whether an orthodox—genuine and effective—Gold standard (with gold currency in circulation) is not the best system to remove the difficulties that accompany the present managed currency.

(2) Whether the artificial fixing of the rate of exchange has not caused commercial and economic injury to the country by affecting the natural flow of imports and exports and by interfering with the industry of the country in the way of protection or benevolence to either the home or the foreign industries concerned in the Indian market.

(3) Whether the heroic attempts in the past to maintain the artificial rate have not caused much denudation in the gold stock of India and whether similar contingencies cannot be feared in future.

(4) Whether there is something like the elements of an insidious taxation in the system.

(5) Whether the foreign exchanges of India (in relation to other countries than England) are not unduly and unnecessarily complicated.

(6) Whether the present currency principle of note issue is conducive to the soundness of the monetary system in India or whether the banking principle should be introduced.

(7) Whether the system of the artificially fixed exchange can ever finally solve the currency problems of India.

A. K. SARKAR

KING LEAR

II

King Lear opens quietly and familiarly. Gloucester introduces his son, Edmund, to Kent. They talk as men do when they meet casually, and by the way tell us that Lear has divided his kingdom between his two sons-in-law. The Lear family and court enter, and in this scene Cordelia refuses to bid for Lear's wealth. When her sisters make false profession of their love she says in an aside :

" What shall Cordelia speak? Love, and be silent."

Shakespeare presents her refusal as boldly as he dare. The French King accepts her for his bride, and the scene closes with Goneril and Regan determining to " hit " together to keep their old father under. This scene awakens our interest and prepares everything for the conduct of the play, but has no great emotional effect. Except when he goes out of his way to impress us with his openings, Shakespeare often runs a few paces on level ground before he springs off ; it takes a moment to get up an impetus.

Scene ii puts the parallel plot in readiness as Scene i does the principal. The air vibrates with " child and parent," " unnaturalness between child and parent." It anticipates the Lear sorrow like a forward shadow. The deep tone of terror sounds first in Gloucester's reference to the eclipse. Edmund carries the symbols of this threat into his talk with Edgar. It is the first unsettling, the cutting of the cables, the whistle to prepare us for departure.

Now that Shakespeare has set his plots going, he writes his first really dramatic scene. The action so far has merely prepared us. We have experienced an initiatory alarm and foreboding ; there is uneasiness in the air, but nothing to touch

us yet. Then comes a short scene, written from the dramatic atmosphere almost like the battlement scene in *Hamlet*, or the witch scenes in *Macbeth*. We see that in the child which must hurt the parent, the wrench which will break the bond of parenthood, and we feel that it is a strong thing which will have its way : Goneril instructs Oswald how to insult and annoy her father.

In the next scene, the entrance of Kent gives relief. He comes with the quiet sense and the health of ordinariness to keep us conscious of the unhealth of those around, to right the balance of the play. Lear then enters in unballasted imperiousness :—

“Let me not stay a jot for dinner ; go get it ready.”

then seeing Kent,

“How now ! what art thou ?”

He is strung too tightly. Shakespeare’s kings are usually kingly and control their feelings in public ; they wear gloves. Lear is bare-handed even that we may see the nerves twitch :

“Where’s my Fool, ho ? I think the world’s asleep.”

It is pitiful too. The gentle whimsical trustfulness in “I think the world’s asleep,” which shows also the rate of his pulse, makes us love him in his peevishness. Nor is his reproof of his servant kingly.

“O, you sir, you, come you hither, sir : who am I, sir ?”

Oswald : “My lady’s father.”

Lear : “My lady’s father ! my lord’s knave : you whoreson ! dog ! you slave ! you cur !”

Then in contrast with Lear’s blustering helplessness, Kent quietly sends the servant away. Enter the Fool, a mixture of tender bitterness and shrewd foolishness...To them comes Goneril. One would call her a “strong-minded woman,” a woman unsoftened by compassion or sympathy, cold-bloodedly harsh ; her cruelty is part of a calculated policy, not a passion

like Regan's. She speaks dignified, unimpassioned words ; she need not bluster to awaken respect ; she has the hard air of unmelted authority ; there is no appeal in her ; she is as a rock, insensible. Lear asks in amazement :

“Are you our daughter ? Come, sir,”

Goneril : “I would you would make use of that good wisdom
 Whereof I know you are fraught, and put away
 These dispositions that of late transform you
 From what you rightly are.”

Perfectly polite !...Albany enters ; his ineffectual kindness gives a sort of human pliancy to the marble of his wife, and helps to make the situation seem more probable...Finally Lear, unable to bear Goneril's cruelty longer, curses her lustily, trotting off and on the stage to have another ‘ go ’ at her, and eventually sets out for his other daughter, Regan. Our sympathy swings out to him. We no longer reserve it remembering the other side. We forget the folly of this irritating old man and the injured Cordelia.

In the last scene of the Act Shakespeare states the ‘ idiom,’ to borrow the terminology of a kindred art, that he means to develop in the great storm scenes, a trio of sane man and fool and Lear. The old king ponders his folly, and with despair, the ingratitude of his daughters, his reason is overwhelmed, his passion exhausted; it is past endurance, the reaction unnerves him too much. More he cannot stand :

“O, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven !
 Keep me in temper : I would not be mad !”

he cries.

Act II. The last scene was sharply painful. For relief Shakespeare turns to the other semi-circle of his world, to Edmund, the Goneril of his plot, and Edgar, the Cordelia. Edmund betrays Edgar to Gloucester on a false charge. Edgar flies and Gloucester is all pain at his perfidy. Cornwall and

Regan arrive suddenly to visit Gloucester, who tells them of Edgar's villainous intent. Regan, as someone remarks, has more venom than Goneril, or as Bradley says, she is more petty;¹ the venom fungus grows only in petty hearts. Goneril, who is neither petty nor venomous, does not delight in the cruelty she takes for her policy, and indulges no gleeful resentment. Regan's cruelty comes from a positive, virulent hatred, yet she is less terrible with her hot hatred than Goneril with her cold. To keep the balance swinging, Regan's husband is strong and hard.

The next scene makes the comic interlude, all that there is of comic interlude. Though they contrast with the tragedies in which they stand, Shakespeare's comic scenes form an integral part of their play; they are not interchangeable. The uncouth, newly awakened, remotely rough feeling of the Porter's scene is suitable to *Macbeth* alone; the whimsical mystery of the graveyard scene with its plaintive jesting at the portals of death, could belong only to *Hamlet*. So too, this scene is peculiar to the tone of *Lear*. It strums its humorous tinkle on a cracked bowl. Since Shakespeare cannot make a vivid contrast he lets the tragic atmosphere soak into the comedy. It shows a common brawl, but blunt honesty and deceit are the disputants; the cause of it is Lear; into it come Regan and Cornwall, who put Kent in the stocks because he is the just man; it ends as a beam from Cordelia's name steals over the stage like dawn, while Kent sleeps.

Scene iii merely announces that Edgar is going to disguise himself as a mad beggar to escape his enemies.

Scene iv brings Lear, the fool and an attendant to Kent. Lear still quivers from his last blow. Seeing Kent in the stocks he gets him another shock. His anger swells up too fiercely. His second daughter refuses to admit him, and he wears himself out once more in an indignant passion. Finally

Regan enters to receive her father's curse and Goneril arrives. His love shines out of his pain beautifully and tenderly : to Goneril he says,

"I prithee, daughter, do not make me mad,
I will not trouble thee, my child ; farewell."

Helpless and cast off, he turns as all who are helpless must, to

"You heavens, give me that patience I need? "

Regan withdraws her suite from the rain. The bolts shoot home and shut out the storm and Lear.

"Act III, Scene i. A heath" opens dismally. It lours in a mizzling drizzle. Its wet hopelessness settles over the stage, preparing a sodden pathway for Lear. Though more carefully disguised than usual, this is an engine-room scene, its business to move the play forward by feeling of Cordelia's landing.

In Scene ii Lear raves with the storm. He sees the lightning and hears the thunder as symbols of his unkind fate, the hardness of his daughters turned to fire and noise, but the dampness of his clothes chilling him he does not feel. The Fool stands shivering beside, complaining of the cold :

"Good uncle, in, ask thy daughters' blessing ; here's a night pities neither wise man nor fool."

"He that has a house to put's head in has a good headpiece."

he chatters. But Lear is abstracted :

"No, I will be the pattern of all patience. I will say nothing."

Kent shivers in neither a physical chill nor a mental. He enters with a comment on the weather. He notices Lear's physical discomfort : "Alack bare-headed." But Lear's trouble has got beyond his help. It sometimes gives unpractical people a sweet unpardonable satisfaction to see the limitations of an all sufficing practical man becoming a limitation in practice. We see this in Kent. He is as gentle as he can be with Lear, but he has come against a problem beyond his. Nevertheless

his healthful presence turns off the gloom for a little even stimulating Lear :

" My wits begin to turn."—

and turning to the Fool—

" Come on, my boy; how dost my boy? art cold?

I am cold myself,

* * * * *

Poor fool and knave, I have one part in my heart.

That's sorry yet for thee."

The 3rd scene goes back to Gloucester's Castle. Although it gives relief from the oppression of the moor, it is but the threat of the moor heard in the closet. Gloucester knows of Cordelia's landing and favours her. Edmund determines to betray the secret for his own advantage. This is another of those scenes which create an impression of action. It gives a glimpse of movement in the midst of the stationary heath, thus having an emotional significance also. The heath fills us with a dazed dread ; its monotony would soon wear down our nerves if we had no escape. This in Gloucester's Castle, with its mixture of hope and fear excites us, takes us out of the mist for a moment before we relapse into its wet hopelessness, there to meet that grinning horror, when the raving Bedlamite adds yet another to its sufferers.

" Scene iv. The heath. Before a hovel. Enter Lear, Kent, and Fool." :—

Lear will not take shelter; he does not feel the rain. Kent is overpowered and numbed in sympathetic misery. One tangible aim absorbs him. " Good my lord, enter," he beseeches after every burst of Lear's misery. But he does not know how to wean Lear from his absorption; he lets him slip into himself and move away from human reach. Lear's reason

snaps when Edgar rushes out in feigned madness; he does not give the sane man's recoil, but questions :

“ Didst thou give all to thy two daughters? and art thou come to this? ”

The feigning madman answers with a reasonable sort of rubbish. Lear is amazed :

“ What, have his daughters brought him to this pass? ”

Lear's mind is fixed. Edgar almost hypnotises him into lunacy, appearing to the distracted king as the naked, primeval man, the real thing. He will off with his clothes too, and be another real man :

“ Come, unbutton here.”

The Fool breaks in :

“ Prithee, nuncle, be contented; 'tis a naughty night to swim in.”

Kent is dumb. He is dumb possibly not so much by Shakespeare's human insight, as by dramatic. He stands aside and is forgotten. Had he joined the trio, his infectious sanity would have prevented our slipping on with Lear in sympathy and comprehension, and indeed, as it is, there is danger of our not doing that. When Gloucester enters we turn abruptly to him, and when next we return to Lear, he has slipped beyond us, become a picture, but so skilfully has Shakespeare managed it that we do not feel the change abrupt.

Scene v., Gloucester's Castle, leaves the twilight of innocent madness for the hard glare of devilish wrong-doing : Edmund betrays his father. This scene gives a sensation of movement, as if we took another step in the play.

“ Scene vi. A chamber in a farmhouse adjoining the castle.”

Again the sad music of discord. Just when Kent has persuaded Lear to rest, Gloucester enters and warns them all to flee. Like a leaf bumped about by the wind, bruised and tattered, Lear drives on.

Scene vii opens with a scurrying and ordering of horses and despatching of letters. They bring Gloucester before Regan and Cornwall, and his eyes are put out. So far we have been under a drizzle, and have become depressed with a mumbling, grumbling, inert sort of misery. Then comes this cruel point of pain. It is like the agonized cry we hear in the woods at night when something terrible has happened. I do not know what animal suffers, but it is the most horrible cry that ever rose out of the dark. Yet it gives us a sort of relief. We can hardly stand more of the grim monotony of the heath, of this murmuring gloom. It must stop; but how? Shakespeare cannot just let it drop; its tune has got into our ears and will continue distressing us. He must *break* it off; he must clear away the depression, kill this haunting misery by a feeling more vivid. So he brings Gloucester in and turns the knife till we reach a crisis of agony. Then he can drop it; he has brought the pain to a head and finished it. After this the play is no longer depressing. The atmosphere breaks up, the air clears. It is worth being burned to feel the coolness of the healing oil; Gloucester's agony has purification in it.

Act IV, on the heath, but not the mist oppressed, sulphurously stormy heath of the former act. Here Edgar meets his blind father, and we have an artificial sense of motion again. Shakespeare does not use the meeting for dramatic effect; that would be too much on the top of the last act; he lets the obvious "possibilities" slide.

In Scene ii Albany, shocked at his wife's cruelty, turns away from her. He is to the Gloucester-Edmund side of the play what Kent is to the Lear, the ordinary man, or "chorus," through whom we keep in touch with the play. The essential of Kent's character is his commonsense; his sanity holds the balance against Lear. Albany's essential is decent-heartedness; his common humanity holds the balance against Goneril and her crew. Shakespeare treats his 'normal'

characters individually in *Lear*. In the other tragedies they come to reassert the balance. Macduff and Banquo do not dispute the stage with Macbeth, nor does Horatio with Hamlet. They act as foils, or come forward in the recoil when the protagonists have weighed the balance too heavily. Albany and Kent prevent the chief actors from absorbing our sympathy; even in a crisis they keep us cool, so that we watch from the pageant attitude, moved by the protagonists rather than moving with them. Albany's defection is important to the plot in allowing the direction of the play to fall into Goneril's hands, just as Cornwall is disposed of to let it fall into the hands of Regan. We now discover that Goneril is in love with Edmund, a curious quirk in the psychology of the play, this infatuation of the monster sisters, necessary not so much from their psychology as in the construction of the plot, to give a motive for their reciprocal destruction.

Scene iii, in the engine room, gives the play a 'shove' on, but its poetry hides the dramatic purpose so well that we hardly notice the prosaic necessity to which it is incidental.

Scene iv brings Cordelia on the stage. Some one has seen her father decked with noisome weeds, singing through the meadows, and she promises :

" He that helps him take all my outward worth."

generosity with its reservation ! One would almost think she was a Calvanist, so careful is she of her soul. A messenger enters to tell that the hosts of Goneril advance.

Cordelia : " 'Tis known before ; our preparation stands
In expectation of them."

No protestation of love, no ungoverned grief, no excitement at a crisis disturbs Cordelia's flower-like serenity.'

Scene v returns to the other side, to Regan and Oswald, and anxiety and suspense. The innocent sufferer owns a more

easy mind than the victorious wrong-doer; Cordelia is happier than her sisters. By now Shakespeare has worked off his spleen ; having passed the crisis in Gloucester's agony, he breathes that calm, which comes when pain has gone and is not too distant from the repose of happiness.

" Scene vi Fields near Dover " intensifies our impression of the loveliness of innocent sorrow, and turns it into a picture. The atmosphere is clear, and in an English meadow studded with daisies and cowslips, between English hedges and under a blue summer sky stand blind father and disguised son. Its peace comes over us like the scent of meadow-sweet in the south country. Yet it is withal pensive as an English meadow can be. We needed something to ease the strain we have been bearing, and the mere loveliness of this scene does it ; it is like a walk in the fields when the heart is heavy. Nature is the greatest persuader to optimism, and here for our relief we wander. Edgar stands on a green knoll beside his father, and Shakespeare, thinking of some summer holiday by the shore, describes the cliffs at Dover. The music suggests rather rippling waves than a swelling sea :

" the murmuring surge
That on the unnumbered idle pebble chafes
Cannot be heard so high."

Gloucester speaks what he thinks will be his last words and they are calm as a summer pool. He casts himself over the cliff that Edgar has imagined. Edgar picks him up and uses his imagination again to lead his father to contentment. The poor old man, defrauded of escape by suicide, can hardly feel grateful to the providence that rescued him, but his acquiescence has an idyllic simplicity. One gets the impression of a very old, mild, white-haired man, lacking the vital energy to contradict. It is the sadness and feebleness of old age on a sunny day. Lear enters fantastically garlanded, and makes another figure in the

picture. His talk has no direction, running vaguely about. He sees Gloucester :

" Ha ! Goneril—with a white beard ! "

and for a moment the excitement gives him a wild coherence. Gloucester awed, exclaims :

" O ruined piece of nature ! This great world
Shall so wear out to nought."

This is the key to our awe of Lear ; he is not so much a small piece of humanity out of tune with the world, as a symbol of the huge world itself, run down. The most disturbing of dis cords now breaks into this tune in a quiet minor—Lear unwittingly strumming on the theme of Gloucester's eyes, and Edgar overpowered :

" I would not take this from report ! it is,
And my heart breaks at it."

Exit Lear. Enter a gentleman who moves the play forward by announcing that a battle between the Goneril and Cordelia factions takes place within earshot. The noise breaks and rolls over the sunlit fields. Gloucester hearing it, feels anew his helplessness. The battle comes nearer. Oswald runs in, sees Gloucester, whips out his sword, but is slain by Edgar, into whose hands falls a letter to Edmund from Goneril declaring her witch love for him. The sound of battle again breaks into the sunshine, and Edgar leads his father gently away.

Scene vii, Lear at last in bed asleep, soft music playing, gentlemen and others attending. This is the most melodious scene in the play. It has the calm of a day dream. Attendant on Lear are filial love, staunch friendship, and healing wisdom. They will awake him with music.

In Act V the first scene starts one of those stage battles, which Shakespeare, or his Elizabethan audience, are so fond of. It contrasts strongly with the last scene. There Cordelia

tending Lear in harmony, here jealousy and distrust and intrigue; there all united unselfishly to cure the unhappy king, here all selfishly opposed. I do not think that Shakespeare planned the contrast ; it is too palpable. Edgar enters and gives Albany the letter proving the intended infidelity of his wife. The sisters are jealous of each other, both in love with Edmund, plotting hate—and he ? Calmly deliberating which it is to be, or if both, or if neither. That is to say Shakespeare does not care what Edmund thinks, but we must be aware that he too is in the villainy. The mechanical part of him matters, not his evil passions but his evil designs. We do not see his impulses or feel his motives till they become definite intentions; his soliloquies merely tell us the part he has to play; he is a spectacular villain. Shakespeare unusually treats his minor villains as mere generators of action, but he treats nearly all the characters in *Lear* like this. How far do we see into the hearts of Regan, Goneril, Gloucester, Edgar or even Cordelia?

In the second scene of the Battlefield, Cordelia, Lear and soldiers cross the stage. Edgar enters and leaves Gloucester under a tree. A retreat sounds within. Edgar re-enters, tells that Lear and Cordelia are captured and urges Gloucester off the stage. Edmund comes in with the prisoners. Cordelia is cast down for her father, for herself brave...They go out... Albany, the sisters, Captain and soldiers enter, and things move rapidly. The jealousy of the sisters, Albany's revenging of Gloucester, and Edmund's evil all rise to feverish intensity and end in the death of the evil trio, Edmund, Goneril and Regan. The play gallops to its finish. Edgar tells how Gloucester found the rest he was seeking, and Lear carries on the dead Cordelia, over her to fall in death.

In this last act Shakespeare suddenly shakes himself awake. The play has been running for some time, and not half the artificial action has finished. He becomes flustered, scuttling away what remains hurriedly and without enthusiasm. It is the exit of a belated dream. The tourney formalities ring like a solemn

bell in the dawn, quite different from the tourney glamour of the earliest plays. A wan light glimmers over everything, a sobbing melody sounds through it all, while the emotion that kills Lear runs full like a river in space long after the sun has risen again on the morning. Thus the end of *Lear* leaves its unique impression. In the other tragedies we drop from the clouds of poetry on the mountains of passion as we near the close. When *Lear* comes to its end we step up to the everyday world, feeling as if something had lightened, as if a spring that was squeezed down were now released.

The ending does not satisfy all readers of Shakespeare. They wish that Lear and Cordelia had lived happily ever after. This is due to many things. Considered as incidents in the plot the deaths of Cordelia and of Lear are inartistic, not led up to or provided for beforehand ; they do not fit into a design, they just happen. But the tragic close makes the only possible ending to the drama considered as a thing of the emotions. This tragedy is a dream dreamt in the night, full of monsters. Even the lovely things in it are unearthly ; Cordelia is like a cool-winged angel. We cannot imagine them existing into the morning. If these unhappy beings live on in our imagination, it is in a secluded garden, an *As you like it* unreality only with the moon for its sun. Shakespeare does not send us off into another dream; he takes us safely back to the grey streets. How could Cordelia come with us out into the greyness? It is better that she should die, and pass away in the catastrophe of death which may be no catastrophe to those who go. So in this last act, when a window suddenly opens and the monsters of the might's pessimism drift away, Cordelia and Lear cannot stay. Let them all fade, and not even the tears which gave relief in the dark come with us into the morning

Kent : Oh, let him pass ! He hates him
 That would upon the rack of this tough world
 Stretch him out longer.

Edgar : He is gone indeed.

Gone indeed! As in no other tragedy so hauntingly, we feel as if some one had really died. So we shut the door of the death chamber, and, a little dazed, turn the key.

(Concluded.)

KATHARINE M. WILSON

AVE POST SECULA

Ave post secula! Do thus we meet again,
After a parting of ten thousand years,
In which we lived strange lives and loved strange loves, apart
From one another, dear, nor shared our tears?

Ave post secula : Ah : swiftly I knew you,
And, knowing you, felt that you still were mine.
What though the ages had torn us far asunder?

A love, such as ours, is ever divine !

Ave post secula! A swift fleeting moment .

Again may we seize from eternity :
Then the dark grave, from which we leap to new *avatars* ;
Parted aeons,—at last, one entity;
Ave post secula !

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD¹

The outside world has a peculiar and long-standing misconception that Nepal is a closed country, a forbidden land and hence its relations with the outer world have been of a meagre nature. That it is more or less a land to which few foreigners and specially Westerners have had any access cannot be denied. But it must be freely and unhesitatingly admitted that the reason of Nepal's keeping its gates shut to outsiders is not any conservatism or orthodoxy, but the ardent patriotism of the Gurkha rulers of the land, who are the descendants of the Rajputs who left Chitor during the Moslem incursions, stands in the way of any foreign agency penetrating into its seclusion. Amidst the Himalayan fastnesses, the Nepalese have escaped the onslaughts of the Moslems and indeed it is the only Hindu country which has never been disturbed, far less subdued by any Musalman power.²

The rulers of Nepal have never stood in the way of any scholar or institution wanting to make archaeological or historical investigations in the country and it must be said in fairness to them that they have always rendered every possible assistance and help to both Eastern and Western scholars in making researches into the past history of the land.

The inscriptions of the country dating back to the early days of Buddhism, the stupas in the city of Patan attributed to Emperor Aśoka, the Aśokan Pillar at Buddha's birthplace Rummindei, the numerous temples and shrines dedicated to the deities of the Hindu Pantheon, the images and statues of the Bodhisattvas and other canonised saints of the Buddhistic creed,

¹ My sincerest thanks go to Dr. Probodhchandra Bagchi of the University of Calcutta, Supradipta Manyabar Lt.-General Kaisar Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E., Major-General Shanker Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Manyabar Bada Kazi Marichiman Singh, C.I.E., and Sirdar Harigopal Banerjee, M.A.. of Nepal for help or encouragement received during preparation of this monograph.

² Kirkpatrick, Nepal, 1811, p. 185.

bespeak that Nepal stood as the meeting-point of two different religions—Hindu and Buddhistic. The two religions long existed side by side in India without however being as much influenced by each other as they were in Nepal. The Tantric cult predominated here more than in India and served as the common platform for their meeting and partial modification under the stress of strange environments. Thus Guhyeśwari became Prajñā Dharmā Devī and Mañjuśrī became Saraswati. The Buddhists retained caste distinctions and even non-Aryan practices got a footing along with the orthodox creed. Prof. Lévi perceived the influence of Tantra on both the sects.³ Both the Buddhistic and Brahminic Vansavalis testify to its early prevalence in Nepal.

The sharp Aryan features of the ruling classes who derive their origin from the Lunar and Solar dynasties of India, the Mongol-shaped features of the Magars, Gurungs, Bhotes, Limbus and Kirantis, the Sanskritised Pārbatiyā language—the modern *lingua franca* of Nepal—and the Tibetanised dialects spoken by those of Mongolian descent, give us sufficient data to assert that in times past Nepal has been the place where two different civilisations met and influenced each other.

An examination of the facts about the relationship that Nepal had in the past with her neighbours on both sides of the Himalayas is likely to be of great interest to those interested in the history of Greater India as indeed Nepal though politically separated from India is culturally Indian in many respects. The aim and ambition of the present author is a most modest and humble one. He does not propose to discuss dry problems of dates of different dynasties nor would he claim to have formulated some new theory. A reconstruction of the history of the country is a difficult task, though it would no doubt throw a flood of light on the vast unexplored historical facts which are yet hidden in the wombs of antiquity and which would certainly require energy, patience and perseverance. Moreover it requires

³ *Le Nepal, Vol. I, Buddhistic Divinities.*

time, leisure, resource and encouragement for the fruition of such an enterprise.

The earliest reference to Nepal in ancient Indian literature is found in the Vedas which mentions the Kirantis.⁴ The Mahābhārata mentions the presence of a king of Nepal named Jitadeṣṭi of the Kiranti dynasty at the Kuru-Pāṇḍava War who fell in the fight. Dr. Bühler says that it might have been one of the devices of the old chroniclers to connect royal houses with legendary heroes as in Greece and Rome.⁵ Bramhinic Vansavalis place the event of Kirāta and Arjuna in the reign of Yelambo, the last Kiranti king of the Nepal valley, and the next Pambo, they say, joined the Mahābhārata War. The names in the Mahābhārata are different from either and do not tally with any of the names in the Vansavalis. Between Yelambo and Jitadeṣṭi the Vansavalis place some 700 years. The authenticity of the tradition therefore cannot be vouched for. The Mahābhārata, of course, mentions 157 tribes or clans in Hindusthan properly so called and enumerates among others Mallas, Kirātas and Parbatiyas.⁶ C. V. Vaidya says, "The list does not contain the name of Nepal which however is found in the Mahabharata in another place. It seems therefore that the list is not an exhaustive one."⁷ The Kirātas are definitely mentioned in the Mahābhārata.⁸ The Kirātas, Kambojas and Daradas were turbulent tribes to the north of Kashmir.⁹ The Kirātas are mentioned by Indian poets like Kalidasa and Bharavi.¹⁰ But the Mahābhārata considered the Kirātas as Mlecchas with the Yavanas and Cinas. The Brhatsamhita of Varaha Mihira mentions Kirātas and

⁴ "The Gurkhas," Brooke Northe and Morris, p. 214, quoting Lévi.

⁵ Considerations on the Chronology of Nepal, 1885, in Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji's Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal.

⁶ Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. IX.

⁷ Epic India, p. 281.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 183, 286, 482-4.

⁹ Ibid, p. 296.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 486, Geography of India in Kalidasa.

Cinas who were peoples of the North East.¹¹ According to the Vansavalis the Kirantis were the third ruling family in Nepal, the one just preceding them having been the Ahirs who came from Hindustan. Dr. Bühler thinks that neither the Guptas (the Cowherd dynasty who were the first ruling house) nor the Ahirs had any real existence. But generally speaking these two royal families have been accepted by all historians as to have been in actual existence because they are mentioned by the Vansavalis.

Definite mention of Nepal is found in the Tantras. It is one of the 51 'Pīṭhasthānās' enumerated in 'Tantra Chudā-mañi' in which mention is found of Pataliputra. Perhaps the name is to be found in the Kālikā Purāṇa. It occurs in the 'Sakti Mangal Tantra,' 'Mahāsiddhasāra Tantra,' etc., as a country falling in the division extending from Vindhya to Mahāchina. The date of these Tantras has not yet been definitely ascertained but from mention of ancient names appears to be somewhere in the early B.C.'s about 4th century. The "Yogini Tantra," Paṭala XI, traces the frontier of Kāmrūpa from the mountain Kāñcana in Nepal up to the confluence of Brahmaputra.¹²

The next important event which had an immense influence on the history of Nepal was the birth of Gautama Buddha in 563 B.C. at Kapilavastu on the outskirts of Nepal. Buddha's birthplace was Lumbini (now called Rummimdei) in the Nepal Terai. The great Reformer is said to have visited the valley in 520 B.C. Dr. Bühler following the Vansavalis places this visit in king Jitadeśī's time, though his view gives cause for a discrepancy in dates, because this was the same king who according to one chronicle went to the Mahābhārata War. The birth of Buddha and the incidents of the Mahābhārata War are separated by a wide period of time and naturally some doubt arises as to the veracity of the tradition

¹¹ P. C. Bagchi, "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India," pp. 93-94.

¹² Bagchi, p. 118.

and also the plausibility of Bühler's contention if we accept the legend as real history. Dr. L. A. Waddell in "The Makers of Civilization in Race and History," however, places the Mahābhārata War and the birth of Gautama Buddha near each other and thus synchronizes these events.¹³ In that case one version of the Nepalese Vansāvalīs is quite correct. But it would not be strange to think that the visit of Buddha was a mere figment of the imagination of Buddhist mythmakers, though the Nepalese chronicles regard his visit as authentic.

The same thing may be said about the visit of Buddha's disciple Ānanda. But whatever may be the opinion regarding these events, the influence of Buddha left a permanent mark on the people of Nepal. Of the many sacred spots in Nepal associated with the holy name of Buddha the village of Nam-buddha about 20 miles from Katmandu is one. Mythology connects Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī with the introduction of Buddhism from China. Mañjuśrī was the earliest civilizer of Nepal from the outside world and many miraculous achievements are attributed to him. It is said that the valley of Nepal, which is supposed by many to have been originally a lake, was drained by him with a swordcut between the Champādevi and the Phul-chowk hills near Dakhinkāli. There is a legend that this lake was a pleasure resort of Bāṇāsura's daughter Ushā with whom Aniruddha, Srikrishna's grandson fell in love and secretly married. This Bāṇāsura is mentioned in old Assamese mythology and ruled at Sonitapura (modern Tejpur) in Assam. There are many links between ancient Assam and Nepal and this may be one of the many such ways in which relationship has been devised between the two states. Mañjuśrī later on began to be regarded by the Hindus as Saraswati and by the Buddhists as the lord of power and learning¹⁴ and as Kāmadeva in a commentary of "Nāgaraka-sarvasva," a work on erotics, written by

¹³ Pp. 40-41, Iuzac, 192.

¹⁴ Haraprasad Sastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. in the Darbar Library, Nepal, 1905, p. lxvii "Manjuśri Sadhana."

king Jagat Jyotir Malla.¹⁵ There is another story which says that Sākyā Singha Buddha came to Nepal with thirteen hundred mendicants and they must have preached the gospel of the Sage with all their fervour and enthusiasm. Buddha did not stay in Nepal for a long time but his followers settled in the country and blended with the people.¹⁶

An important cultural link between India and Nepal was the visit of Bhadrabāhu, the Jain leader, who retired to Nepal about 312 or 313 B.C. when Chandragupta Maurya was driving out the Nandas from Magadha. It was during a famine which lasted for twelve years that Bhadrabāhu fled from Magadha and undertook a journey to the South. He halted at Ujjain for some time and then proceeded to Srāvan Belgola in Mysore. He is said to have died in 298 B.C. but about the place of his death there is some difference of opinion. According to the Jain tradition which is accepted by Vincent Smith, he died at Srāvan-Belgola. (Oxford History of India, pp. 75-76.) Another opinion is that he returned to Nepal after twelve years and died there.¹⁷ He was a reputed mathematician and his "Samhita" still testifies to his vast learning and scholarship. (Dr. B. B. Dutt, Jain School of Mathematics, Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, June 1929.)

The greatest patron of Buddhism and the monarch whose proselytizing zeal carried the teachings of the Master to distant lands, the Emperor Aśoka, who more than any one else rendered valuable services to the religion of Buddha, is said to be the founder of Lalit Patan, one of the most famous cities in Nepal and one of its three capitals in the valley. In four corners of the city he built four stupas which remain even to day as monuments of his piety. Six stupas at Devapatan, near Paśupati with a shrine and vihara though no longer standing, testify further to Aśoka's visit.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pxlv.

¹⁶ Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, 1830.

¹⁷ Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

Another of his great achievements was the erection of a Pillar at Rummindai marking the place where Buddha was born. Later on this spot became a holy shrine to Hindus as well and animals were sacrificed at the altar here, but Mahāraja Chandra Shum Shere prohibited such practices so that they might not wound the feelings of the Buddhist world. The only other known inscription set up by Aśoka in Nepal was the Nagali Sagar inscription. A distinguished authority on the Asokan period thinks that the reason why many inscriptions were not traced is due to the difficulties of deciphering them after several hundred years had elapsed since they were set up. It may be that other relics of the Asokan age in Nepal have thus been lost through the ravages of time. The emperor's daughter, Chorumati, married a Nepalese prince Devapāla, who founded the town of Devapatan. A recent historian says that he was a Buddhist devotee.¹⁸ Vansittart makes an interesting observation on this point. He cites the case of Aśoka's son-in-law as a proof of the existence of Hindus in Nepal in a very far back age.¹⁹ But even before this there were Hindus in Nepal. Arjuna's fight with Mahādeva as Kirāta would show the prevalence of Shaivism in Nepal in the Mahābhārata epoch which at all events was prior to Aśoka's visit. Pashupati Nath according to Vansāvalīs of both recensions is held to be coeval with Swayambhu and Vansāvalī legends support the view that from very ancient time Hinduism was prevalent in Nepal. The visit of Aśoka took place in the time of King Sthunko of the Kiranti dynasty. According to a local tradition in Nepal the city of Lalit Patan was originally merely Pattan, something like a village founded by a 'Japhu' (cultivator) named Lalit. This may be a mark of local patriotism which surely would like to preserve national traditions rather than allow people from outside with the credit of founding a city. But there is strong historical evidence that Nepal was

¹⁸ Perceval London, Nepal, 1928, Vol. II. p. 211.

¹⁹ The Gurkhas, 1906, p. 64.

included within Aśoka's empire, though the historian candidly adds, "The empire thus defined was not all under the direct Imperial rule. It necessarily comprehended numerous autonomous states, owing more or less obedience or paying some sort of homage to the sovereign power. It also included many wild or half-wild tribes in the hills and forests who cared little for any government, and ordinarily lived their own lives in their own way."²⁰

The first archaeological evidence of the relation of Nepal with India, or as a matter of fact the outside world, is found in the Aśoka Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta at Allahabad (340 A.D.), which places Nepal as one of the territories conquered by that mighty Gupta emperor. The "Arthaśāstra" of Kauṭilya mentions a kind of blanket ('kambala') from Nepal which found a ready sale in the markets of India. The Chinese traveller Fahhien visited Rummimdei in 406 A.D. as one of the holiest shrines of Buddhism. He did not penetrate into the main valley but returned from the Terais.

Amshuvarman who is mentioned by Hsuan Tsang is one of the most puzzling though outstanding personalities in the earlier history of Nepal. The celebrated Hindu emperor Vikramāditya is said to have come to Nepal during the reign of this king. But historians do not attach much importance to this tradition. Many such legends centre round Vikramāditya's romantic name which had a glamour for story-tellers in India. Doubts have been expressed by some people as to whether Amshuvarman was an independent king or merely a feudal lord. Some of the inscriptions²¹ prove that he was a feudal vassal of the King of Nepal, but Jishnu Gupta's inscription styles him as "Mahārājādhirāja." In one of his coins Amshuvarman assumed the title "Mahārājādhirājasya" and so at least for a time he ascended the throne.²² In his inscriptions

²⁰ Vincent Smith, Oxford History of India, pp. 105-6.

²¹ Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 in Dr. Indraji's Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal.

²²...The gradual transition is noted in the chapter on the Coinage of Nepal in Landon's "Nepal."

Amshuvarman uses the Sriharsha samvat.²⁵ According to Alberuni the Sriharsha era began in 606 or 607 A.D. Bühler thinks that Harshavardhana Silāditya must have exercised a great influence on the political circumstances of the valley. His era was used by many kings of Nepal. (*Cf.* Jayadeva's Inscription, S.S. 153). Cunningham distinctly states that Sriharsha conquered Nepal in 630-35 A.D.²⁶ Bendall mentions some inscriptions of the Sriharsha samvat.²⁷ But Prof. Sylvain Lévi²⁸ offers a new interpretation to the line of "Harsha Charita" on which Bühler bases his arguments. He shows that in this period Nepal was politically detached from Northern India and was more allied to Tibet. The era used by Amshuvarman therefore could not have been that of Harsha. Lévi points out some astronomical difficulties too in accepting the theory of Bühler. He thinks that the starting year of the era used by Amshuvarman was 595 A.D.²⁹ It is interesting to note that the Bengali year also dates near about the same time as the era of Amshuvarman. Vincent Smith belongs to the same school of opinion as Prof. Lévi and regards the theory that Harsha conquered Nepal and introduced his era there as erroneous.³⁰

The well-known Tibetan King, Srong-btsan-Gambo (600-663 A.D.) came to Nepal in Amshuvarman's time. He married the daughter of the Nepalese King and she introduced in Tibet the religion of Buddha in 622 A.D. This matrimonial alliance was of far-reaching consequence.³¹ She was ultimately canonised as the Green Tara by Lamaism and her husband as Avalokiteswara. The Tibetans first came into contact with the northern Buddhism of Nepal under Gambo's forefather Guyantsan

²⁵ Cf. Bungmati Inscription, Sriharsha Samvat 34. Devapatana Inscription, S.S. 39

²⁶ Arch. Reports, Vol. I, p. 260.

²⁷ Cf. S. S. 34, 82, 151.—"Journey of Research in Nepal and Northern India" by Cecil Bendall, 1886.

²⁸ Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 145.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 144-145, 154.

³⁰ Oxford History of India, pp. 175-6.

³¹ Landon, Nepal, Vol. I, p. 29.

in the 5th century A.D.³² For a time during Gambo's reign Tibet's voice was uppermost in Nepalese politics and Tibetan power was in ascendancy at the court of Nepal. After Amshuvarman's death for some time Nepal possibly became a vassal of Tibet under Gambo. Gambo annexed Nepal, defeated the usurper who had dared to occupy the throne vacated by Harsha and occupied Tirhut.³³ The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang visited Rummindai in 635 A.D. He calls the country "Ni-po-lo."³⁴ The first reference to the Katmandu valley is found in his account though he might not have actually visited it. But he speaks of Amshuvarman as lately ruling in Nepal.

From an early period there was a very loose political tie between Nepal and the Celestial Court of China and the relationship was of a diplomatic nature. Nepal in old times served as the connecting link between India and China and for many centuries the main route from India to Tibet and China lay through Nepal. It was by this route that Indian pilgrims and scholars went to China and Tibet to preach the doctrine of Buddhism and Indian culture. It was through Nepal in the early 11th century that Atisha, the famous Indian philosopher and thinker, proceeded to Tibet to be the first ruling priest there. Atisha made a pilgrimage to Swayambhunath in 1040 and then went to meet a sovereign of Nepal far to the west in the territory of Palpa.³⁵ It was through Nepal in 1661 that Father Grueber and Father Dorville³⁶ two Jesuit priests came to India from Peking after a stay of two months at Lhasa. In the letters of Grueber edited by Father Kircher we find the first record of a European visit to Nepal. Pratapa Malla was then ruling at Katmandu (called Cadmendu, the capital of Necbal by Grueber) and he welcomed the missionaries warmly. It is stated in one of these letters :

³² Hutchinson—History of the World, Vol. IV.

³³ Smith—Oxford History p. 174, on the authority of the Jr. A.O.S.

³⁴ Cunningham—Ancient Geography of India, pp. 516-17.

³⁵ Hutchinson's date of Atisha's arrival in Tibet is 1026 A.D.

³⁶ Albert d' Orville, a Belgian in "Tibet : Past and Present" by Sir Charles Bell, pp. 36-37.

"The king (of Cedmendu) welcomed the fathers very warmly, perhaps because of a telescope, which was up to that time unknown in Necbal, and other mathematical instruments which roused the royal curiosity to such an extent that he wished to keep the fathers with him, and he only allowed them to go after having exacted from them a promise to return. He promised them that when they came back he would build a house for the use of our Order and provide a large annual subsidy, and above all, would permit them to preach the gospel in his State." We shall have occasion to speak later on of Christian missions in Nepal in the 18th century.

In the monasteries of Nepal, Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan by Buddhist scholars. We have references to Sanskrit texts being translated into Tibetan in the monasteries of the town of Yambu (the Tibetan name for Katmandu). Some of the names of these monasteries have been preserved. These are Nirābhogavihāra, Thangvihāra, Gauhamvihāra. But unfortunately these monasteries cannot be identified with the modern names.³⁷ The dissemination of Buddhism across the Himalayas took place from Nepal. This intellectual and religious intercourse familiarised the cultural resources of each country to the other. But times have changed since then and to-day such interchange of scholars and such visits are few and far between. People are not inclined to undertake arduous and hazardous tasks of crossing the Himalayas for a search after antiquated knowledge from countries that are yet veiled in the mist of primitiveness and it is at rare intervals that Saratchandra Das or Kāwaguchi or McGovern risks himself on such an enterprise fraught with many dangers. Since the opening of the road to Tibet through the Darjeeling district and *via* Gyantse, the Nepalese routes have been practically closed to traffic and are very sparingly used. Apart from the loss of a large revenue arising out of taxes on merchandise, a substantial

³⁷ Cordier—Index du Bstan-hgyur. Vol. I, pp. 4, 16, 27, 31, 50, 56, 62, 77, 83, 84, 99, 100, etc.

importance of the country has suffered through the diversion of the route which originally lay through Nepal to Tibet. This is the view of an authority on Himalayan countries like Sir Charles Bell.

The Hindu religious reformer Sankarāchārya is said to have come to Nepal in the 7th century A.D. and he created a regular horror into the hearts of the Buddhist monks, whose books he seized and burnt. Thus for a time was Buddhism overthrown in Nepal and Hinduism once more restored. Vansittart places this visit in Rudra Deva's time, while Daniel Wright, on the basis of the *Vansāvalīs* fixes up the time during the reign of king Vrishadevavarman of the Suryavanshi dynasty.³⁸ Later traditions again assert that the revival of Hinduism was accomplished under a supposed incarnation of Sankarāchārya.

After Harsha's death political affairs were in a vortex. Nepal did not escape the contagion of these unsettled times. King Narendra Deva was for a time a refugee in Tibet and despatched embassies to the court of China. This must have been the beginning of Nepalese missions to China and an interchange of embassies. From the Chinese side also envoys were sent to Nepal. Narendra Deva who was then in power entertained Li I-piao and Wang Hiuen-tse, who came as envoys from China. Li I-piao sent as an envoy by the T'ang dynasty paid a visit also to King Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa during the course of his mission.³⁹ The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang also visited this king. The two countries having been very near each other such a visit was certainly natural. In Tantric times there was no doubt an intimate relationship between these two countries which were two of the principal centres of Tantraism. Wang made a second visit in 657. Six years ago Narendra had sent a mission to China. Unfortunately the final record of Wang's travels have been lost. We have to

³⁸ History of Nepal, Cambridge University Press, 1877.

³⁹ Bagchi, p. 114.

depend for his quotations upon "Fa-yuan-chu-lin" of the monk Tao-she. The significance of these missions is not far to seek. There began a regular political relationship with China, but it is difficult to ascertain whether it was in the role of a suzerain overlord that China played a part in Nepalese affairs or whether it was merely the acknowledgment of a superior power from the Nepalese side.

Narendra's successor Shivadeva II married the granddaughter of Adityasena, emperor of Magadha. This is clearly stated in the inscription of Jayadeva.⁴⁰ Shivadeva II's son, Jayadeva II, married Rajyavati, daughter of Sriharshadeva king of Gauda, Odra, Kaliṅga and Kosala and descendant of Bhagadatta of Pragjyotishapura who is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.⁴¹ Not long after Shivadeva's reign, Jayāpida, King of Kashmir, tried to conquer Nepal but was ignominiously defeated and imprisoned. Later on he escaped with the help of one of his followers.⁴² But we have evidence of other kinds of relations that Nepal had with Kashmir. The "Vinaya" of the *Mulasarvāstivāda* School, which was written in Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era, makes mention of Nepal and of a journey made by Ānanda to that country. The description of the journey shows that the author possessed a real knowledge of that country.⁴³

A Rajput prince, Nānyadeva or Nandadeva, from Carnatic, seized the crown of Nepal in 1097 A.D. (the *Vansāvalī* date is 889 or 890 A.D.). Bendall does not mention the Karnātaki dynasty at all. Tradition connects the arrival of the Newars in the valley of Nepal with the coming of this prince on the similarity of the words "Nairs" and "Newars." The Newar customs however are so different from those of any other class

⁴⁰ Inscription, No. 15, dated Sriharsha Samvat 150, para. 18—Dr. Indraji.

⁴¹ Ibid—para. 16th.

⁴² Kalhan—*Rai Tarangini*.

⁴³ (Lévi—Vol. III, Appendix I, p. 184-5.)

in Nepal and the people are so strictly restricted to the valley that it is not at all improbable that their ancestors might have come from outside. But Vansittart definitely says, "Nepal valley is undoubtedly the home of the Newars" (p. 90).

In 1162, Nepal is mentioned as a vassal of the Chalukyan empire, but this claim is not accepted by modern historians who regard the contention as doubtful. In several other ways connections have been sought to be established between Nepal and Southern India. The first of these was that Dharmadatta, the first legendary king of Nepal came from Kanchi. Then there is the popular belief about the source of the river Godavari being in the valley. Again, in 1326, Nānyadeva's descendant, Harisinghadeva, who is regarded by some historians as belonging to the Ajodhya dynasty, captured Patan, Bhatgaon and Katmandu, but he left the country soon after the death of Sultan Giasuddin Tuglak of Delhi from whose incursions he had fled.⁴⁴ Oldfield remarks, "The progress of Muhammadanism in India drove fresh refugees to the Nepalese mountains."

One of the most influential dynasties whose monarchs have left permanent marks on the history of Nepal appeared in the country in the 12th century. They were the Mallas from Kamrupa in Assam who were hereditary landowning classes. The Code of the great lawgiver Manu has given them the rank of "Vrātya" Kshatriyas side by side with the Sākyas and with the Licchavis, who ruled in Nepal from the first to the eighth century A.D.⁴⁵ But we have traditional evidence of the existence of the Mallas in the proximity of Nepal in still earlier times. In the Malla district of Kusinara, Buddha died and was visited on his deathbed by the leading Malla families at Ānanda's bidding. Thus we see that they were an important and reputed clan from the earliest times. In the 13th century they established themselves

⁴⁴ For Nānyadeva's Genealogical Table refer to Pratapamalla's inscription, No. 18 in Dr. Jagaji.

⁴⁵ Smith, Early History of India, p. 295.

at Katmandu and Patan and one of their kings, Ananda Malla founded Bhatgaon. Of the manifold cultural and literary activities of the Malla kings mention will be made in subsequent pages.

There was a Suryavanshi dynasty at Bhatgaon with four kings. Mati Singhadeva of this family received in 1334 from the Emperor of China, Hang Wu, a seal through two emissaries confirming him in office. In this instance the overture came from China and she had taken the initiative. The like was again repeated in 1415 during the reign of Shyamasingha.⁴⁶ So in a way the Chinese overlordship was recognised by Nepal. Missions to China were sent in 1390, 1399, 1414, 1418 and the practice was renewed after the Sino-Tibetan-Nepalese War of 1792. The last mission was sent in 1908 and since then it has been discontinued. Smith therefore was not correct in thinking that Nepal sends presents or tribute to the Emperor of China and recognises in a vague way that potentate.⁴⁷

During the reign of Ratnamalla, king of Katmandu, permission was given for the first time to the Mahomedans to reside in Nepal. Bühler made a mistake in thinking that in his reign the Mussalmans attacked the country. The palm-leaf Vansāvalī referred to by him vaguely speaks of such an invasion sometime prior to Jayasthiti Malla. Vansittart is perhaps right in saying that the Mohamedans came as traders. But whatever it might be the Islamic influence has not been of the slightest importance whatsoever in Nepal. The Mahomedan population in Nepal is a minority to be an influential factor, though these people have a tendency to grow in numbers within a short time.

According to Colonel Kirkpatrick, Yakshamalla, who ascended the throne in 1427, conquered Tirhoot, Gorkha, Gaya, and Shi-

⁴⁶ Wright, p. 180.

⁴⁷ Early History of India, p. 380.

gatse in Tibet. But after his demise the territories must have been lost. Mahendramalla is said to have visited Humayun at Delhi and secured from him permission for coining "mohurs" which still remain the principal coinage of Nepal. Vansittart fell into the error that permission was granted by the Chinese emperor. Curiously enough on the Nepalese coins of this period some meaningless Arabic or Persian devices have been found, especially on the coins of some of the successors of Mahendramalla. But this did not mean the acceptance of Mahomedan overlordship. The resemblance seems to be on the surface only and the devices were soon given up. Prof. Lévi throws some doubt on the visit of Mahendra to Humayun. (Vol. II, p. 246.) The word 'mohur' was current before the time of this king and is found in palm-leaf deeds of sale and mortgage, etc. The Indian names of 'Pana,' 'Purāna' were current in the 6th and 7th centuries. Subsequently 'Panapurana,' 'Dramma,' 'Singhanka,' 'Sivanka,' etc., were current for a time. Before Mahendramalla some coins of Mahomedan rulers of Bengal came into currency struck in 'repousse' with Hindu emblems and after him some with Moslem legend and name in rebus and word combined. Vansāvalī chronicles with the tradition of "Dillī-swaroba Jagadīswaroba" had introduced the legend of an embassy to Delhi for permission to strike coins as they found those coins with Mahomedan inscriptions current in the country.

The relations between Nepal and Tibet are very old. At first the affinity was on religious grounds, but in Tibet soon Buddhism was mixed up with local cults. There has been all along a profitable business of Nepal with Tibet. In the 17th century Bhimamalla, one of the Kazis of Lakshminarsinh, King of Katmandu and grandson of Mahendramalla, sent business representatives to Tibet and himself went to Lhasa. Later on he became the Nepalese administrator there for looking after the interests of the Nepalese subjects. But somehow or other he fell into disgrace with the king and was killed under his orders.

As has already been noted Father Grueber came to Nepal

in Pratāpamalla's time. In the prayer-inscription of Pratāpamalla (1654) which can be seen in the Durbar Square at Katmandu, there are three European words—"Winter" in English and "Autome" and "L'hivert" in French. During the earlier half of the 17th century the monastery and temple of Swayambhunath which is said to have been built by Mañjuśrī was recognised to be under the authority of Lhasa. Kirkpatrick thinks the sanctity of the place to be anterior to Newar or Khat Bhootia (?) dynasties of Nepal. (P. 150).

A new influence had already entered Nepal which was destined to change the history of the whole country soon. Drabya Sah, a scion of the Rajput family which left Chitor during the Mahomedan invasions of Rajputana, conquered Gorkha, a province of Nepal in 1559. The title of Sah or Shah was conferred upon one of his fore-fathers Jagadevakhān by the Moghul emperor. The Gurkha dynasty, it is stated by Colonel Tod, was founded towards the end of the 12th century by the third son of King Samarsi of Chitor. It is therefore not at all improper to assume that in the 12th century a large number of Brahmins and Rajputs came to western Nepal. These Brahmins began to hinduise the hill-people by giving them sacred threads and assigning castes to them. They also took wives from among the women of the hills. Some of the Chetris were the offsprings of such left-handed marriages.⁴⁸ In this way Hindu influence began to spread in Nepal, though according to Hamilton the period of Hindu penetration is uncertain. There is even a tradition that Bhim, one of the Pāndava brothers came to Nepal.⁴⁹ Arjuna's visit to the Kirāta country has already been referred to. In Morang, one of the provinces of Nepal, there is a tradition that the Birāta country is no other than some jungles there and a tree is pointed out where the Pāndava brothers during their exile hid their bows, arrows, arms

⁴⁸ Brooke Northev and Morris—The Gurkhas, p. 122.

⁴⁹ Hamilton—Account of Nepal, 1819, p. 9.

and armours. The popular belief about the "Gogriha" or Cowshed of King Birata of the Mahābhārata fame found an echo in the name of a place called "Gogra" in Morang which was changed to Birātanagar in 1917 under orders of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, after it had been visited during a hunting-tour by the Maharaja's third son, Lt.-General Supradipta Man-yabar Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E. But it was with the final conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas that the Hindu influence began to work in a more definite way. Till then in the valley the Mallas ruled and not until they were ousted was the Hindu influence strongly felt.⁶⁰

Jagat Jyotir Malla, King of Bhatgaon, introduced the Indian corn 'maize' in Nepal. This introduction was strenuously opposed as the people believed that the importation would be attended with misfortune. A parallel story furnished by Sylvain Lévi is that of Hiuan Tsang, the Chinese scholar who lost a cargo of manuscripts and seeds in the Indus on his way to China and the king of Kapisha attributed the loss to Tsang's attempt of taking the seeds.

After Grueber, the next European traveller who refers to Nepal was Tavernier. He speaks of the Raja of "Nupal" as a vassal of the Great Moghul and paying him the tribute of an elephant annually. Tavernier's information was certainly inadequate. The kings of the valley did not appear to have made conquest in the Terai or held Terai lands and so were hardly in a position in Tavernier's time to have sent present or tribute of an elephant. At one time Makawanpur which lies in the Terai was a principality of some repute and had matrimonial alliances with kings of the valley and of Nawakot. The kings of Makwanpur might have sent presents to the Moghul Emperors of an elephant every year. This part of the history of the Nepalese

⁶⁰ Of course the Mallas and prior to them the Lichhavis were in the main Sanātanist Hindus. They professed Hinduism, as a matter of state policy patronised Buddhism and in the secret of their hearts were Tāntrics. The Tantra manuscripts in the Library are numerous and several Malla kings edited some of them.

Terai and also that of Simraongarh remains yet to be studied. Tavernier describes the trade-journey from India to Tibet through Nepal *via* Gorakhpur district.

Sir Clements Markham says that Father Desiderio, a Jesuit priest who had made some converts in Lhasa, came to India through Nepal. The Capuchins who were in Lhasa till 1745 set up a branch at Katmandu in 1715, but within a week they had to go to Bhatgaon on account of Brahminical opposition. Father della Penna was in charge at Bhatgaon. From Rome where he had gone for help, he brought with him seven Capuchin missionaries and returned to Lhasa in 1741 after a halt at Bhatgaon. But eventually they were expelled from Tibet and della Penna returning to Patan in 1745, died there in 1747. His works have been irrevocably lost. The same was the case with the treatise upon the religion and customs of Nepal written by Father Constantine d'Ascoli in 1747 and the notes made about Nepal by Father Cassian da Macerata. A few members of the Capuchin Mission at Katmandu were there till 1768. A missionary named Michel Ange of Tabiago saved the life of a brother of Prithwi Narayan during the siege of Kirtipur.

Prithwi Narayan finally conquered Nepal in 1768. But the friendliness of the Gurkhas towards the missionaries soon ended as Prithwi identified Christianity with the policy of the Europeans. He therefore ordered them in 1770 to leave the country and since then the doors of Nepal have been shut against Christianity. Prof. Lévi notes :—

“ Considering the sixty years of preaching, of expenses, of voyages between Rome and the Himalayas, the result was at least mediocre. Moreover science gained as little as religion.”

The inadequate results of the Capuchin Mission were certainly due to the unintellectual traditions of their Order, though some of them possessed enough missionary bigotry. One of them proudly declared that he had burnt three thousand manuscripts !

JAYANTAKUMAR DASGUPTA.

(To be continued.)

ROBERT BRIDGES (Late Poet-Laureate)

[*Born October¹ 23, 1844, died Monday, April 21, 1930.*]

Robert.² Seymour Bridges was born of a Kentish family at Walmar, being the eighth of the nine children of Mr. I. T. Bridges of St. Nicholas Court, Isle of Thanet (in the North Sea, a district of England).

A Short Biographical Notice.

He was sent in September, 1854 (æt 10), to Eton where he was in residence for nine years and won the distinction of playing in the Field Elevens. Entering at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in October, 1863, he took a medical degree (not exactly, one may think, symbolic of his future greatness as a distinguished poet). What is more important is his "Varsity Blue"—considered, rightly, to be a mark of sturdy character and a set-off as well as complement of scholarly attainments. He laid at College, well and truly, the foundations of his future greatness. In appearance he was a well-known figure who could distinguish himself even in the highest company.

For some time he practised medicine as Consulting Physician at the Children's Hospital, Great Ormonde Street, London (which may remind our readers of Tennyson's Ballads and Other Poems of 1880), and at the Great Northern Hospital.

The first volume of Verse published in 1873 shows that he was already serving another mistress and in 1882 he definitely and finally transferred his allegiance to the Muses of poetry and abandoned medicine. His latest production, the *Religio Medici* of the 20th century, "The Testament of Beauty," published on his 85th birth-day (in October, 1929), if not his earlier successes, amply justifies the choice made.

¹ The latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica gives the date as October 25.

² The writer acknowledges his indebtedness for biographical details to the Encyclopædia Britannica and the Weekly Times of London (of April 24, 1930, page 530).

The Muses' dance is interpreted as the symbol of an alliance between the fine arts and the sciences. Here is a concrete illustration. The loss of *Æsculapius* meant in this case a real gain to the "sisters three." From Great Ormonde Street, eastward ho! to the heights of Parnassus! In such conquests the East finds consolation for her subordination in other fields to the West.

He was honoured by Asquith's Government with the Laureateship (after Alfred Austin) in 1913, though he had not yet been well accepted by the public. Popular as a poet he has never been but he had his fit audience though few. His poems appeared since 1873 in small instalments, often privately published or printed in Reviews (as single pieces).

Publications.

- 1873. First Volume of Verse, followed by two books of poetry in 1879 and 1880. These were reprinted with the addition of Book IV in 1890 and Book V in 1893 or 1894.
- 1884. *Prometheus, the Fire-giver*: A Mask in the Greek Manner.
- 1885. *The Growth of Love* (Sonnet-sequence of 69 pieces).
Eros and Psyche (a Spenserian romance allegorically presenting the relation of love to the soul).
Nero (historical classical tragedy).
- 1890. Four Plays—*Achilles in Scyros*, *Palicio*, *The Return of Ulysses* and *the Christian Captives*.
Other Plays—*The Feast of Bacchus*, *The Humours of the Court* and *Nero* (Part II).
- 1903. (onward to 1912)—Experiments in Classical Prosody.
- 1905. *Demeter, A Mask*. (Written for the Ladies at Somerville College and acted by them at the Inauguration of their new Building in 1904.)

- 1898-99. Collected Edition in 2 Vols. (C. P.).
1899. New Poems.
1903-1907. Later Poems (in various Reviews).
1912. Poetical Works in one volume (excluding dramas) published by the Oxford University Press (with a fine frontispiece photo of the poet taken in 1912).
1914. October and Other Poems (privately printed at the Aberdeen Press) : 18 War-poems added to this group made up the volume of 1920.

In War time Bridges produced a volume of extracts of prose and verse from many writers entitled "The Spirit of Man" with a view "to bring fortitude and peace of mind to his countrymen." This anthology of 1916 gained a wide popularity.

1924. An Anthology entitled "The Chiswell Book of Poetry for use in Schools."
1925 New Verse, mainly written in 1921. Originally appeared in various Reviews. This volume now consists of 4 Parts. The poems are experiments in new English rhythms illustrating the principles of versification enunciated by this great innovator in his Prose Essays on Prosody.
1929 (October). *The Testament of Beauty*—A Poem in Four Books, dedicated to the King G. V. (his great master-piece comparable with the *Prelude* of Wordsworth which will reverse the judgments of his critics or at least considerably modify them). Published by the Clarendon Press (Oxford).

The Four Books of this poem are—Introduction, Selfhood, Breed, and Ethick.

He published a series of Prose Essays on Milton's Prosody, on Criticism of Poetry, on the Necessity of Poetry, on Language and Poetic Diction, Free Verse and Pronunciation. (Written

between 1893 and 1923.) The Essays on Shakespeare and Keats are of real value showing his penetrating acute analysis, logical method of developing his ideas to prove his thesis and his accuracy of expression and charmingly simple and clear style.

Recognition came to the poet-laureate in another form in 1929 when he received the Order of Merit.

All the wonderful energies of a many-sided mind and of a highly cultured representative gentleman of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been utilised and concentrated by a true poetic genius in giving to the world the maturest fruit of his life-long and strenuous activities—scientific, philosophical, artistic, religious—in the shape of a grand poem, his “The Testament of Beauty.” Lovers of good poetry are realising from its perusal and appreciative enjoyment what a life dedicated to Art can achieve.

Dr. Bridges passed away, after a short illness, at his 86th year, yet full of vitality and vigour, on Monday, the 21st of April, 1930, at his retired residence, Chilswell House, Boar’s Hill, Oxford.

1876 to 1898 was hitherto considered as the period of the poet’s full production. “The Testament of Beauty” has sprung a surprise on the world of letters, demanding a revision of estimates made up to 1929 and that in more ways than one. We settled, before reading this poem, that Bridges was chronologically a later Victorian yet in spirit a poet of “The Nineties.” This fact is unsettled. Both by date, and spirit and contents, the latest poem is, in the best and most untechnical sense, modern.

Bridges is remarkable for clarity of vision and sincerity of expression which is often very appropriate too. This trait was with him from the beginning, but it was found in its developed form specially in his poems of 1921—in the *New Verse* volume. Space does not allow us to make quotations. We shall, therefore, only mention “Cheddar Pinks”—so thoroughly English, like Tennyson’s

idylls—written in pure and simple words, monosyllabic, as in ll. 1-15, 30-35 and 40; “Kate’s Mother,” which surpasses Tennyson’s skill, is rich in exquisite delineation of English landscape in simple words (ll. 2-26) and contains Landorian vignettes—(suggestive for their homely imagery especially in ll. 104-7 and 128-31).

Similarly, “The College Garden,” reminiscent of Arnold and Oxford Life (in ll. 49-52 and 62-76) exemplifies this trait. This piece illustrates, perhaps as no other, how he can, if he chooses, combine into one artistic whole the *splendours* of diction, imagery and melody (*cf.* ll. 13-34) without producing the unpleasant impression of “purple patches.” This artist knows, indeed, and has reduced to practice, the principle that the highest art is to conceal all art which Tennyson, as I read him, does not.

Instances of the supremacy of the *intellectual* element are scattered in all his *Shorter Poems* but even his “Prometheus” is intellectual in its general tone as compared with Shelley’s poem and more so where he *displays* his detailed knowledge of the classical myths and even of Geography which Shelley did not possess. We may refer to ll. 1005-1021 of his “Prometheus.” In *Demeter* we have a *discussion* between mother and daughter of the function of thought and “the old lady” tells the chorus (l. 789) “What I could do to save man was my thought”—but not passion!

Bridges is more reflective, therefore, than introspective. His classical culture, scientific interests, devotion to knowledge, love of Nature and Beauty and democratic ideal and sympathies, regulated and controlled by his aristocratic temper (his affinity herein being with Æschylus, Shakespeare, Milton and Arnold); make his personality highly complex. He may be called *eclectic* according to the view recently propounded by Professor Louis Cazamian in his “Criticism in the Making” (1929). “The Testament of Beauty” is enough to establish this view.

His manner of expression, with a few exceptions here and there, is concrete and sensuous but not always exactly simple.

Sometimes it is simply perfect. But his diction has its idiosyncracy. On purpose, it is now archaic, now exotic. In Professor Grierson's language one may say that it has "virtuosity." But it is a distinguished scholar's deliberate choice. Even then, time alone can reconcile poetry-lovers to such specimens as—azurous, ordinator, self-conscious or conscient, peduncled eye, hermeneutic, organities, philosophic concinnity of Greek art, self-puzzledom of introspection and doubt. Surely all of these *felicitas curiosa* cannot be claimed by admirers for "irresponsible catchwords of live ideas" (l. 602 of Book I, *The Testament of Beauty*). Compounds like snowbillowy, flowerspent are beautiful for their suggestiveness but "God's orrery" or "tottery" does stick in the throat chokingly. Far better (being a move in the right direction) are—wanhope, forwhy, foredone, inwit. This is a scholar's improvement on Tennyson's commonplace avoidance of the commonplace.

We have in *Demeter* the poet's new idea of the Elect—viz., "brave souls that spent their lives for liberty and truth" which will admit into the exclusive company of saints in "the fair Elysian fields" (and not the Miltonic Heaven) even an arch heretic like Shelley, we suppose (ll. 935-947)! Here the speaker is not the old Mother but the young and youthful Persephone, whose conversion from classicism to romanticism is superbly achieved by our poet by her baptism at the font of the Renaissance. Nay, this is not all. We have next a regular *debate*, between the goddesses, started characteristically, by Persephone with a "*Suppose*,¹ dear mother, etc." (l. 1003), sustained for a long while until the mother not only relieves the anxious girl by implying reconciliation with her (ll. 1095-1100) but the readers too when they find that "Joy and surprise make tempest in my mind." This, we must note, is not expression of emotion at all. It is merely a statement. Poetry suggests (or be it expresses) where prose states. We learn further that the tempest over, "there will be peace" (l. 1097).

One will have to quote practically the best part of the text

¹ Italics mine.

of *The Testament of Beauty* if one is to illustrate from it the dominance of the intellectual note. There is as much of modern science as of Nature and other things (and Nature too scientifically interpreted in poetry after Lucretius, but with the help of Evolution) in Bridges' poetry. Donne or Cowley is not a tenth as intellectual or 'metaphysical.'

Donne's influence is great on Bridges.

His democratic ideas and Nature poetry will require a little elaborate consideration as important topics.

Clarity is dominant but this valuable quality of his poetry does not for obvious reasons, some of which we have mentioned, make the task of studying his mind and art easier. His art is so varied, so complex and has so much change in it and development. A whole section may profitably be devoted to it.

Before "The Testament of Beauty" appeared, he had been considered by good judges as more an artist than a thinker. As I read him, this verdict must go, or at least, be considerably modified. We propose to tackle this vexed question later on, within the limits of our lights and space and time.

His poetry, we claim, in matter and manner, confronts us as a curious blend of classicism and romanticism. These familiar "counters," now worn too thin and smooth for decent currency, cannot be yet avoided unless and until we have substitutes as serviceable from a new mint of modern or *modernist* criticism.

Let us now define our attitude or "reaction" to Bridges as a poet, judged, of course, from our own individual point of view—good, bad or indifferent.

A word of personal explanation. Our method may not, we are aware, commend itself to pragmatic criticism.

Bridges, first and foremost, seems to stand before us as the richest, maturest, if not the latest, fruit of the Renaissance, taken most comprehensively—the Renaissance, not simply in its beginnings or general spirit and tendency but also in the latest fruition of its potentialities,—of whatever was implicit in it.

The Renaissance, every one knows, was a revival of letters and a movement forward of unhampered scientific enquiry and adventurous discovery as much as of *enjoyment* of life and the world around man—fascinating as romance, half-revealed yet half-mysterious, something yet to be conquered and realised. It was a promise of emancipation all round. While fully assimilating the old classical and much of the mediaeval world (against which, at first, it was rather a protest), it at the same time opened out a limitless vision of a new world—in science, philosophy, literature and art, including in its wide sweep pre-eminently the art of living actually, which, after all, really matters.

We begin, therefore, with a bare analysis of “The Growth of Love,” so full of self-disclosure on the poet’s part. We crave the readers’ patience too for what looks like a history¹ of English poetry, next introduced with special reference to Bridges. Let us hope we do not deal in “irrelevancies” of criticism.

In this poem Bridges tells us—“*To be myself is all I need*.” And he sees “no other scheme but universal love.” In Sonnet No. 4 of that sonnet-sequence he refers to Dan Chaucer, mighty Shakespeare, classic Milton, and Shelley² ‘with liquid music in the word.’ No. 7 speaks of the Renaissance treatment of love—

‘A grace of silence by the Greek unguessst
That bloom’d to immortalize the Tuscan style.’

His ideal of the constructive process, with reason at the helm, is found in No. 15 and in No. 16 we read—

“This world is unto God a work of art.”

¹ Practically Professor Cazamian calls it “Periodicity in Literature.”

² Italics mine.

³ Cf. “The masters young that fist enthralled me
Of whom if I should name, whom then but thee,
Sweet Shelley, or the boy whose book was found
Thrust in thy bosom on thy body drowned ?”

No. 17 visualizes the city of Dante (Florence) and the next—"mild Giotto first," God-like Buonarroti next, and finally, "Dante, gravest poet, her much-wrong'd son;" as in No. VII of "New Verse," ll. 25-34, finally represent Giorgione's art. No. 19 reminds us of Simonides¹ by the "pictured truth" of poets, "wing'd with bright music and melodious song." We learn (No. 20) that "God's love to win is easy, for He loveth desire's fair attitude." In Donne's metaphysical manner he sums up all poets in a word—"the alphabet of a god's idea."

"Evolution" is glanced at in No. 27 as also in ll. 48-65 of "The Tapestry" in "New Verse."

No. 34 is fervent with the Renaissance attitude to love—absolute surrender to love, emptying oneself in her service. Paganism is mixed with the Miltonic idea of love in No. 35, but the next piece suggests the impression left by his poetry of love on us in the expression—

My passion falters in my rhyme."

No. 45 indicates the nature of his own age and 48 suggests Sidney, Shakespeare, Shelley and Dante. "In Memoriam" answers to 49, whereas his own poetry is characterized in 51. His classical studies are implied in 53, his love of Beauty and of Love referred to in 56 and 60 and his message of Joy in 65. In 55 and 69 (the last piece) his Lord's Prayer prepares us for what he has, at last, given us in his "Testament of Beauty," which marks a definite advance made by English poetry in the present century upon "In Memoriam," "Pacchiarotto" and "Jocoseria."

The only right method of approach to such a mind and art is indicated in the direction of an attempt to follow the course of English poetry achieved since the Renaissance. That is how we can place ourselves in the right attitude to him.

¹ Cf. the charming idyllic piece, rivalling Tennyson's Enoch Arden, entitled "Kate's Mother" rich in colour and beauty, full of romance and realism and of sincere love of the common folk in their country-home.

This many-sided movement gave fresh¹ impetus to doubt, challenge, interrogation regarding accepted ideas, Papal authority, dogma. It

Aspects of the Renaissance which enter into the Poetry of Bridges.

shifted the final court of appeal (from established institutions and systems) to what is *within each individual*. It started with dauntless courage, self-confidence, and sturdy hope of success on an enterprising quest of the nature, meaning and purpose of life and the universe in which man lives. We may here refer to the Ode on Wonder in the "Prometheus the Firegiver —A Mask in the Greek manner" (1883) of Bridges himself.

Bridges was, briefly, a bold classical revivalist, who thoroughly knew, understood and assimilated that antique culture, and equally an "interrogator," an inventor and innovator. To us he appears to be, more correctly, "the child of different ancestors"² and the successor of Spenser, Milton, Donne, even Pope, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites, possibly, though not in the direct line of descent, of Arnold, Clough, Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne. We shall presently explain our meaning.

Early English poetry (Chaucer to the Elizabethans) was one of youthful, joyous zest in living and by living to realise, far as experience helps, the *real* nature, meaning and purpose of life. This has to do with Bridges' so-called realism, as it is his own.

As yet poetry was not, strictly, criticism of life—except very remotely and indirectly. It was never didactic. So generally in Bridges; though, as I propose to show, he has a philosophy of life.

Puritan poetry and the later deistic acceptance of the Pseudo-classicists (whose inspiration, if any, never came from Hellas) were a phase of reaction. There was a sombre,

¹ The Greeks were the originators of liberty of thought and discussion but in the Middle Ages there was a reaction.

² Mr. F. E. Brett Young mentions even Surrey.

somewhat grim but very earnest and sublime outlook on life —to be lived under a merciful and good, yet relentlessly exacting, Task-master's eye. Here is the beginning of, not yet very explicit, "criticism." Bridges has been carelessly accused of Puritanism¹ and does show some leaning to Alexander Pope. His indebtedness to Milton was immense and his affinity with him close. Biblical myth, as in Milton, is often combined by him with the classical in his "Prometheus" (ll. 53-61, and 1504-1511) and the Miltonic "pageantry" of proper names adopted (*ibid.*, 251-58, ll. 319-22, 922-939, 1077-1103. Ll. 407-11 contain justification of God's ways to man.

The piece "Come Si Quando" in *New Verse* is Miltonic through and through, in form, imagery, simile. In "Poor Poll" we have a reference to his "fanciful experiments" in versification "on the secure bed-rock of Milton's prosody" but the poet grieves that Poll will be absolutely incapable of comprehending it (ll. 76-83).

This English attitude (how different from the French or the Italian) lingered, in a way, down to the days of the noted promulgator of the "clothes-philosophy," considerably modified, no doubt, by the idealism of the German philosophers and the poets of the day.

The application of this trend, significantly changed however, to the "Testament of Beauty" will be indicated later on.

This age of poetry (replacing that of prose) in its importance is comparable to the Elizabethan. Man's potentialities, however, were more grandly revealed than actually realised.

Michael Angelo's Adam, on the Cistine Chapel ceiling, was a right and correct *symbol* of the modern age of man's *eagerness* for more life—"more light." Actual circumstances did not, however, allow the wonderful liberating force of this symbolised renaissance to at once fulfil its rich promise. The world progresses slowly and the march of progress is not

¹•But cf. "New Verse": "The College Garden," ll. 1-19, esp.—"he (man) will be good-fellow with Sin."

linear or always a forward step. "Scholarship" was yet "no set science"—as it was to be in the Victorian¹ era. Humanism was in the air—operative—implying and achieving man's emancipation. Intellectual enthusiasm effected diffusion² of whatever knowledge there was. Classical learning and literature revived. What is most valuable for us, beauty and joy³ became distinctly manifested. Poetic expression was set free—to be, however, temporarily shackled after the "Restoration." Every reader of Bridges will see for himself what bearing this aspect of the Renaissance has on him.

The cheaply-despised Puritan Age was at any rate one of strenuous conflict—of a sturdy fight for freedom, in politics, of thought, and of the Press.

But the Restoration, in short, was an age of flippancy in life and letters and the so-called Augustan of self-complacency. How could poetry (except of a sort) be the mistress of the house of prose (brilliant, elegant, charming, terse and correct)? The Muse preferred to be didactic, satirical, polemical, argumentative. She was for once a vigorous and energetic scold in decent attire, somewhat genteel too, and a persuasive orator. Yet we have here the beginning of *literary art* and with Bridges more than with Tennyson or the Pre-Raphaelites who⁴ worshipped Keats, poetry is a rare artistic thing, of which the form is not less important than the matter. In his "Humdrum and Harum-Scarum (Lecture on free verse)" (Essay No. II, Pub. 1922) he unceremoniously and rightly observes "formlessness can have no place in Art," and more besides. In his more ambitious and penetrating "Critical Essay" on Keats (Essay No. IV, Pub. 1895) we read, among other things, of "a lamentable deficiency in Keats' art brought into unusual promi-

¹ Cf. Shelley's treatment of classical themes with Bridges' (in the *Prometheus* poems).

² Cf. "Prometheus," ll. 1405-1412.

³ Cf. *Ibid*, 1456-57 and "Growth of Love."

⁴ According to Professor Grierson "they are artists, not thinkers," and "their work was to be a further elaboration of "virtuosity." "Modern feeling" is by these "disguised in an antique fashion."

nence by the subject of *Endymion*." In the concluding part of this essay (Section XII) he says—"There is one (of Keats' qualities), as yet unmentioned, which claims the first place in a general description, and that is the very seal of his poetic birth-right, the highest gift of all in poetry, that which sets poetry above the other arts ; I mean the power of concentrating all the far-reaching resources of language on one point, so that a single and apparently effortless expression rejoices the aesthetic imagination at the moment when it is most expectant and exacting, and at the same time astonishes the intellect with a new aspect of truth."¹

Here is something like a *credo* eloquently stated. Possibly intense earnestness of personal conviction makes him over-emphatic. Effortless expression may give us Byrons. Tennyson is admittedly a great artist in poetry but is he effortless? Browning more astonishes the intellect. Blake, Coleridge, Rossetti, give us pictures which do not admit of concentration on one point; for, the brush must give many strokes and that with some effort. Swinburne's effortlessness is a glorious thing but what about the intellect? We have to see how far the description thus given is true of Bridges' own art² (exemplified particularly by his "New Verse" volume).

Again, in his Shakespeare Essay (No. I, Pub. 1907) that immortal poet is charged by Bridges with neglect of artistic ideals and his verdict is that the greatest poet and dramatist of the world is not the best artist. The entire essay on Poetic Diction (No. III, Pub. 1923) is an examination of the dislike of modern poets towards traditional forms and conventional words and its effects. "Poetry," he says here, must make a poem, "a work of sheer beauty."

¹ I find it inconvenient to retain the writer's own spelling and his "new symbols" and so stick to "the old dress" of words.

² Cf. "The Tapestry," ll. 15-18, 19-33; "Kate's Mother," 50-57, 111-116, 120-22; "The College Garden," ll. 62-76.

In the Tragic Hymn on the lot of man (which, by the way, is pessimistic) the Chorus says—

“ And no strength for thee but the thought of duty,
Nor any solace but the love of beauty.”¹

Shelley's exultant (“plangent,” if you like) and thrilling adoration of Beauty is now too well recognised. Keats transformed it into Hellenic (pagan) worship. The Pre-Raphaelites made it their religion—we could claim it for Shelley if only his critics had allowed this atheist any religion! This is not the place for a controversy. Tennyson and Browning are lovers of it—who is not and yet a poet? But their ways are different. They do not subscribe to the articles of the Pre-Raphaelite faith or cult. Bridges, *Eros and Psyche* in its new treatment of a theme which could tempt him to carry, as Keats has occasionally done, sensuousness to the perilous verge of sensualism, is singularly characteristic of his chaste ritual. Yet, he tells us, “Beauty” is “the best of all we know,” significantly varying the now too familiar Keatsian dictum. In one of his “Later Poems” (No. 19, page 403) while emphasizing—

“Man, born to toil, in his labour rejoiceth,”
and sounding the modern note of “Life is toil, and life is good,”²
he concludes with the stirring appeal—

“Gird on thy sword, O man, thy strength endue,
In fair desire thine earth-born joy renew.
Live thou thy life beneath the making sun
Till Beauty, Truth, and Love in thee are one.

*

*

*

*

Thy work with beauty crown, thy life with love;
Thy mind with truth uplift to God above:
For whom all is, from whom was all begun,
In whom all Beauty, Truth, and Love are one.”²

¹ Lines 1211-12, page 89, Oxford Edition of Poetical Works.

² Section VII, stanzas 1 and 4 of A Hymn of Nature (An Ode written for Music), 1898, p. 407, Oxf. Ed.

We have dwelt at some length on this feature of the Renaissance because of its importance for a study of Bridges.

To return to its other significant features as they became modified and developed in course of time is our next task.

It was at this stage that scientific investigation was seriously undertaken. The intellectual side of man for the time being triumphed over the passionate and the emotional. Nature as a poetic theme was relegated to a subordinate place. Manner of expression became more important than the thought expressed. Imagination suffered eclipse. Intensity gave way to elegance and polish. Vision of higher realities was lost with the loss of enthusiasm and of moral earnestness. The rhyming couplet held sway.

History does not exactly repeat itself. Yet a similar phenomenon, with necessary and recognisable variations, was witnessed once again, roughly speaking, in the 70's of the nineteenth century with the close of the Victorian age. We shall presently show the reaction of Bridges to it.

In the meantime there was the Romantic Revolt against the lifeless and deadening regularity of the second half of the 18th century. Everything (theme, mode of treatment, form, technique) was changed by the Revolutionary era. Imagination and emotion revived, and the subjective note became dominant. Freedom's call made the poetic note strident. Philosophical thought (as distinguished from the old metaphysical) entered into the very life of poetry. In Bridges scientific thought, occasionally too dominant, often takes the place of philosophical.

There was a recrudescence of challenge in Shelley and Byron to be modified by Victorian doubt or divided allegiance to devoutness. Scepticism and unrest in Arnold and Clough were met by the Tennysonian forced restoration of equilibrium through emotional faith at war with intellectual questioning and unsettling of convictions, or by Hardy's apparent pessimism¹.

¹ Cf. "Prometheus," Chorus, ll. 1172-1211..

and Browning's sturdy intellectual (or temperamental) optimism. But challenge was not altogether silenced : there was Swinburne as a disciple of Shelley. Besides, he perfected his art and sang mainly of love.

The first half of the century, to which Bridges does not belong but by which he was influenced, restored to English poetry deep introspection (which is emotional), strong and intense passion, exquisite perception of beauty, poetic sensibility, trust in democratic ideals, and enthusiasm for the aspirations of the soul. Many of these elements, it will be seen, along with others, go to the making of the latest production of Bridges —his grand longer poem so full of vigour and of wide intellectual interests and finished in workmanship,—“The Testament of Beauty.” “Divine or metaphysical poetry begins with doubt,”¹ but it reaches its culmination in that faith which we notice in the closing sonnet of “Growth of Love.”

A new interpretation of man's relation with Nature and a new treatment of myths and legends, mediaeval and classical, are noted achievements of the Romantic Triumph. No wonder that in the decade and a half from 1870 there came into existence, to fill the sterile gap between one era of poetic excellence and another, a group of what has been called “Anglo-classic” poets who were also experimenters in verse. Though in a way his minor contemporaries, they are also his precursors.

Three grand seminal ideas, standing out like prominent peaks, disengaged themselves from the seething turmoil of rebellious thoughts which characterised the age of Wordsworth. Thought, Love, Beauty—as the underlying reality beneath superficial facts and as keys to man's life and the mystery of the world—became poetically celebrated as objects of man's ideal pursuit. Love and Beauty have a close kinship with Joy. The last Act of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* is a remarkable illustration in poetry of this—perhaps, in the manner of dithyrambic

¹ Herbert Read (p. 62 of *Phases of English Poetry*).

rhapsody. Blake had before Shelley shown it in his meditative manner, or as some would have it, more imaginatively. If one may speak to-day of poet's messages, the message of Bridges is to be sought for there. He sings, in Shelleyan measure,¹

“ My soul is drunk with joy, her new desire
In far forbidden places wanders away.
Her hopes with free brightcoloured wings of fire
Upon the gloom of thought
Are sailing out.”

*(Prometheus : Ode in praise of
Prometheus, ll. 1456-1460.)*

With Shelley joy is an ecstasy. Another fundamental idea less connected with “ pure poetry ” was destined to come soon to the forefront. It is that of “ law ” or order. Considered as harmony behind all discords, law, as Shelley tells us in his Defence of Poetry is intimately associated with art. But law as conceived by Tennyson is a ruling principle deduced from scientific interrogation of actual realities. The age of Bridges is described as that of “interrogation.” The Victorian is generally called the age of science. So far as poetry goes, it is more correct to say that science in this age became wedded to imagination—poetry being once for all “ the impassioned expression upon the countenance of science.” Not only did poetry flourish with new vigour (inspite of Macaulay) side by side with science but of this wedlock was born a keen artistic sense giving rise to a new art technique of poetic realism. There was thus the supremacy of aesthetics,² well illustrated by the Pre-Raphaelites (particularly by D. G. Rossetti). Tennyson is great by virtue of his art. Artistic realism is distinctly visible in the utterances of the Chorus in Bridges’ “Prometheus,” so vividly and beautifully describing with imaginative vigour and appeal the birth of the flame of fire, first bursting out of the sacrificial altar before the

Cf. Asia’s song, “ My soul is an enchanted boat,” etc.

Professor Grierson in his very penetrating criticism detects in it “ virtuosity.”

wondering eyes of Inachus. This chorus responds to Prometheus' Hymn addressed to Fire and is called by the poet himself "a Fire-chorus." We must quote a part of it.

Inachus— "Tis smoke, the smoke of fire.

Semi-chorus—Thick they come and thicker,
 Quick arise and quicker,
 Higher still and higher.
 Their wreaths the wood enfold
 —I see a spot of gold.
 They spring from a spot of gold,
 Red gold, deep among
 The leaves; a golden tongue.
 O behold, behold,
 Dancing tongues of gold,
 That leaping aloft flicker,
 Higher still and higher.

Inachus— "Tis fire, the flame of fire.

Semi-chorus—The blue smoke overhead
 Is turned to angry red.
 The fire, the fire, it stirs,
 Hark, a crackling sound,
 As when all around
 Ripened pods of furze
 Split in the parching sun
 Their dry caps one by one,
 And shed their seeds on the ground.
 —Ah! what clouds arise
 Away! O come away,
 The wind-wafted smoke,
 Blowing all astray,
 Blinds and pricks my eyes.
 Ah! I choke, I choke.
 * * * *
 How they writhe, resist.
 Blacken, flake and twist,
 Snap in gold and fall.

—See the stars that mount,
Momentary fright
Flitting specks of light
More than eye can count.

* * * *

—Hark, there came a hiss
Like a startled snake
Sliding through the brake.

* * * *

—How the gay flames flicker,
Spurting, dancing, leaping
Quicker yet and quicker,
Higher yet and higher,
—Flaming, flaring, fuming,
Cracking, crackling, creeping,
Hissing and consuming :
Mighty is the fire.”¹

Here is genuine poetry. Yet the imaginative outlook on life took a distinct *intellectual* trend. Rationalism had already come in the previous generation. It operated somewhat negatively—destructively, to aid the liberation of individualism. Rationalistic critical activity now was replaced by the new intellectual force, more positive.² The old hostility to blind faith and unquestioning acceptance continued, but the spirit of challenging interrogation yielded a richer harvest of the idea of progressive growth, not however, as a fascinating dream or a mere vague abstraction. The poetic imagination in co-operation with the scientific, began a reconstruction of which faint hints were not wanting in the last phase of Shelley and in the *Hyperion* of Keats, based on Love and Beauty.

The biological sciences, a new study, gave to the new age its distinctive character. Whatever may now be said in *Man*

¹. ll 1293-1361 of “Prometheus, the Fire-giver.”

² Cf. ll. 831-341 of “Prometheus” and contrast the idea with Shelley’s fury against the very name of kingship.

and *Superman* and *Back to Methuselah*, Lyell, Chambers and Darwin marked an important epoch of advance. The first fruits of dazzling scientific discoveries were perplexing. Scepticism and agnosticism vied with faith and belief, pessimism with optimism.¹ Doubt, unrest, searching of the spirit, a sense of temporary defeat and depression, of blankness made the third quarter of the 19th century full of confusion as the Revolutionary spirit had made its first quarter full of tumult. Science, like Rationalism before, in the first flush of glorious achievements arrogantly demanded undisputed sway over the totality of man's life and vision. "Victorian compromise" hastily patched up a truce at any price between overweening science and half-vanquished religion. Tennyson's "In Memoriam" is a sufficient illustration. Doubt vexes Arnold in his "Rugby Chapel." The second phase in Bridges' "Growth of Love" (Sonnets 23 to '0 and 45-46) also gives the same indication though in a different way.

"O weary pilgrims, chanting of your woe
That turn your eyes to all the peaks that shine

* * * *

Until at length your feeble steps and slow
Falter upon the threshold of the shrine,
And your hearts overburden'd doubt in full
Whether it be Jerusalem or no ;
Dishearten'd pilgrims, I am one of you

* * * *

Beneath the lamp of Truth I am found untrue,
And question with the God that I embrace."

[Sonnet 23.]

The theory of Evolution is alluded to in Sonnet 27 and the 30th sonnet implies the supremacy of "knowing"; and though in the next sonnet we are informed of the revival of love, love as

¹. Cf. Arthur O'Shaughnessy's "Three Silences," stanza 3.

presented there is too full of dignity and decorum to have any warmth. "Launched passion" is more missed than found, as it is found in the poetry of Burns, of Shelley, of Swinburne, nay even Byron. Love is crushed under the weight of "two thousand years'" solemnity." "His lyrics are clear as crystal and often as cold." This is a little overstated yet not altogether groundless as a charge against Bridges whose art is faultless to perfection and whose feeling chastened and sincere. So it is held that "he is always serene : feeling is *contained* in his verse rather than expressed by it." This view too is not strictly accurate. Feeling is expressed in many poems but it is so subdued, as, for instance, in the few love poems of Wordsworth. The refined and classical artistic taste of Bridges working on the Wordsworthian model, which appealed to him powerfully, may have effected this change. We may apply to Bridges what he with keen and nice discrimination says in explanation of Hume's "general critical judgement" (of a logical and intuitive mind as he calls it) having been misled by the "fine excess" of Shakespeare¹. The fine excess of Shelley and the raw excess of Byron produced, perhaps, in such a fastidious and highly cultured artist as Bridges something of a revolt. Arnold too was 'misled' by Shelley's excess which to him was not exactly 'fine.' Tennyson's art did injure his spontaneity of feeling. He too in his own way is cold. Many of his readers feel towards his poetry what his Guinevere felt regarding the faultily faultless Arthur. Opinion in this matter of feeling in Bridges is naturally divided (as between classical and romantic types of criticism). Classical criticism will (very reasonably from its point of view) hold that the lyrical poems

¹. A. C. Ward, "Twentieth Century Literature."

"Coldness is experienced in the highest beauty.....where there is great regularity of feature I have often remarked a correspondent regularity in the affections and the conduct" —Landor (as quoted by Professor H. J. C. Grierson in his "Lyrical Poetry from Blake to Hardy."

² "Footnote No. 2, page 15, of *Essay on the Influence of the Audience on Shakespeare's Drama* (Collected Essays, No. I).

of Bridges (when allowed to produce a sober impression) afford readers "delight in the sincerity and simplicity of the feeling, devoid of any suspicion of spasmodic violence." This is an illuminating criticism. No one should question the simplicity and sincerity of the feeling expressed in Bridges' poems like "Elegy" (No. 2, page 227),¹ which begins with a nature background for feeling pure and chastened, but all the same perfectly expressed in

" Yet it was here we walked when ferns were springing,
 And through the mossy bank shot bud and blade :—
 Here found in summer, when the birds were singing,
 A green and pleasant shade.
 'Twas here we loved in sunnier day and greener ;
 And now, in this disconsolate decay,
 I come to see her where I most have seen her,
 And touch the happier day.

* * * * *

So through my heart there winds a track of feeling,
 A path of memory that is all her own :
 Whereto her phantom beauty ever stealing
 Haunts the sad spot alone.

* * * * *

This is not the right place for detailed comments on this poem yet we do make one or two remarks. Not only the last two lines (with their "phantom" and "haunts") remind us of Wordsworth but the tone of the whole piece is set in the Wordsworthian key and

" I come to see her where I most have seen her— "

well, this is Wordsworth's "prose" verse. Verse sometimes is with that great poet flat prose, though the mature Byron himself disowned the Byron of "English Bards." Somehow

¹ Except in the case of his "New Verse" our references henceforth are to the Poetical Works of Robert Bridges (Oxford University Press, 1914) in 1 vol.

I feel that I am reminded of Arnold's manner too here. But all this, by the way.

Let us turn for a moment to his early production "Prometheus the Firegiver."

The prologue (not so called definitely) itself will serve. Says Prometheus—

" This variegated ocean-floor of the air,
The changeful circle of fair land, that lies
Heaven's dial, sisterly mirror of night and day:
The wide o'er-wandered plain, this nether world
My truant haunt is, when from jealous eyes
I steal, for hither 'tis I steal, and here
Unseen repair my joy * * "

The unconvinced critic may say this may be feeling, *stated* and not expressed. Let us proceed a step.

" I watch all toil and tilth, farm, field and fold,
And taste the mortal joy; since not in heaven
Among our easeful gods hath facile time
A touch so keen, to wake such love of life
As stirs the frail and careful being, who here,
The king of sorrows, melancholy man,
Bows at his labour, but in heart erect
A god stands, nor for any gift of god
Would barter his immortal-hearted prime.

Could I but win this world from Zeus for mine,
With not a god to vex my happy rule,
I would inhabit here and leave high heaven;
So much I love it and its race of men.

* * * *

This is Shelley all over *minus* the rush and glow of that poet's thrilling lines. The Shelleyan "King of Sorrows" is there and Mercury in Shelley's poem speaks somewhat in this manner about heaven. Only Bridges is truer to the point of home with his charming "realism."

Feeling is felt by the poet and his readers and it is finely expressed. The Chorus-hymn¹ to Zeus, too long to quote (especially lines 203-214 in Arnold's manner), is full of feeling for old yet ever fresh Hellas which captures something of the very rapture of Shelley's "Hellas." The Renaissance "wonder" expressed by Inachus (ll. 360-69) is full of feeling —only to line 369 tempers it by a scientific note, the characteristic of the new age. Think of the cry of the semi-chorus in line 1443—"O were I a god, but thus to be man!" Or, of another single line only (1473)—"Joy, the joy of flight." Taken out of their context, these quotations are, of course, less effective, yet they should convince. We conclude this topic with a bare reference to the intense lyrical fervour of Scriptural rhapsody which inspires "The Psalm" in "New Verse" (No. VI).

We are not exactly flogging a dead horse for, as our quotation from "Twentieth Century Literature" shows, it seems to be yet much alive.

The real point is to be sought for elsewhere. Feeling is expressed but (to appropriate the poet's own remark slightly changed)—he expresses "distinguishing duly."²

The key to this peculiarity is to be found in the advice given to his wife by King Inachus:—

"Now hush thy fear. See how thou tremblest still.
Or if thou fear, fear passion; for the freshes
Of tenderness and motherly love will drown
The eye of judgement."³

We have in a nutshell the whole truth about this new poetry of the age in which imagination and emotion, re-discovered by the Romantics and given a free unrestrained charter to blow even in tumultuous gusts, being wedded to science, had to fore-

¹ Pages 8-10, Oxford Edition of Poetical Works.

² Line 1483, page 45, *Ibid.*

³ Lines 973-76, page 32, Oxf. Ed.

go some of the "privileges" of the perfection of "single blessedness." "Nature had kissed Art" ¹ (nature, as understood by the Greeks and not their Roman imitators). Knowledge, vastly advanced, curbs "fine frenzy."

"The heat of prophecy like a strong wine
Shameth his reason with exultant speech"²

is the observation of the Chorus on Prometheus whose offer of fire to Inachus on condition of his hazarding the wrath of Zeus appears to the too rational and "thought"-ful king to be a sign of madness. That is the attitude of Bridges as an artist of the new age. The long speech of Prometheus to convince Inachus that follows next is for our purpose highly suggestive. It is a long *discussion* with a view to persuade and convince. The appeal is more to the intellect than to the heart. There is much of Shelley, Keats, and the spirit of the Renaissance too in it.

By the way, we point out in this connection that discussion enters largely into "The Testament of Beauty," a poem which does establish also what had hitherto been denied by the critics of Bridges, *viz.*, that he too is a prophet—a seer and not simply a "fashioner." If one feels this to be Pope in 19th century disguise our answer is three-fold. First, we have been trying so far to illustrate the poet's many-sided ancestry because when his poems are imitative it is with the love of great periods of literature which is characteristic of a poet in Bridges' position; secondly, we have to bear in mind that like Milton he is really ; a great *scholar* possessing the scholar's assimilating power ; and finally, even an out-and-out Romantic rebel's *moral* favour made his "Queen Mab" didactic, occasionally tinged his "Revolt of Islam" with didacticism and appeared transformed into passionate exhortation to mankind in "Prometheus Unbound" and "Hellas"—even if not in "Adonais."

The last two quotations from Bridges, with their

¹ Line 309, page 12, *Ibid.*

² *Vide* II. 412-435, pp. 15-16, *Ibid.*

significant bearing on his latest poem raise the question whether he was no "seer" but only a "fashioner" or maker. That question will be taken up at its proper place to decide whether, first, "he must be regarded as a searcher for truth rather than as full prophet"¹ and next if what poetry there is in *The Testament of Beauty* "is swamped in a self-conscious disquisition."²

To complete our rapid survey of "the dynamics of literary movements," as a help in establishing his *affinities and contrasts*, and explaining the character and trend of his many-sided activities and of the phases of his growth and also the use made by him of available ideals and models, we next note for a moment the condition of English poetry in the "nineties" of the Nineteenth Century."

The "Anglo-classic" poets of the decade,—like Canon Dixon and Edmund Gosse, with their habit of "grafting modern thought upon the Grecian stock" so fascinating to scholar-poets like Arnold; Miss Robinson, a devotee of the Beautiful (as a Pre-Raphaelite) with her sympathies fixed on the real life of the poor in England or Mrs. Browning with her fondness for treating classical themes aesthetically, or W. Watson reviving the Sonnet sequence vogue—were contemporaries of Bridges, considered by Mr. Stedman as the "chief light of a quaintly esoteric Oxford School." Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Eric Mackay and Michael Field (Misses Bradley and Cooper, aunt and niece) present more contrast with their resonant passion or emotion than resemblance with Bridges. All these classical revivalists were noted, more or less, for a reflective tone, new method (sometimes Italian) of versification, experiments as metrical artists, simplicity of language, restrained and simple diction, pastoral lyricism and new rhythm. One smaller group within the larger even accepted Gautier's "art for art" and a few turned to symbolism and mysticism. Exotic verse-experiments

¹ F. E. Brett Young.

² Bridges' *Essay on Keats* (1895).

in new forms became the vogue from 1875 to 1890. Scholarship, over-intellectuality, technique, nicety—even finesse—threatened to crush poetry or destroy all vitality in it. Romanticism as a revolt against Pope's followers had revived the Hellenic spirit. Shelley and Keats, with less scholarship but more appreciation of the true Hellenic ideal of Beauty, worked out myths, to be followed by Arnold and Swinburne, whose knowledge was more deep and accurate. Tennyson's master was Virgil and not the Greeks. Bridges found inspiration in that fountain-head and revived a truer classicism “the just designs of Greece.” Browning, like Donne, dallied with what to them was well-known but appealed little to their readers. But Bridges' method made far-off things of antiquity familiar. Professor Grierson with his unerring eye detects, in all, a “virtuoso” note which is rampant in Lang, Henley, Dobson but from which Tennyson, Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne, according to him, were not free. He beautifully exhibits the exotic character of the new art engaged in exploring older or foreign literature. Housman like Bridges freed this new art from mere “decoration.” Prof. Grierson's reference to the flood and ebb tide of Christianity is suggestively happy and may now be used by us with reference to “The Testament of Beauty.” It stemmed the tide of “the wave of materialism” or, as he more precisely puts it, Lucretianism.

Bridges too has written about the Boer War but not at all in the brutal manner of the once much-praised “Absent-Minded Beggar.” The classic Muse of Bridges is too dignified to sound a blatant note. In him there was a rich blending of the best of classicism that could be revived in a later age with a glorious heritage (as we have attempted to show) from the Renaissance.

Once again after Tennyson, as in the latter part of the so-called Augustan age, “the sound became forced and the notes” not too few but noisy and uncertain, suggesting need and possibility of a fresh revival. The “loss of vision, joy and beauty” was made

good by this wealthy inheritor.' Even his "Growth of Love"¹ is sufficient to establish this claim. Some critics of to-day are against the idea of "influences" but Professor Grierson in his illuminating manner shows how artists receive² them. Heritage, of course, does not mean loan, so there is no question of borrowings.

Bridges rejuvenated English poetry by fully utilising *actualities* as an artist and his poetry, as all true art, "expresses the ultimate vision of the profoundest being" called the artist, who is "the highest type of man."³ These actualities comprise the highest products of science and philosophy achieved up to the end of the first quarter of the current century, intensity of vision, avidity for fulness of actual experience, intimate touch with modern life and all its conditions (including claims of the masses of workers), attachment to Mother Earth, prizing of instincts (the subconscious in man) as legitimate means of a higher (spiritual) development, growing seriousness, growing vision and transforming Imagination, and a growing faith in God's mission fulfilled in man and human society.

Out of the varied strivings and conflicts of the whole of the nineteenth century in all spheres of human activity, one principle emerged—a noble endeavour to reconcile all superficial contradictions in a higher synthesis. We have it in what, as I read it, is a philosophical poem of the twentieth century—"The Testament of Beauty." There is something striking in Bridges attitude to the supremacy of Beauty and Love as in Shelley's poetry, over the reflective and meditative Thought of Words-worth. To speak of philosophy in poetry does not necessarily imply "muddleheadedness." In my essay on Shelley an attempt has been made to show that serious reflective artists make the substance of science and philosophy the materials of poetry.

¹ *Vide pp. 189, 191, 193, 197, 202, 203, 204, 210, 214, 215, and 225 Oxford, Edition of Poetical Works in 1 vol.*

² "Lyrical Poetry from Blake to Hardy," pp. 85-90.

³ *Deucalion (To-day and To-morrow Series)*, p. 89, where Mr. Middleton Murry is quoted.

The critic's function is primarily to rightly react to what finds expression in a poet's art which, again, is true to a profound being's ultimate vision. The artistic instinct, according to the *Testament of Beauty*, in man is transformed from its natural unconscious play in animals into something 'conscient,' through Reason, and becomes

"That ladder of joy whereon

Slowly climbing at heaven he shall find peace with God."

"No art can flourish that is not alive and growing¹ and it can only grow by invention of new methods or by discovery of new material." This well applies to the *Testament of Beauty*. Mr. Stedman's prophetic suggestion that "some heroic crisis" will bring about a return of poetic vigour into the twentieth century has gained significance to-day. The Great War has at last produced great poetry. Mr. Herbert Read in his penetrating and acute study of "Phases of English Poetry" (page 135) observed—"The *Prelude* is the last English epic, it is the epic of the man of feeling. When modern epic comes to be written it will embody the aspirations of the age, though probably in a most unexpected manner." What a prevision! Yet Mr. Read will have to revise the paragraphs (at pp. 139-41) on the modern poet.

With the actual poem before us it has become easy for all of us to detect a new significance in many poems included in the "New Verse" volume of 1925 (especially the pieces composed in 1921). I shall next address myself to the task of interpreting the previous works of Bridges as containing premonitions or "intimations" of a regular and systematic development leading to his latest interpretation of life and the world in *The Testament of Beauty*. It is curious that this latest piece of Bridges is also significantly suggested by W. B. Nichols' "*Prometheus in Piccadilly*" (1927) of which Parts IV (The Trumpet of Beauty) and V (The Triumph Of God), at any rate, are to me preludes to Bridges' piece.

(To be continued.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Bridges' Essay on Free Verse (1922).

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

It is an excellent practice to commemorate the great dead for by such commemoration we not only keep their memory fresh and all that that memory stands for—high ideals, noble achievements—but hold up examples to strive for, perchance to attain, if not to outshine. In every sphere of human activity we have brilliant pioneers in whose wake we may humbly follow. I have, therefore, always regretted that we do not have more and more of such commemorations. It is now six years since the late Sir Asutosh passed away. But death, instead of dimming, has brightened his memory for we now have a clearer perspective, a surer grasp of things. Contemporary opposition has died away; carping criticism has ceased and a juster, truer, perspective secured. And thus he is to-day a living force, guiding, animating, stimulating our efforts, consecrating our zeal. I never enter the University precincts without feeling a sense of personal touch with him. There his heart lay while living; there his soul rests now that he is no more.

Exactly a century ago at the rumour of trouble in Belgium that keen-witted, sharp-sighted Greville wrote: “In the midst of possibilities so tremendous it is awful to reflect upon the very moderate portion of wisdom and sagacity which is allotted to those by whom our affairs are managed.” The indictment is severe but none the less true; true then; truer still to-day To none of our contemporaries did the gods allot a greater share of wisdom and sagacity in the management of affairs than to Sir Asutosh. In fact his striking note was wisdom and sagacity. Never was anything ill-considered or hastily resolved upon; never was his judgment made except upon deepest and fullest consideration. Every measure that he initiated, every reform that he launched, every step that he took, in fact, everything that he did, he did with wisdom, sagacity, fearlessness,

independence. He was no respecter of persons, for did not Lord Lytton writhe under the lash of his chastisement? Nor would he yield or surrender when *in the right*—Government of India or no Government of India. A born leader of men he united in himself qualities rarely combined in one personality; unflinching courage wedded to cool judgment; endurance beyond the capacity of ordinary mortals; inexhaustible ardour for work and work too of the most meticulous kind; kindness coupled with severity; love conjoined with justice and fairness; charity, meekness, humility, absence of pride or arrogance—what a rare assemblage indeed! Yes! a leader of men and a true patriot—for everything served that one great end—call it nationalism, call it patriotism, call it what you will. There can be no nationalism without a literature; for literature is but a mirror of national life; a repository of national aspirations; an interpreter of national thought. Hence his persevering effort in the creation of a national literature; hence the admission of the Bengalee language into the higher studies of the University. Literature is more imperatively needed than the *Charka* or the cap, for it has explosives of its own and far more effective ones.

Did not Mazzini summon a whole nation to life by the sheer force and thunder of his eloquence? But this is not all. Here we cannot pause and consider every step that Sir Asutosh took towards the creation of nationalism in India. I shall recall one more instance here. Like a statesman of piercing vision he clearly saw that the only way to usher in a better understanding between the two communities was to organise Islamic Studies on a wider basis in the University of Calcutta. A better understanding and a juster appreciation can only come of a wider outlook, based on the study of each other's history and civilization.

I shall never forget the night I travelled with him from Patna to Calcutta. The train steamed off; we talked for a while; we then put the light out and retired for the night.

But shortly after I found him sitting, seemingly distressed. I went up to him, sat by his side and tried to divert him from his engrossing thought, the illness of his child. I spoke of the study of Islamic History and the necessity of widening its course. I drew his attention to the far-reaching importance of this study from more points of view than one. We find enshrined there, said I, speculations, religious and political, which would do credit to thinkers and publicists of modern times. We find there, too, a spirit of enquiry, fearless of consequences, and a spirit of toleration unattained even to-day. In the domain of Law we observe there *that* judicial independence which the moderns do but mimic. Indeed it is the history of a variegated civilization which drew its support and sustenance from all quarters then within reach.

And last but not least, I continued, there we find that supreme passion for learning which has not been hitherto equalled, much less excelled in the world. Such a history is at once an example and an inspiration. It will bring home the truth to us—as nothing else can—that what the East has done in the past, the East may yet do to-day and to-morrow.

He listened with rapt attention. When I had finished he touched my shoulder and, in his usual curt way said : “ Islamic History shall receive its full recognition at the University of Calcutta.” Little did I know then that Death was hovering around us intent on wrecking the plans we were so confidently making that night.

I was only giving effect to Sir Asutosh’s wish when I suggested at the Faculty of Arts this year that the History of Islam should be introduced as a subject in the B.A. Pass Course. But all my efforts were unavailing. The wisdom of the House was against me and a measure, which might have been of incalculable importance to our future, was strangled at its birth.

Many of us indeed would sigh and say at this crisis, ‘ Would that he were here again ! Were he here he would

assuredly have moderated the dreams of the idealists ; curbed the passions of the impetuous, reconciled the irreconcilables ; given reason to the unreasoning and, perhaps, shown the path of wisdom, or, at least of good sense, to the Bureaucracy.

Bold, determined, persevering, practical, he never relied on sudden startling effects but on the steady, silent, penetrating, overpowering effects of patience, steadiness, routine and preseverance.

Two qualities in unusual degree he possessed—the quality of wisdom and the quality of courage.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

Reviews

A History of Indian Taxation.—By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A. (Cal.), D.Sc., (Lond.), of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, pp. 1-541. Published by Macmillan & Co., 1930.

Dr. Banerjea is a well-known Economist in India with a reputation travelling beyond its borders. His first publication, *A Study of Indian Economics*, was a text-book which was brought out some twenty years ago and inspite of innumerable subsequent publications of the same type, holds its first position in the market. All his subsequent publications are based on research work, which except his thesis for the D. Sc. Degree of London, have been produced as the Minto Professor of Economics, the only Professorship in Economics in India which is held on the condition that research shall be done by its incumbent. In the past the history of this famous Chair has been somewhat chequered. Dr. Banerjea is the only incumbent who has amply fulfilled the condition by his research work of a high type and has deservedly earned several re-appointments to the same Chair. In recent years his writings have been prolific. In the last six months he has brought out three books, viz., *Indian Finance in the Days of the Company*, *Provincial Finance in India* and *A History of Indian Taxation*. By writing these three books in quick succession he has revealed two things, viz., that he has specialised in the study of Public Finance and that he is the greatest authority on Indian Finance. He has also promised us a book on Local Finance.

The past writings of Dr. Banerjea compel our attention for whatever he writes. He wields a pen that makes even the dry subject of finance read like a book of romance. In this respect he has an undoubted advantage over all his rivals in India. This is not a disparagement of other writers, for in spite of all efforts over a century the fact remains—and it is true everywhere in the world—that foreign language is a handicap both to original ideas and to their requisite expression. Again, Dr. Banerjea's method is scientific, which, in the case of many economic writers in India, is unfortunately not the rule as yet. Finance is intimately connected both with political principles and with political passion. Dr. Banerjea actively participates in politics and he holds a definite type of political opinion with which we may or may not agree. It is no small credit to find that his politics does not promote his writings. Here, we meet with the cold and detached attitude of a master of scientific method

even when he is re-creating in detail the controversial atmosphere of the time when the financial laws which he discusses were on the legislative anvil. Some of these laws in India are still subjects of controversy rousing passions and prejudices. But for facts and economic opinions Dr. Banerjea's book will be eagerly consulted both by the holders of his political views and by those who are his political opponents.

This, however, is not the best thing about his book. It has a more permanent and abiding interest in that it is a scientific and comprehensive study of the important questions of Indian Taxation. Dr. Banerjea is neither the only nor the first writer on this topic, but his book may be taken as the only one which will endure after the dust and storm of the contemporary feud have subsided.

The present book is a voluminous one with nine chapters. The first chapter deals with *Some Features of Indian Taxation*. First, he deals with the objects of taxation in India. The foremost is, of course, the fiscal object to raise revenue which, in the earlier stage, was meant to provide for defence against external aggression, maintenance of internal order and acquisition of fresh territories. It now provides, though inadequately, for sanitation, public works and education. As yet it excludes social reform. Besides fiscal object the author also deals with other objects of taxation, social, economic, moral and political,—e.g., equalising social incomes, encouraging home industries, promotion of morality by restricting the consumption of opium, liquor, etc., imperial preference. The author explains the three categories of the Indian tax-system, namely central, provincial and local. "The extent to which it is desirable to have resort to taxation in any country depends upon two considerations, namely, first the expenditure needed for carrying on the functions of the government, and, second, the taxable capacity of the people." In India the Government expenditure is on the military establishment and civil administration, the former absorbing "an exceedingly large share of the revenues" and the latter being "fixed on a scale far too high for a poor country like India." The taxable capacity is ascertained from the wealth and income but no serious attempt has been made to calculate either of them. The same is the case with incidence of taxation, a question closely connected with taxable capacity. Nor did the tax-system, till very recently, show any conscious regard for the accepted canons of taxation. The effect of taxations depends upon the object of levying taxes. If judiciously applied, the people may find that it, 'returns in a fertilising shower,' thus making wealth more fruitful in the public exchequer than in the pockets of the people. This taxation, instead of being a necessary evil, may be a neces-

sary good. To obtain this result the benefits should be patent to the people and according to their wishes. Also it should be remembered that "taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another."

With these sound preliminary remarks the author proceeds, in the next eight chapters, to study license-taxes, income-tax, customs, salt, opium, land revenue, excise and minor taxes. Each of these chapters is very exhaustive. The history is traced from the beginning of such an imposition in the British period and each step has been critically examined. The author has successfully explained the atmosphere of the time by discussing in detail the controversies in the legislature and the changes, with reasons, that were introduced in each Bill as it was before the legislative body. This, we believe, is the first attempt of its kind. Such a procedure is easily open to the charge of superfluous details confusing the issue. But the author has ably introduced a huge mass of details, put in an interesting manner, without ever losing sight of the main bearings of the question in hand. We think that the subject-matter has been instructive by this method, from another stand point. The taxes with which he deals are still important sources of public revenue in India. Some are even now subjects of great, and even acrimonious, controversy. In certain other cases, e.g. land revenue, besides legislative sanction there are what may be called pledges given by the Executive. In all such cases the circumstances that gave rise to a particular line of action, the modifications made in the original proposal, the reason for such modifications, the subsequent changes in the light of experience, and the bearings of one tax or imposition in relation to a collateral or subsequent tax or imposition are all very important for the study of the tax system as it is to-day or as it should be in future. An instance in point is the relation between the income-tax and the pledge of the permanent settlement of land revenue in certain parts of India or the assessable rate of income-tax on the earned income of those who derives an income from permanently settled lands. The value of this practical bearing of the subjects dealt with is, we believe, substantially increased by the way in which the author has gone into the details of the history of a tax. The light of past experience is always necessary to understand the present and unfold the future system. This is so more in a live topic like taxation than in any other branch of social science. Thus in financial questions, more probably than in any other sphere of study, do we realise the value of the old philosophic dictum of August Comte that the evaluation of progress is from the past, through the present, to the future.

We should point out one important defect of the book, which detracts from its usefulness. The book has no index. It cannot, therefore, be used as a reference book which, from its bulk and authoritative content, it is eminently fitted to be. Nor, as a partial compensation, has it a detailed analysis of Contents. We hope that this defect will be remedied in the next edition.

The get-up of the book is a credit to the printers and its popularity will increase by its attractive appearance. The price is moderate for its volume.

DR. P. BASU,
Principal, Holkar College, Indore,
Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Agra University.

Report and Proceedings of the World Economic Conference, held at Geneva—May 4 to 23rd, 1921, 2 vols.—Edited by the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations.

The reviewer owes an apology to the editor, the readers of the magazine and the publishers for delaying the review which has been long overdue. My only excuse for this is the voluminous character of the proceedings and my pre-occupation in other lines of study.

Recognising the cardinal fact that without real economic peace an efficacious spirit of internationalism cannot be enforced on the intensely nationalistic modern states of the world, the World Economic Conference organised under the auspices of the League of Nations strove to ascertain the present economic position of the different countries under the main headings of commerce, industry and agriculture and chalk out a line of action which would enable the world to realise the ideal of international life.

The World Economic Conference undoubtedly stimulated real constructive work in the diagnosing of the economic problems, and statement of plans needed to adjust, arrange and rejuvenate the different aspects of the economic life of these 50 nations which participated in the methodically conducted deliberations. It has undoubtedly envisaged a newer ideal and a wider economic urge before the different nations. If the present-day national self-consciousness were to yield to that of international collaboration in the field of economic life the main problem would be solved.

Within the conventional limits of this review, little justice can indeed be done by the reviewer and it is impossible within the limited space to discuss the variety of the questions, and the diversity of theories or to point out how the W. E. Conference could clear the way through the

thicket and chaos of these manifold problems. Actuated with the desirable motive of maximising the prosperity of the world, the different problems have been studied by the assembled representatives in their true international perspective and the object of maximising mutual benefit arising out of international trade has never been forsaken at any particular moment.

. Part one presents a general picture of the present world economic situation as gathered from the documentation, collected by the twenty-four nations. The second part of the Conference proceedings is devoted to a discussion of the measures needed to improve the commerce, industry and agriculture of the countries. Liberty of trading, the simplifying of customs tariffs, the restoration of the long-term commercial treaties and the settlement of international disputes by a Permanent Court of International Justice are the main solutions indicated but the public opinion of most countries needs a more thorough understanding of these forces and their real implications before any of the utopian schemes can be carried into execution at present.

Coming to the subject of industry the remedies of economic stabilisation secured through the schemes of the formation of international industrial agreements and the collection of exchange of information through a world-wide Economic Organisation are indeed sane and valuable. Even if nothing material were to evolve out of these endeavours the statistical material which would be embodied in the reports, special studies and reviews on the industrial developments, raw materials and changes in production would alone be worth their weight in gold.

The widespread agricultural depression caused by a dislocation in prices did not escape the attention of this learned body. The useful suggestions recommended by it are the spread of the co-operative movement in credit, and every other walk of the agricultural life of the nations. The enacting of suitable social legislation, the gathering of agricultural statistics with special emphasis on farm accounting and the economic exploitation of the forests by the use of better methods are also essential to secure the economic uplift of the masses.

Considering the present world economic malaise as one arising out of maladjustment, the W. E. Conference recommends the free flow of labour, capital and goods and the publication of reliable information regarding agricultural and industrial production of the different countries. Such are the principles laid down by this epoch-making Conference but a successful application of these depends on the different governments which are

mostly bound down by centuries of tradition. Patient and persevering efforts by the different nations alone would enable them to secure the triumph of these cardinal truths.

The League of Nations has indeed done monumental work in the direction of the economic salvation of the war-weary countries by convening this Conference and spreading far and wide these economic truths. But without an untiring propaganda on its part it is impossible to achieve one-tenth of the task of economic reformation and modern nations will never shed the present-day economic heresies which form a part of their excessive economic nationalism. Mere solace in economic abstractions is of no great importance in these tumultuous days. The League of Nations would have to take up in right earnest the task of creating the spirit of internationalism in place of the present-day nationalism of the countries. Continuous methodical and sympathetic efforts on the part of the economic organisation of the League are needed before any part of the programme can be fulfilled. A co-ordination between the economic efforts of the countries is indeed a very difficult matter. The recognition of the idea of international economic solidarity, which is after all the essence of the League of Nations idea has "to be secured, utilised and properly directed" as President Theunis correctly observes. Without this realisation the world economic commonwealth would be a mere figment of imagination.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Srimadbhagavadgita.—By Babu Harimohan Banerjee, 5/1 Kasi Bose Lane Price Rs. 2. The author in his work has attempted his best to point out to the world, the cultural process by which to get into the Supreme Soul—the original source from which the Creation begins. Its realization is wrapped up in mystery, and the mysticism cannot be divulged, unless and until a man passes through the process of *Karma* or culture as explained in canto 3 of the book; then to get into the stage of *Gyana*, or a knowledge of the spiritual existence; then to get into the stage of *Karma Sannyasa* or the avoidance of the cultural process (explained in canto 5 of the book); then to get over the stage of *Gyana* and pass to the stage of *Gyan-Bigyan*, or the stage in which the devotee assumes the spiritual character, relinquishing all traits of materialism which he had in connection with the mind. To pass over to the stage of spiritual existence from the material stage is, however, a difficult thing to get across, and the sight of the spiritual plane brings in despondency to the uncultured mind of a thoughtful man, bearing

traits of materialism as explained in the 12th canto of the book. Having insight of the spiritual character, engagement in *Bhakti Yoga* or devotion to the spiritual Being is therefore recommended (see 12th canto of the book); and by such devotion, the devotee passes over the three *Gunas*—*Satya*, *Raja* and *Tama*—the three powers dominating the material world, and exercising influence upon the mind of a man. By such devotion the devotee passes over the influence which the mind exercises upon him and thus liberated from all material influences, he comes to the stage of *Mukti* or liberation from all influences which the mind exercises upon him. (see canto 18). This is the sum and substance of the contents of the book which the author has explained to the satisfaction of all interested readers. In short, the *yoga* system has been proved to be not an outcome of philosophical thinking, but it is something above philosophy, not to be realized in thoughts, but through actual culture. The book is an allegorical explanation, and in his attempt to explain the *Gita*, he has, in a way, explained the allegory contained in the entire *Mahabharata*. We recommend free circulation of the book.

R. S. T.

Ourselves

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

The sixth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed on the 25th of May last in a worthy manner and with a solemnity befitting the occasion by the Calcutta University which was the field of his fame and his glory and to which he had dedicated himself. It takes a strong effort for us to realise that the great man is no more—so fresh in our memory is his presence and so affectionately is his name cherished in our hearts. Yet six long years stand now between him we miss and us that mourn!

As on previous occasions, the white marble bust, so conspicuous on the staircase landing of the Darbhanga Building, was covered with fresh green, beautiful roses, lotuses and lilies and sweet incense was burnt. There were hymns in Sanskrit and suitable Bengali songs, specially composed for the occasion; and the Vice-Chancellor, who took a leading part in the function, after a short prayer read the following speech, all present joining him standing in solemn silence and awe. On every face was visible the loving regard in which the departed soul is still held. The bust was then profusely garlanded.

“ It is difficult to realise that six years have passed away since that memorable Sunday afternoon at Patna when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee died. So numerous are the memorials of his greatness, and so strong is the continuing influence of his personality that we can hardly believe that so long a time has passed since we last saw him face to face. In many cases the celebration of an anniversary is a more or less forced commemoration, at which somewhat artificial measures have to be taken to renew the flame of affection and reverence, lest it

should altogether die away. But in this case, I feel that even after the lapse of years the flame burns steadily and brightly and that we are gathered round it through natural and spontaneous disposition towards gratitude.

It is fitting that we should assemble just at this spot, which is, as it were, the centre of the University life which he did so much to foster, which was the scene of his vast labours, his varied schemes and his many triumphs. In this University we must never fail in our gratitude to his memory, and those who have succeeded him in certain of his activities, are most of all conscious of the magnitude of the debt we owe to him. Within these walls we can never allow to be forgotten the devotion with which he gave of his best to the University, sacrificing in her interests—to quote his own words—"all chances of study and researches, and a good part of his health and vitality."

During this past year we have been in the throes of controversy over certain changes within the University, and I cannot but think that most of the changes which the Senate has approved would have had his benediction. He would certainly have wished—as we all wish—that permanence of position should be given to those who are mainly responsible for the teaching work of the University, and he would have desired—as we all do—that sufficient resources should be provided for the honourable maintenance of University activities in general. No memorial would please him more than the development to further usefulness of the schemes which he did so much to initiate, and we hope that such a memorial will not be lacking.

During these intervening years he has been greatly missed, and there has been perhaps no time at which he has been more missed than at the present day. India has need, great need, of leaders such as he was—of those who can combine idealism with practicality, of those who have sufficient imagination to see a way out of present confusions, and strength of purpose to follow the path of their vision. I have no doubt that the

devotion which he showed to the University would have been shown to-day in even wider spheres, to the advantage and upbuilding of the commonwealth. But he showed the way—that the path of enlightenment is the path of progress, and in his devotion to the University he illustrated his fundamental conviction that it is in the education of the people that you lay the foundations of their greatness, and that those who place any obstacle in the way of the activities of the teacher and the pupil are the enemies and not the friends of their nation. He saw also that it was through the ideal aimed at by a University that men might win that detachment from change and that grasp of the permanent which is essential for those who have to guide the destinies of the people amidst the rapid alterations of the external forms of society. He seemed to dwell apart with this thought of the permanence of his beloved University. To quote again from him, “There is some subtle salt or secret that keeps the Universities alive. No human institution is so permanent as a University. Political parties may rise and fall, the influences of men may change, but the Universities go on for ever as seats of truth and power, as free fountains of living waters, as undefiled altars of inviolable truth.” His memory in this University will have something of the permanence he desired for the institution itself, and if, amidst the unhappy discords, which, arising from other sources, at present divide men from men, they can find some unity in the thought of a common devotion to their University; the turning of their thoughts in this direction will be in great measure due to the labours and achievements of him whom we commemorate to-day. I proceed to garland his statue, in solemn reverence to his memory and with deepest sympathy for those members of his family to whom his loss means an ever present sorrow.”

PROFESSOR C. V. RAMAN

The University of Glasgow has offered an honorary Doctorate to Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Ph.D. (Freiburg), Palit Professor of Physics, Calcutta University.

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**MAHENDRANATH PRIZE AND MEDAL FOR 1932 OFFERED
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA**

Two Prizes of Rs. 1,000 each and two Gold Medals of Rs. 100 each open to competition by all Calcutta University graduates will be awarded in 1932. A candidate may send one essay on any of the seven subjects mentioned below, embodying the results of his original research or investigation.

Candidates shall submit three printed or typewritten copies of the thesis to the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, under a distinguishing motto, not later than the 31st July, 1932, forwarding at the same time, in a separate sealed envelope their names together with the selected motto.

Candidates shall indicate generally in a preface to their thesis, and specially in notes, the sources of information and the extent to which the work of others may have been used, showing specifically the portions of the thesis concerned claimed as original. They shall also state whether the research has been conducted independently, under advice of, or in collaboration with, others, and in what respects the investigation made appears to them to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

The medal shall be awarded publicly to the best writer of the thesis at the Annual Convocation for conferring Degrees, and the name of the successful writer together with the title of the thesis shall be published in the University Calendar and in the local Government Gazette.

The thesis shall be printed and published by the University on such terms and conditions as may be arranged between the writer and the University.

Titles of Subjects.

1. Development and Constitutional Position of the Indian Civil Service.
2. Development of the Indian Judicial System.
3. Reform of the Land Tenure System of Bengal.
4. The Indian States and their Relations to the Paramount Power.
5. Administration and Finance of Local Bodies.
6. The Influence of Western Civilisation on Indian Social Life.
7. The Problem of Minorities in India.

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STIPENDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

(1) We gratefully announce that the world-famous Zeiss Optical Factory of Jena has offered, through the Deutsche Akademie empowered to select the proper candidate, a scholarship of RM. 200 (two hundred Marks) per month, tenable for one year, to a deserving Indian student of Physics. The choice in the first instance has fallen on Mr. Rameschandra Majumdar, student of Prof. Shaha of Allahabad.

(2) The stipend for agricultural studies in the University of Hohenheim has been awarded to Mr. S. S. Tiravenkata Chari of Madras and (3) the stipend for higher studies in the field of Engineering in the University of Stuttgart to Mr. Phanindra-kumar Mitra of Dacca. As announced three months ago, both these two stipends consist of free tuition.

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PROF. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar of Calcutta University is now in Munich, where he is to lecture at the Technische Hochschule four hours a week in German on Indian industries, commerce and economic legislation with special reference to international business relations. He is also being invited by the Universities, Chambers of Commerce, etc., of other parts of Germany.

We have received also a communication from Prof. B. K. Sarkar, M.A., now in Germany, appealing for co-operation with him in his contemplated book (in German) on "Indian Economic Thought since 1905." The present plan is to make it in the main a bibliographical and partly biographical spade-work. A substantial portion of it is proposed to be in the different *Indian languages*. For further details reference may be made to the Secretary, Post-Graduate Arts Department, Calcutta University.

In this connection we are really glad to record our appreciation of the patriotic efforts of Dr. Taraknath Das, Ph.D., who has been strenuous in his endeavours to institute an "Exchange of Professors" between Calcutta and Munich, through the admirable co-operation so readily offered by the Deutsche Akademie.

It is surely not too much to hope that this generous offer will be appropriately recognised by our University authorities. The movement is pregnant with rich cultural possibilities which no University can to-day afford to overlook.

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PROFESSOR UKIL'S ADDRESS IN MUNICH

Under the auspices of the India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie" Prof. Dr. Ukil of Calcutta delivered a lecture on 28th April, 1930, on the Immunity of the Indians from

Lung Tuberculosis which was largely attended by notable German medical men including Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Kerschensteiner and Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Dieudonné. The address of the renowned Indian scholar awakened deep interest in the minds of the German specialists who have worked in the same field. Invitations followed in consequence from the University circle and the Deutsche Akademie organised a small tea-party in honour of Professor Ukil at which, among others, the renowned historian, Professor School of the University of Kiel, was present.

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MR. GOKULDAS DE

Dr. Max Walleser, Professor of Indology (Buddhism—Sanskrit and Tibetan) of Heidelberg University, Germany, well-known for his scholarly publications on the Ancient Vedanta, the Bhabru Edict, Madhyamika-Sastra, Pali Canons and allied subjects, and Vice-President and Founder of the Institute for Buddhist Lore and General Editor of Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, has given, in a letter (of February 19, 1930), to the writer his support to the contention of Mr. Gokuldas De, M.A., Lecturer, Pali Department, in his Jataka articles, already published by us, that “the Bodhisattv notion was originally free from the idea of an anterior stage of Buddhahood.”

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REPORT OF THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART I

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in May, 1930, was 22, of whom 18 passed and 4 failed.

RECOGNITION OF A RESEARCHER'S MERIT

Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A. (First Class), who has been doing research work since September, 1928, under Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, has recently been the recipient of high praise from some distinguished Mathematicians of Europe for his paper "On Some Generalisations of Jensen's Inequality," published in the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XXI. Among those who have written to Mr. Mitra are Prof. Harald Bohr of Copenhagen, Prof. Titchmarsh of Liverpool, Prof. Cooper of Sheffield and Prof. Landau of Göttingen.

The following is the copy of the letter received by Mr. Mitra from Prof. Bohr, one of the greatest Mathematicians of the world :—

COPENHAGEN,

2nd April, 1930.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you very much for your paper on generalisations of Jensen's inequality, which I have looked through with great interest. I am sorry that I in the moment cannot give you any definite suggestions and only can encourage you to go on with your interesting investigations.

Your sincerely,

HARALD BOHR.

